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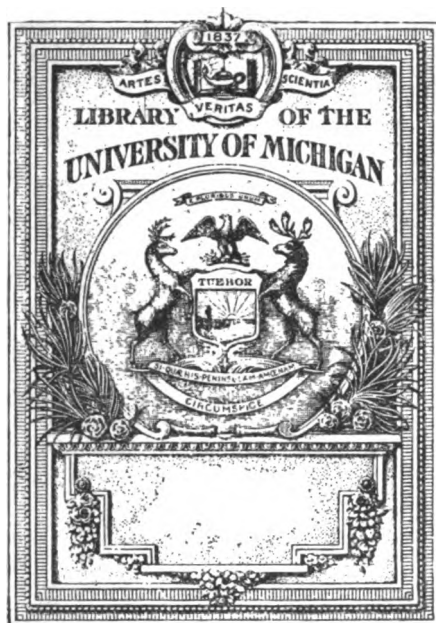
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THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION¹

When the call went out in June, 1884, for a meeting to be held at Saratoga the following September, with the purpose of organizing into an American Historical Association teachers, specialists, writers and others interested in the advancement of historical study in this country, the outlook was by no means a favorable one.²

Although the project was strongly encouraged on all sides, particularly by the religious press of the country, the number of students capable of taking a serious share in the work of historical research then being promoted in the United States was indeed limited. There were at that time scarcely twenty professors and instructors in our leading educational institutions who were giving their entire time to the class in history. In most

¹ Address read at the Inaugural Session of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, Cleveland, Ohio, December 30, 1919. Some fifty Catholic scholars were present at the organization of this new national society. The object of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION is to promote study and research in the field of Catholic history. The Association is composed of three Conferences on Ancient Church History, Medieval Church History, and Modern Church History. Such a society makes it possible to bring into one body all the Catholic historical scholarship of the United States. The following officers were elected: *President*, Lawrence F. Flick, M.D., LL.D.; *Vice-Presidents*, Rev. Richard H. Tierney, S.J., and Rev. Victor O'Daniel, O.P., S.T.M.; *Secretary*, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Ph.D.; *Treasurer*, Rt. Rev. Monsignor T. C. O'Reilly, D.D., V.G.; *Archivist*, Rev. Peter Guilday, Ph.D. The Executive Council includes, with the above-named officers, Rev. Gilbert P. Jennings, LL.D. (Cleveland), Rt. Rev. Monsignor Joseph F. Mooney, D.D., V.G. (New York), Rev. Dr. Souvay, C.M. (St. Louis), Rev. William Busch, L.M.H.Sc. (St. Paul), and Rev. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M. (Santa Barbara, Calif.). The First Annual Meeting will take place December 27-30, 1920.

² *Papers of the American Historical Association*, Vol. i, No. 1, p. 5.

cases, history was merely an adjunct to some other science. Thirty-five years ago some of our leading universities and colleges were cautiously considering whether a professorship of history could or could not be established; and even so well known a scholar as President Eliot of Harvard warned a group of students at the time that to fit themselves for such a professorship would be the height of imprudence.³

Since then the situation has been completely changed.

To no other division of historical study was this change more welcome than to ecclesiastical history. The modern period had been ushered in with a systematic assault on the Church's past by the Centuriators of Magdeburg. Objective estimate of historical facts and impartiality of treatment were laid aside in the long sixteenth-century struggle for what may be termed religious self-determination. Only after three hundred years, and then under the influence of the romantic school of the early nineteenth century, did the historical world reach a better appreciation of medieval Catholicism. To many, besides Joseph de Maistre, historical criticism meant participation in that general conspiracy against the truth which was then apparently dominating the learned world. This new era in modern historiography with its more penetrating and more objective criticism of Church history brought about a series of vindications of the Catholic past of the world.

Catholic students of history recognize as one of the causes of this new era the opening of the Vatican Archives by Pope Leo XIII, in 1883. At that time, the great Pontiff could write without fear of bias that the method of treating history had been turned "into a means of throwing suspicion upon the Church." In the *Saepenumero considerantes* of August 18, 1883, Pope Leo dealt severely with the situation in his day: History had become a deadly poison; it had created a new species of warfare against the Christian faith; it had become subservient to the interests of parties and to the passions of men; it was imbuing the minds of the young with disgust for venerable antiquity and with an overweening contempt for most holy personages; it had strayed far from the path it had trod in olden times when it was the

³ *The American Historical Association* (1884-1909), article by J. Franklin Jameson, Ph.D., in the *American Historical Review*, Vol. xv, (1909), pp. 1-13.

preceptor of life and the light of truth; it had become the approver of vice and the slave of corruption. In this same letter which opened the historical treasures of Rome to the world, the Pontiff laid down in the clearest terms the fundamental principle which should guide the Catholic method in historical study.

No effort should be spared to refute inventions and falsehoods; and the writers must always bear this rule in mind: that the first law of history is, not to dare to utter falsehood; the second, not to fear to speak the truth; and, moreover, no room must be left for suspicion of partiality or prejudice.⁴

Students of history can well recognize in this noble utterance of Pope Leo one of the contributing causes to the renaissance of historical interest centering around the year 1884. In the changed, indeed sympathetic, attitude of scholarship in this country since that time towards the past history of the Church, foremost stands the influence of the American Historical Association.

The founders of the Association in that year were, without knowing it, at the beginning of a new and more fruitful era in the development of American historiography. The forty gentlemen who met at Saratoga on September 9, 1884, for the inaugural session of the Association began their conference with the problem of defining their relationship to existing historical organizations. The decision to form an independent society, and one open to all interested in historical study, was quickly reached. Doctor Jameson has described this meeting as follows:

The simple constitution then framed, and adopted the next day, has with slight alterations served the Association to the present time. But its preparation brought up at once some of the gravest questions of the society's future, questions vividly debated in the committee. Should the effort be made to form something like an Academy of History, small in numbers, imposing in the weight of its individual members, and exerting through that weight a powerful influence on the development of the science; or should the society be a more popular body into which any respectable and educated person interested in history might be admitted? One who stood upon the losing side of the question has since described it as being "whether we should try to be as big as possible or as good as possible." This has a specious sound, but "good" in such matters

⁴ Pope Leo's Letter to Cardinals di Luca, Pitra, and Hergenroether will be found in English in the *Ave Maria* (Notre Dame), Vol. xix (1889), pp. 741-761, and in Latin as an Appendix to STANG, *Historiographia Ecclesiastica*. Louvain, 1897.

is good in relation to the existing conditions and the possibilities of achievement. Nothing has prevented any member from presenting to the Association as learned and profound a paper as he might have presented to a select forty having thirty-nine specialties different from his; and in any body, the older heads have their full share of influence. On the other hand, how largely has the American public, scientific or other, shown itself disposed to defer to the authority, in any time, of forty Immortals—immortals voiceless for lack of endowment, and unable to obtain governmental support unless with governmental selection? Diffusion of influence, diffused participation, is the democratic mode. The older element is quickened and helped by the presence of the younger; the wiser, even, by the presence of those whom in American life they must perforce address. It would be hard to persuade anyone who has attended a meeting of the American Historical Association and carefully watched what goes on, in and out of the formal sessions, that a gathering from which nine-tenths of the present attendants were absent would do as much good for the common cause.¹

The story of the Association's success during the past thirty-five years is too well known to need review in this paper. It has been justly claimed that no historical society in the world has been more extensively useful to its countrymen. None who participated in the work of organizing the Association that pleasant September day in 1884 ever regretted his share in its foundation.

We are honored this morning by the presence of one who was present in Saratoga as a Founder of the Association. Doctor Jameson may not be known personally to the majority of those present at this meeting, but those of us who have enjoyed his friendship have learned to esteem him as a sincere admirer of the historic past of our Church, as one whose life has been given generously and uncomplainingly to the steady advance of historical study in this country and abroad. We are fortunate in having him among us this morning, thirty-five years afterwards, at the inaugural session of this new national Catholic Historical Association, and I rejoice to have the opportunity at this auspicious moment to pay to him a tribute of high regard and appreciation for all he has done during the past generation in making Catholic history better understood.

The twofold purpose of the American Historical Association, namely, to advance the interests of American history and of

¹ As in note 3.

general history in America has never been lost sight of from the beginning. There is this difference among Catholic students of history: many societies for the study of American Catholic history have been founded; but in the field of general Church history there has never been any attempt at national organization on the part of American Catholics, while in that of the church history of America, Catholic scholarship in the United States has had a better representation since 1884 than any other religious body.

The year 1884 will, therefore, be perpetually memorable in American Catholic history.

The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore held in November-December, 1884, saw the high-water mark of this national interest in our Catholic past. For the first time since the beginning of her phenomenal growth after the Civil War, the Church acted and thought as a national body; and in the Pastoral Letter to the Faithful at the close of the Council we find this striking Charge:

Train your children to a love of history and biography. Inspire them with the ambition to become so well acquainted with the history and doctrines of the Church as to be able to give an intelligent answer to any honest inquiry. . . . Teach your children to take a special interest in the history of our own country. We consider the establishment of our country's independence, the shaping of its liberties and laws as a work of special Providence, its framers 'building wiser than they knew', the Almighty's hand guiding them. . . . As we desire therefore that the history of the United States should be carefully taught in all our Catholic schools, and have directed that it be specially dwelt upon in the education of the young ecclesiastical students in our preparatory seminaries; so also we desire that it form a favorite part of the home library and home reading. We must keep firm and solid the liberties of our country by keeping fresh the noble memories of the past, and thus sending forth from our Catholic homes into the arena of public life not partisans but patriots.⁶

The whole country was awake in 1884 for the first time to the patriotic impulses which vivified our past history. At the first preliminary meeting in 1884 of those who are today the founders of our splendidly equipped American Historical Association, Justin Winsor said:

⁶ To be found in the *Memorial Volume* of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore (*ad finem*). Baltimore, 1885.

We have come, gentlemen, to organize a new society, and fill a new field. Existing historical societies are local, by State and division of States, and give themselves only to the history of our own country. The only one not plainly by its title local, the American Antiquarian Society, is nevertheless very largely confined in its researches to New England subjects, though it sometimes stretches its ken to Central America and the Northwest. But our proposed name, though American by title, is not intended to confine our observation to this continent. We are to be simply American students devoting ourselves to historical subjects, without limitation in time or place. So no one can regard us as a rival of any other historical association in this country. We are drawn together because we believe there is a new spirit of research abroad—a spirit which emulates the laboratory work of the naturalists, using that word in its broadest sense. This spirit requires for its sustenance mutual recognition and suggestion among its devotees. We can deduce encouragement and experience stimulation by this sort of personal contact. Scholars and students can no longer afford to live isolated. They must come together to derive that zest which arises from personal acquaintance, to submit idiosyncrasies to the contact of their fellows, and they will come from the convocation healthier and more circumspect. The future of this new work is in the young men of the historical instinct—largely in the rising instructors of our colleges; and I am glad to see that they have not failed us in the present movement. . . . Those of us who are older are quickened by their presence.⁷

What Justin Winsor was to the country at large, John Gilmary Shea was to the Catholic Church of the United States. These two scholars had much in common, and some of Shea's most scholarly work was done for the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, which has justly given to Winsor a unique place in American historiography. Shea's fine, delicate enthusiasm can be seen beneath those words from the Pastoral which have just been quoted, for he was called to Baltimore during the Council to confer with the prelates on his *History of the Church in the United States*. No man felt the new spirit abroad more keenly than he. On August 3, 1884, he wrote to Monsignor Lambing:

I never knew a greater interest to be felt or shown in the history of *Notre Mère la Sainte Eglise Catholique, Apostolique et Romaine* in this part of the world. This is extremely gratifying to me, and I trust we can encourage and maintain this feeling.

Both Winsor and Shea had vision—to use a commonplace of today. Winsor was chairman of the preliminary meetings which

⁷ *Papers of the AHA*, I. c., p. 11.

brought the American Historical Association into existence; Shea presided over the first meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York. Both gentlemen declined the presidency of the Society they helped to bring to life, for both were working at the time on volumes which have since made them known to the scholars of two continents. The work they began has flourished with vigor down to our own day. There are at the present time in the United States and Canada over five hundred organizations bearing the name of historical society. Secretary Leland of the American Historical Association has described this growth as follows:

The American Nation more perhaps than any other is curious as to its history. Possibly this is because the American regards the history of his country, or at any rate of his State or locality, as a personal matter. Much of it has been made within the period covered by his own memory; he himself or his ancestors have had a part in making it; the beginnings of America are not so remote as to defy the imagination. At any rate, whatever the explanation, there are more historical societies in the United States than in any other country. They are devoted for the most part to the history of various territorial areas, but there are some that occupy themselves with other fields. Of such probably none have greater possibilities of usefulness than those which are concerned mainly with church or religious history. There are not many of these—the American Baptist Historical Society of Philadelphia, the New England Baptist Historical Society of Boston, the Presbyterian Historical Society of Philadelphia, and the Unitarian and Universalist Historical Societies, both naturally of Massachusetts, are the only societies devoted to the history of the non-Catholic denominations that find mention in a report made some years ago to the American Historical Association.⁸

In the field of religious history a better representation is seen in the number of Catholic historical societies founded since that date and in the fine quality of the studies published by these organizations. Our oldest Catholic Historical Society is the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA, founded in July, 1884.⁹ Letters were sent out on July 4, 1884, and the first meeting of its founders was held on July 22 of that year. The minutes of that meeting are very instructive. The

⁸ *Concerning Catholic Historical Societies*, article by Waldo G. Leland, in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. ii, p. 389.

⁹ *The American Catholic Historical Society*, article by Rev. William Lallou, in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. i, pp. 193-195.

reasons for the Society were quite plainly described: the early history of the Church in the United States was comparatively unknown; valuable records and traditions were being lost for want of a corporate body to gather them together; interest in church history in general was very weak. "The object of this Society," we read in its Charter, "shall be the preservation and publication of Catholic American historical documents, the investigation of Catholic American history, especially that of Philadelphia."¹⁰ The success of this undertaking is seen in the quarterly publication, the *Records*, which is now in its thirtieth volume.

The second of these Societies—the UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY, founded in New York on December 9, 1884, owes its existence mainly to John Gilmary Shea.¹¹ The Third Plenary Council closed on December 7, 1884, and two days later, a number of gentlemen interested in history, at the invitation of Doctor Shea and Doctor Richard H. Clarke, met at the Catholic Protectory in New York to organize the United States Catholic Historical Society.

The success of these two pioneer Societies has been equal to that of any similar organization in the United States. Both were regarded from the outset by non-Catholic students as national Catholic historical societies devoted to American Church history.

The third Catholic Historical Society is the now defunct OHIO VALLEY CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY, organized by Monsignor Lambing, of Wilkinsburg, Pa., February 1, 1885. This Society met once or twice and then disbanded.¹² Monsignor Lambing, the President, began in July, 1884, as a private venture, the quarterly publication of the *Historical Researches of Western Pennsylvania, principally Catholic*, which was changed in the course of a year to the *Catholic Historical Researches*. After two years of effort to make it a success, Martin I. J. Griffin, the grand old man of American Catholic historical circles in

¹⁰ ACHS *Records*, Vol. i, pp. 1-14.

¹¹ *The United States Catholic Historical Society*, article by Charles G. Herbermann, LL.D., in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. ii, pp. 302-307.

¹² *The Story of a Failure: The Ohio Valley Catholic Historical Society*, in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. i, pp. 435-439.

Philadelphia, purchased the *Researches* in December, 1886, and published them until his death in November, 1911, as the *American Catholic Historical Researches*. Later they were merged into the quarterly *Records* of the same Society.

Of the societies founded since 1884, there were: the BROOKLYN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY, and the NEW ENGLAND CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY, established in 1901, both of which have apparently ceased to function; the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ST. PAUL, founded in 1905, the *Acta et Dicta* of which are becoming more valuable with each number; the MAINE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY founded by the scholarly Doctor Walsh, Bishop of Portland, in 1913, which publishes the *Maine Catholic Historical Magazine*, now in its eighth volume; the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ST. LOUIS, founded by a group of Catholic scholars of that city in 1917, which publishes the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*; and the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY, founded at Chicago, in February, 1918, which issues a scholarly quarterly—the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*. "During the past five years," to use Mr. Leland's words, "there has appeared from the Catholic University of America, the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, which has received most favorable notice from the historical profession in general and which promises to become the recognized organ of all American Catholic historical activity."¹³

To start an entirely new organization in this field requires very serious reasons. In describing the formation of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis, Father Rothensteiner says:

In an age of innumerable societies, associations and unions, for every conceivable purpose, it may seem supererogatory and utterly hopeless to come forward with our Society. . . . A society for the suppression of all societies would appear to many weary souls as of greater importance. Yet it must always be borne in mind that, besides the bad and indifferent organizations, there are also many of high character and distinct usefulness. The living principle of every kind of activity being one with its purpose, it follows that the higher the purpose of an institution, the more highly must we value the institution itself, provided its proposed end could not be better attained in other ways.¹⁴

These words may well be taken as the keynote of all that

¹³ As in note 7.

¹⁴ *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. i, p. 8.

follows. Creative agencies of a broader and deeper interest in the history of the Church cannot be confined to Catholic historical groups such as those mentioned above. The combined action of the best scholars of the American Historical Association is just beginning, after twenty years' effort, to save the public schools and the non-sectarian colleges from their present state of mal-organization in the historical sciences. One has but to study the conclusions of the different committees of the American Historical Association to realize that the great change which has come into the teaching of political history could never have occurred, were it not for the Reports of the Committee of Seven and the Committee of Eight which form the basis of the present curriculum of history in most of the schools in this country.

The Catholic school system needs a similar guidance, and the work to be done is too vast for any one scholar or for any one local group of historical scholars. The voice that speaks must represent the whole country and the best historical talent in the land.

Historical scholars of today, with but few exceptions, and those negligible ones, recognize with sympathy the part the Church has had in the civilization of the world. But they cannot be expected to devote themselves exclusively to that historical Catholic past. The spirit of the American Historical Association has never been a provincial one, but the incorporation of the Association by the Government in January 1889, created a dependence on the Smithsonian Institution which has affected the publishing of articles on religious history. In regard to this censorship, I quote from Doctor Jameson's illuminating article on the American Historical Association:

The Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution is likely, in the exercise of this somewhat anomalous function, to confine himself to the exclusion, from a report presented to Congress, of matter such as is usually excluded from other reports offered to that body. This, however, effects two serious limitations, the one based on political, the other on religious, grounds. In the first place, it is not probable, for instance, that the Association could print in a governmental volume such an article as that which Professor Hart contributed to the third volume of the old papers, *The Biography of a River and Harbor Bill*, a most plain-spoken analysis of recent Congressional proceedings. In the second place, Congress has a peculiar traditional feeling with regard to the printing of

religious matter. The religion of the Hopi or the Igorrote is deemed a legitimate subject for historical discussion in a scientific publication of the government. Not so the Christian religion. While excellent reasons for restraint in the treatment of its history, in volumes paid for by public taxation, must occur to every right-thinking mind, instances of unreasonable objection on the part of individual members, or of unreasonable clamor on the part of portions of the public have pushed Congress into strange extremes of caution. An impartial essay on the Spiritual Franciscans of the thirteenth century or the Interdict as practised in the twelfth would seem to be a perfectly non-explosive compound; but the authorities of the Smithsonian Institution, interpreting the mind of Congress as by long experience they have found it, have ruled that such discussions fall outside the lines of the Annual Reports. The limitation thus effected is a grave one, especially in the history of the Middle Ages, for medieval history with the Church omitted would almost be *Hamlet* with Hamlet left out.¹⁵

There is but one Society in the United States devoted to ecclesiastical history in its broadest sense—the American Society of Church History. Founded in 1888, by Philip Schaff, it held annual meetings in New York and published a volume of papers each year until 1896 when it was merged into the American Historical Association, becoming the Church History Section. It was soon evident that the merger was not an acceptable one to all concerned; in 1906, the Society was reorganized as an independent organization. There are some Catholics in its membership, and a few papers by Catholic students have been printed during the past thirty-one years.

A distinctly Catholic organization with the definite object of promoting interest in Catholic history both in this and other lands, of this and other ages, seems necessary, if the Church is to be recognized in her true position as the sacred and perpetual mother of all that is best and holiest in modern civilization.

An American Catholic Historical Association would arouse among Catholics in this roseate land of opportunity an instinct of love and veneration for the religious history of the world. This ideal any scholar or any group of scholars might well consider fitting for the work of a lifetime; for the one ultimate end of such an organization, the one doctrine upon which it is built, the only one upon which it may rest in all surety of purpose, is to promote among those who rejoice in the name of Catholic a more

¹⁵ As in note 3.

intimate knowledge of the history of the Kingdom of God on earth.

This, then, is the project which I have the honor of placing before you this morning. It is a project commensurate with the historical scholarship existent in the Church of our beloved country. Ambitious in its design, it is essentially necessary in its concept, if the glorious annals of our Faith are to be made known in all their beauty to Catholic and non-Catholic alike. For twenty centuries the Church has never faltered in its marvelous work of civilization. Across the ages its doctrine has shown the road to salvation; its apostolate has guided mankind into ways of righteousness; its institutions have ever been rallying the hosts of God against the powers of evil; its struggles and triumphs have attracted to its side men and women of every creed and race; and its salutary influence upon life, upon letters, arts, sciences, and culture has never slackened since the day when Pentecost's fire set ablaze the hearts of men with the highest idealism the world has seen.

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FATHERS BADIN AND NERINCKX AND THE DOMINICANS IN KENTUCKY A LONG MISUNDERSTOOD EPISODE IN AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY¹

It is not without considerable regret that we undertake to give the readers of the *CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW* an historical account of the early Dominicans of Kentucky in their well-known misunderstanding with Revs. Stephen T. Badin and Charles Nerinckx, two of the most noted pioneer missionaries of that state. Of itself, the episode would deserve no more than a casual reference in a history of those friars; but, unfortunately, Father Nerinckx's first biographer has badly prejudiced the whole story.

Nor is this all. Following the one-sided presentation of the case found in the letters of Fathers Badin and Nerinckx, that author not merely gives his readers to understand that the blame for the trouble which those two zealous priests experienced in Kentucky, is largely to be laid at the door of Father Edward D. Fenwick, later the first Bishop of Cincinnati, and his companions in religion; he even insinuates that the charges of officiousness, of want of zeal and of laxity, both religious and ministerial, may justly be imputed to these early Dominicans.² For forty years

¹ The sources used for this article, besides those directly referred to in the text and notes, are principally: Archives of Saint Joseph's Province of Dominicans; Saint Rose's Priory, Springfield, Kentucky; Saint Joseph's Priory, Somerset, Ohio; Archives of the Dominican Master General, Rome; the Dominican Fathers, London, England, and the Baltimore Archdiocesan Archives. Among the books consulted are WEBB, *Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*; VOLZ, *A Century's Record*; DECOURCY-SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*; SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, Vols. ii and iii; *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, Vols. ii, iii, iv, v, xi.

² MAES, *Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx*, pp. 160-184. Father Maes, when writing of this unpleasantness, is singularly unfair to these early Dominicans. Parts of Father Nerinckx's letters that are essential to show his extravagance and inner spirit, are left out of the translations. In some places, words and even phrases are omitted or added (still they are in quotation marks), without any indication of such tampering; or are so changed as materially to affect the sense of the originals, to make them the more plausible, and to render them the more telling against the missionary's imaginary enemies. Designedly do we call them imaginary, for a careful perusal of the documents in the case shows them to have been largely such. In some instances Father Maes makes the documents practically his own. See originals in DOCUMENTS, pp. 66-88.

this unfair and injurious representation of the friars has gone its rounds, receiving all too wide a credence and tarnishing the fair names of men who have deserved well of the American Church. For this reason, now that the Diocese of Cincinnati is about to celebrate its centenary, we feel constrained to give the public the present article in justification of Ohio's first ordinary. Yet, after all, it is perhaps no more than a belated contribution to our ecclesiastical literature demanded in the interest of historic truth and fair-mindedness.

Rev. Edward D. Fenwick, O.P., was born in Maryland, but was sent in his youth to the college of the English Dominicans, Bornheim, Belgium. On the completion of his classical course the young American entered the Order to which his preceptors belonged. This was in 1788. One of his prime purposes in this step was to establish the religious institute which he had learned to love, in his native Maryland, that it might aid in the diffusion of the Catholic religion through the United States. Basing his plan on that of the English fathers at Bornheim, the young American conceived the idea of devoting his part of the paternal estate to founding a house of the Order of Saint Dominic in the former palatinate of Lord Baltimore. This was to be the beginning of his work, a center whence missionaries might go forth in all directions to carry the light of the Gospel to his fellow-countrymen. Connected with the house he would have a college for the education of youth. This, he felt, would aid in supplying the pious enterprise with vocations and means of support.³

Fifteen years, however, passed before the young divine found the circumstances propitious for beginning his long-cherished design. In the meantime, the French Revolution had thrown a gloom over, if not paralyzed, the religious institutes in France and Belgium. This, together with the anti-Order prejudices in England, but especially the fact that all religious in the countries under French domination were made subject to the diocesan

³ Rev. E. D. Fenwick, Carshalton, England, to Rev. R. L. Concanen, Rome, March 15, 1803, January 3, April 14, August 29, and (London) September 1, 1804 (Archives of the Dominican Master General, Codex xiii, 731); Fenwick, Carshalton, to Bishop Carroll, January 12 and May 5, 1804 (Baltimore Archives, Case 3, R 1 and 2); Concanen to Fenwick, November 19, 1803 (Archives of the Dominican Fathers, London); PALMER, *Anglia Dominicana* (MSS.), Part III, p. 722 (*ibid.*) and *Obituary Notices of the Friar-Preachers of the English Province*, p. 26.

ordinaries, turned the minds of some of Father Fenwick's English confrères towards his American project, which had been warmly espoused by the authorities at Rome and heartily welcomed by Bishop Carroll. These were Revs. Samuel T. Wilson, Robert A. Angier and William R. Tuite, men of much learning and high standing, as well as of great piety.⁴

Fathers Fenwick and Angier, the first to come to America, arrived in November, 1804, and were cordially received by the father of the American hierarchy. Fenwick's design had been to make his foundation in his native Maryland. Great, therefore, was his disappointment when he learned that Bishop Carroll had promised them to Kentucky. This had been done largely in response to the distressed and heartfelt appeals for priests from the Catholics of that state and its lone missionary, Rev. Stephen T. Badin.⁵ Father Fenwick, however, was too good and zealous an ambassador of Christ, as well as too thoroughly trained a religious, to hesitate to go wherever the voice of authority or the salvation of souls called him. Accordingly, in the spring of 1805, at the request of Doctor Carroll, he journeyed on to the west to learn what prospects were held out by that country for his proposed institution. On his arrival in Kentucky, he was received with open arms by both the people and Father Badin. Indeed, this veteran missionary was so pleased with Fenwick that he offered to turn over his own and the church lands in the state to the friars, and begged to be received into the Order of Saint Dominic. On May 15, 1805, he wrote to Bishop Carroll earnestly urging him to give his consent to both these proposals.⁶

⁴ Fenwick's letters as in note 3. Father Wilson, then on his way to Kentucky, writing to Father Concanen from Georgetown, October 14, 1805, says: "Ever since the notice I received from our Archbishop, Monsr. Rocquelaure, that all religious in France, being now secularized by His Holiness, were entirely under his jurisdiction, I have turned my thoughts to America, where a new prospect opens of labouring with success" (Archives of the Dominican Master General, Codex xiii, 731). How different this true reason for his coming to the United States from that excogitated by Maes (*op. cit.*, pp. 171-72). For Cardinal Caprara's decree secularising all religious in France, see VERMEERSCH, *De Religiosis Institutis et Personis*, Vol. ii, p. 466.

⁵ Several letters of Father Badin and the people of Kentucky in the Baltimore Archives show how they sought to obtain priests for that mission.

⁶ Fenwick, Piscataway, Maryland, to Concanen, August 1, 1805 (Archives of the Dominican General, as above). Father Badin's letter referred to is in the Baltimore Archives, Case 1, G 9. See DOCUMENTS, p. 66.

Satisfied with the promises offered by that new state for the enterprise, Father Fenwick returned to Maryland to report to his ordinary and to Rome, to await further authorization from the Order's General and the coming of the other two recruits, and to make preparations for settling his little band of priests in the west. On August 1, 1805, he wrote to Rev. R. L. Concanen, one of the assistants to the Order's General, telling him of the good prospects for the pious undertaking in Kentucky, and of Father Badin's proposals. These latter, he says, Bishop Carroll "applauds and consents to." The friar's heart was further gladdened by the arrival, early in September, of Fathers Wilson and Tuite. A month later, came letters from Rome empowering Doctor Carroll to proceed with the foundation of the new Dominican province. Fenwick was detained in Maryland by the settlement of his paternal estate until June or July, 1806. Angier, at the request of Bishop Carroll, was left there to continue his labors on the missions until his presence became indispensable in Kentucky, and did not join his brethren until the fall of 1807. But Wilson and Tuite started on their westward journey at once (October, 1805), reaching their destination in the last days of the year.

In the meantime, however, July 18, 1805, Rev. Charles Nerinckx, a Belgian priest, had arrived in Kentucky. That indefatigable missionary, as a later page will show, brought from his native land a strong prejudice against the English Dominicans of Bornheim which he had imbibed on mere hearsay. He knew none of them. In Kentucky, an intimate friendship soon arose between him and Father Badin. Nor was the new missionary slow to instil his bias into the mind of his friend. It was clearly under this influence that the French priest, October 5-12, 1805, just a few days before Fathers Wilson and Tuite started on their journey to Kentucky, wrote to Bishop Carroll a letter which is a perfect travesty of what he had written to the same prelate in the previous May. Meanwhile, it must be noted, he had seen no Dominican. Yet all is now changed. The French missionary has turned a complete somersault of both mind and heart. It would be not only unwise, but dangerous and uncanonical to

¹ See note 6.

confer upon the friars the woodlands belonging to the Church in Kentucky. The reasoning and canon law which he adduces for the change must have provoked the venerable prelate to a smile. Five months before, a religious Order was Kentucky's great need. Now an Order might be even a peril to its Church.⁸

Bishop Carroll, it would seem, was not at all pleased with Father Badin's censorious letter announcing his change of mind. At least, another letter from the same missionary, written more than six months afterwards, is proof positive that the venerable prelate never answered it, or even acknowledged its receipt.⁹ Father Badin goes so far in this document (October 5-12, 1805), as to tell his ordinary that Father Nerinckx "does strongly suspect the purity of their [the Dominicans'] faith." This was in consequence of the preconceived prejudices of which we have spoken. Then we read: "He is so much disheartened at the thought of becoming partaker with them in the sacred ministry, that he spoke with resolution of his leaving the State, if the Dominicans trouble themselves otherwise than with a college." But it should be noted in this connection that, although Bishop Carroll did not even acknowledge the receipt of this letter, he took occasion of a later one from the same source to justify the friars, and to assure the other missionaries of their untainted faith and righteousness.¹⁰

Such was the bias which the Dominicans encountered in Kentucky. In view of it, one might expect almost any action or statement on the part of the two clergymen who had preceded them. Father Wilson tells us that, on his and Father Tuite's arrival, the people were publicly warned against them. Although Father Nerinckx had signified his intention of leaving the missions, should these friars undertake any ministerial labors, hardly have Wilson and Tuite set foot in the state when he begins to belittle their zeal and to accuse them of refusing to bear the

⁸ This document has two parts. One is dated October 5, the other October 12, 1805. By an oversight, it has been indexed as two letters, and placed under G 10 and G 11, Case 1 of the Baltimore Archives. It is printed, but with a notable omission, in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, xxiii, 166-174. See DOCUMENTS, pp. 68-73.

⁹ Badin to Bishop Carroll, May 28, 1806 (Baltimore Archives, Case A Special, L 14).

¹⁰ Badin to Carroll as in the preceding note.

heat and the burden of the day, of seeking an easy life, and of caring little for the salvation of souls. He declares that, according to their own words, none of them intend to toil on the missions, that their only object seems to be to extend their own Order, and that, therefore, their presence in Kentucky will be of scant benefit to the Church.¹¹

But in view of the fact that it was Father Fenwick's positive intention that some of his confrères should labor on the missions, and that, as may be seen from all his letters, one of his prime objects in the establishment of the new province of Dominicans was to raise up missionaries for the country, it seems most improbable that any of the friars ever gave the Flemish clergyman the information he claims to have received from them. Fathers Wilson and Tuite, the first to arrive in Kentucky, were specially designed to teach in the college and novitiate which they proposed founding. This, if anything, must have been what they told Father Nerinckx; and their words were doubtless magnified into the sweeping assertions found in his letters. Nor must we forget that, even after the arrival of Bishop Flaget and the days of a more plentiful supply of priests, the Friars Preacher continued to devote themselves to apostolic labors to such an extent as greatly to interfere with the welfare of their college and convent. All this, together with their well-known fruitful zeal, their spirit of self-sacrifice, their privations for Christ's sake, evidenced by many documents that might be laid before the reader, proves beyond question how groundless and gratuitous are Father Nerinckx's declarations.

Not in a single line of his early letters—and they are many—does the zealous Belgian missionary (for truly zealous he was) speak a kind word of the friars. It is, therefore, passing strange to see the author of Father Nerinckx's first life, with the documents before him—he cites none to prove the statement—write: "Fathers Badin and Nerinckx had hailed their advent with genuine delight, and gave unsparing and oft-repeated praise to

¹¹Father Wilson to Bishop Carroll, August 25, 1806 (Baltimore Archives, Case 8 B, L 6); Nerinckx to same, February 6, 1806 (*ibid.*, Case 8A, U2); Nerinckx to Joseph Peemans, Louvain (?), as quoted by Peemans in an account of the missions of Kentucky for the Propaganda (Propaganda Archives, America Centrale, Vol. iii, ff. 235-260); *MÆS, op. cit.*, pp. 168-69.

these new co-laborers."¹² Withal, it is worthy of note, that if Fenwick's apostolic labors were placed on one scale-pan of a balance, and those of Nerinckx on the other, great and fruitful as these latter surely were, those versed in the ecclesiastical history of Kentucky and Ohio cannot doubt but that the beam would tip in the friar's favor.

Many things conspired with Father Nerinckx's preconceived prejudices to intensify his dislike for the fathers after their arrival in Kentucky. The Rev. Walter H. Hill, S.J., in a letter to the Hon. Benj. Webb, observes: "Some one writes to me, speaking of Father Nerinckx and the Dominicans: 'Father Nerinckx, with all his humility, was too sensitive.'"¹³ So he was. No sooner had the fathers arrived in Kentucky than the people, because of the undue rigor to which they were subjected by the other missionaries, flocked to them from far and wide for the reception of the Sacraments. This, as may be seen from his own letters, Father Nerinckx, pious as he was, could not bear with equanimity; nor can there be any doubt but that his pique added poignancy to his pen.¹⁴

So, too, as Father Hill further remarks, the good priest's notorious letter of June 30, 1808, shows that he was deeply offended by the loss of Saint Ann's Parish, the largest in the State, through the Dominicans. But this was no fault of theirs. Although he had been in charge of Saint Ann's hardly a year when it was placed under the permanent care of the friars by the vicar-general, Father Badin, possibly by Bishop Carroll himself, it was Father Nerinckx's favorite of all the missions. His chagrin, it may have been, was all the greater because he was

¹² MAES, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

¹³ Rev. Walter H. Hill, S.J., Saint Louis, to Hon. Benj. Webb, July 9, 1880 (Archives of Saint Joseph's Province).

¹⁴ The way in which Maes (*op. cit.*, p. 172) attempts to explain the popularity of the Dominicans in Kentucky, reminds one strikingly of Prescott's elucidations of the Church's influence on the faithful. "Drawn [he says] by the novel ceremonial of the Dominican Order, and its picturesque dress, which, as experience teaches, are powerful attractions in the eyes of people unused to such interesting displays, the Catholics flocked to them from far and wide." Maes' un-Catholic bit of philosophy, however, falls quite flat, when it is recalled that the people began to "flock" to the friars when there were only two of them (Wilson and Tuite) in the State, and while these lived miles apart. Surely there was then little chance for "display" of "novel ceremonial," etc. The true explanation of the friars' popularity is the more orthodox and kindlier ministrations which the people received at their hands.

thus thwarted in the plan which he had conceived of erecting a brick church in this settlement.¹⁵

Father Badin was a Frenchman; Father Nerinckx a Belgian. Three of the Dominicans were British. The other was an American; but he was of English origin, and had spent the greater part of his life abroad with Englishmen. Nearly all the people in Kentucky were Americans, but of English descent. Now experience and history both teach us that different nationalities are often as so many misfitting cogs that prevent even the mill of Christ from running smoothly. This is why we have had friction in church circles through all the country, where foreigners have gathered in sufficient numbers to give play to national prejudices. Documents leave no room for doubt that such an influence had its part in the disagreement of which we speak.

Father Nerinckx's letters show that with his love of God he joined an intense attachment to his countrymen. This led to the desire of surrounding himself with clergymen from his native land, and caused him to conceive the plan of making at least a part of Kentucky a mission principally, if not entirely, in charge of Belgian priests.¹⁶ One cannot in reason blame him for so laudable an aim. But when he suffered himself, as he certainly did, to be so incensed at the Dominicans whose presence was an obstacle to his purpose, as to decry them in all manner of ways, he cannot be freed from censure. This is all the more true because these friars had gone to Kentucky at the earnest solicitation of Bishop Carroll, who had promised them to that desolate part of his diocese before Father Nerinckx arrived in America.

Possibly the most insidious, crafty and disloyal heresy the Church has had to combat was that of Jansenism, so named from Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypres. It taught that Christ died for only the elect, whose salvation alone He willed; and that nothing good done by the reprobate—it held positive reprobation—can avail them aught in the way of eternal life. One can

¹⁵ Father Nerinckx to Bishop Carroll, June 30, 1808 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 8 A, U 5).—The mission of Saint Ann, it seems certain, was attended by Father Wilson from early in 1806, though it appears to have remained under Father Nerinckx's jurisdiction until after Fenwick's arrival in the summer of the same year.

¹⁶ This is evident from many of Nerinckx's letters, from Peemans' account to the Propaganda, and from Maes' biography.

readily see to what excesses these teachings opened the door. In a word, Jansenism was Puritanic in spirit, and savored much of the arid and levelling doctrines of Calvinism. Like Gallicanism, it sought to restrain the Pope's authority over the Church in favor of the bishops and temporal rulers. The adherents of this sect looked to the accidentals of religion rather than to the essentials. In practice, they placed discipline—fasting, for instance, penance and mortification—before the life-giving Sacraments of Christ. Thus, again, Jansenism was a species of Christian Pharisaism. Jansenists overlooked the proper part of the heart and the feelings in worship, preached a discouraging rigorism which they adorned with the names of virtue and austerity, and denounced as laxists all who did not subscribe to their gloomy and austere views. Their principles, quite naturally, led to extreme severity in their moral doctrine and in the administration of the Sacraments.

Although the doctrines of Jansenism were condemned time and again, its followers long held their ground, without renouncing their errors. This they did through chicane and by pretense of following the practices of primitive Christianity, of remaining Catholics and of belonging to the Church, in spite of the Church. Their support of the absolutist theories of the times won them the favor of statesmen, while the cloak of austerity with which they colored their teachings, as is ever the case, appealed to many of the faithful with ascetic temperaments. In this way, even the leaven of true Catholic doctrine eventually became tainted with the poison. Confession and communion, the great channels of grace instituted by Christ for salvation, were administered with such severity as to cause them to be woefully neglected. There were, it is true, many holy persons who were imbued with the spirit of Jansenism. But their errors were through no fault of their own, for they imbibed them in spite of themselves. They were in good faith. Withal, had not the Church been divine, Jansenism would have dealt her a death-blow.

As Father Maes correctly states, it cannot be denied that the French and Belgian clergy of the eighteenth century “were considerably tainted by the Jansenistic teachings;” and that the “bitter fruits” of this may still be seen in the neglect of the Sac-

raments by the people and the severity of the priests in the sacred tribunal. Through no fault of theirs, Fathers Badin and Nerinckx had heard this doctrine preached from the pulpit, had found it in their books, had been taught it in the seminary. The Belgian clergyman had practiced it in his ministerial duties at home for twenty years before coming to the New World.¹⁷

These Puritanic principles and exaggerated notions of severe morality they brought to America. In Kentucky their zeal led them to practice the same severity of discipline, and the same rigorism both in preaching and in the administration of the sacraments to which they had been accustomed abroad, but which were not suited to the Anglo-Saxon portion of the New World. The older Catholics of Kentucky had not been used to such extremes in Maryland; and the younger did not always take kindly to them. For this reason, even before the arrival of Father Nerinckx, the French missionary was rather disliked than loved. Many, as may be seen, not only from the letters of the Dominicans to Bishop Carroll, but from those of the other two priests, seldom approached the Sacraments; some never. When Father Nerinckx, stern and unbending by nature, came to the State, his influence seems to have induced his companion to become more rigorous and severe than ever.

Father Nerinckx possessed a calm demeanor, had a quiet even way, and was of serious bearing. This, together with his zeal, piety and personal austerity, made his ministrations more acceptable to the faithful than were those of Father Badin. By many, especially those of an ascetic temperament, the former was loved and admired as a spiritual guide. The latter, as is admitted, was vivacious and changeable, and given to harsh, cutting language. He had not a judicial temperament. Often he was imprudent. Withal, he was not less zealous than his friend. It would seem that his desire to emulate the Belgian missionary increased his stringency and brought about that discontent which, when it was rumored that he would likely be chosen for the proposed diocese of Kentucky, led to many complaints against him to Bishop Carroll. But before this, Father Nerinckx had begun to write bitter things against the Dominicans to the same prelate. Father Badin soon followed suit. How-

¹⁷ MAES, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-170.

ever, as the documents in the archives of Baltimore are both numerous and long, we can do no more here than select four, two from each missionary, which suffice to give a fair idea of their correspondence in this matter.¹⁸

Indeed, Father Nerinckx's letters of June 2, 1806, and June 30, 1808, are so harsh, so reproachful alike of the Dominicans and the people, and so full of invective that, unless we knew otherwise from his contemporaries, they would convict him of no little conceit and shatter one's belief in his humility, piety, charity and spirit of mortification. As it is, they prove that his judgment was often at fault, that he was sensitive in the extreme, and that he gave too ready an ear to idle gossip. His determination to gain his point led him to employ language that was not only harsh and extravagant, but even violent. If the missionary's letters are any index to his dealings with the faithful, his ministrations could not have been otherwise than very distasteful to the greater number. In short, an ultra rigorist spirit shines out on every page. To those who have seen the original documents, and are acquainted with traditions still living in Kentucky, there can be no doubt as to the correctness of the statements which Father Wilson, writing on a pastoral matter, makes to Bishop Carroll:

No place in the world, dear Sir [he says], is more in want of a prudent Bishop than Kentucky, where thousands are living in constant neglect of the Sacraments, through the too great zeal, I fear, of the former missionaries. Young people are not admitted to them without a solemn promise of not dancing *on any occasion whatever*, which few will promise, and fewer still can keep. All priests that allow of dancing are publicly condemned to hell. . . . People taught that every kiss lip to lip between married persons is a mortal sin. . . . Women refused absolution for their husbands permitting a decent dance in their house—not to mention a thousand things far more ridiculously severe.¹⁹

Owing to their length, we can only touch on the more salient points of the two letters of Father Nerinckx selected for discussion. In that of June 2, 1806, he says that Father Badin must now admit that he has seen the realization of his (Nerinckx's) prophecy in regard to the Dominicans. They differ much from

¹⁸ The letters of Father Badin and Nerinckx to Bishop Carroll that touch on this topic would make a portly volume. They run from 1805 to 1810 and are found in various cases of the diocesan archives of Baltimore.

¹⁹ The date of this letter is August 25, 1806 (Baltimore Archives, as in note 5).

Badin in speculative theology, and wholly in some points of practice. Father Nerinckx knows not how much it is expedient to say, yet he can positively assert that: "Perhaps they will multiply the nation; but they will neither increase the joy nor renew the face of the earth." The wanton grow more insolent. Those who had been held in check by fear, if not by love, now that the lines are loosened, rush forth with stiffened necks, boasting that they have discovered the city of refuge. The other friars (Fenwick and Angier) "are expected to bring plenary indulgences that will not only remit penalties due to sin already forgiven, but prevent the incurring of guilt at all."²⁰

Father Tuite, he says, though less learned than his colleague, appears to be more given to discipline. The other (Father Wilson) appears to be a man of great learning; but his learning "has led him, not to madness, but to a laxity which, for want of the flavor of salt, may perhaps be called infatuation." "Father Badin terms him a laxist; the people call him easy. Whether he should be placed among the extreme laxists I do not wish to be the judge. I am considered a rigorist; Father Badin both more rigorous and harsher." Father Nerinckx, however, seemed quite unable to realize that his practice was at all harsh or stingy.

Before his arrival in Kentucky, the missionary proceeds to say, Father Badin's discipline in regard to matrimony had been the occasion of much complaint and murmuring. But since Father Wilson's coming, he declares, everything in this matter is decided as if it concerned mere brutes, and without any regard whatever to the sacramental character and sanctity of the married state.²¹

Father Nerinckx does not believe that the Dominicans will succeed in founding a convent in Kentucky, as they are not willing to commence in a humble way; and he foresees that they will obtain but little financial aid from the people. Besides, he adds, "they are lovers of themselves, and are unduly terrified

²⁰ Nerinckx to Carroll, June 2, 1806 (Baltimore Archives, Case 8 A, U 1).

²¹ Here Father Nerinckx writes at considerable length, and in a manner that must be pronounced shocking. One of his expressions is: "Ab illius R [everendi] P [atris] adventu res matrimonialis. . . . omnino pro votis equorum ac mulorum in parte carnali decisa est." Maes (*op. cit.*, p. 175) is guilty of considerable juggling in his rendition of this part of the missionary's letter. See DOCUMENTS, p. 80.

at the burden of the day and the heats." Should they, however, succeed in making a foundation, it is his earnest wish that some man imbued with the spirit of religious observance, and quickened with a zeal for souls, should be sent from another house of the Order, and placed in charge. For what real good, he continues, or what glory to religion, can be expected, if such men, far removed from a superior who can act as censor to their lives and as guardian of religious discipline, are placed over the people to form them to their own rule of life? "Be it far from me [he adds, however] to say that they are bad; but I do think that they are animated with too little zeal for religious observance."

This is certainly a severe arraignment. Its only palliation is that Father Nerinckx had been made purblind by the influences of which we have spoken. Apart from every other reason, the very lives of these early Dominicans prove these extravagant statements and veiled accusations too absurd to be believed by even the most credulous. These early fathers had as many, if not more, hardships and privations to bear than the Flemish missionary; they bore them with greater humility and patience. Father Nerinckx asserts more than once that he writes as he does out of his love of God and zeal for souls. One almost wonders if this can be true—if his bitter words were not largely inspired by umbrage and disappointment at the loss of his favorite parish and at seeing the prospect of his proposed Belgian mission dwindle. Be that as it may, history, we think, must pronounce the fathers' zeal and love of God equal to his. Certainly the historian knows that Dominican theology is rather severe than lax. It was for this reason that Father Concanen, when he heard of this accusation, took occasion to observe in writing to Archbishop Carroll:

I wish to be remembered to Father Fenwick and his companions at Kentucky. I am surprised at the controversy arisen between them and Rev. Mr. Badin. It is the first time I ever heard of the Dominicans being accused of lax doctrine. It must be that that worthy and zealous man, Mr. Badin, has poisoned his mind by reading Jansenistical authors; for surely the sweet and lenient spirit of the Church abhors equally the extremes of laxity and rigour.²²

Under the circumstances, it was fortunate for the early Church

²² This letter is dated Rome, August 9, 1809, and is in Case 2, W7 of the Baltimore Archives.

of Kentucky that these friars had much of the tenderness of heart and kindly disposition characteristic of Saint Thomas of Aquin and Francis de Sales. Of Father Wilson, against whom these complaints were principally made, and whom Bishop Flaget called the shining light of his diocese, Bishop M. J. Spalding writes:

Of refined and highly polished manners, as well as amiable, modest and learned, he was universally admired and beloved. He was of retiring habits, and much devoted to prayer and study. He was one of the most learned divines who ever emigrated to America. . . . He died, in the same odour of sanctity in which he had lived, in the summer of 1824. Long and reverently will the Catholics of Kentucky remember his virtues, which are freshly embalmed in the recollection of his brethren. He was a bright ornament of an illustrious Order, and its early history in the United States is identified with his biography.²³

Indeed, that distinguished theologian and scholar might have felt complimented at being considered in the same light that Saint Paul was considered by the pagan Festus, mad because of his learning. "Paul [said Festus], thou art beside thyself: much learning doth make thee mad. And Paul said: I am not mad, most excellent Festus, but I speak words of truth and soberness" (Acts, xxvi, 24-25). The letters of all these early friars show them to have been gentlemen, as well as possessed of truly priestly characters and scholarly attainments. In regard to their spirit of religious discipline and observance, of which the Belgian clergyman could have known nothing—for he refused to associate with them—no more need be said than that one marvels why he was so critical when it is remembered that only two of them were then in Kentucky, and that they lived some twenty miles apart. Wilson was at Saint Ann's; Tuite near Bardstown. It is still more strange to find Father Nerinckx's biographer claiming that he had "formed a correct idea of the state of affairs at St. Rose's," when St. Rose's did not exist, and proving his contention by Bishop Spalding who states precisely the reverse of what Maes cites him to establish.²⁴

²³ SPALDING, *Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions in Kentucky*, pp. 154-155.

²⁴ MAES, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-76 (note). This author here declares that Father Nerinckx gives "a correct idea of the state of affairs at St. Rose's." But, mark! This letter was written, June 2, 1806. Fenwick was still in Maryland. He purchased the farm on which Saint Rose's Convent stands, in July, 1806, and took possession of it the following December. To prove his contention Nerinckx's biographer quotes a passage from Spalding's *Life of Bishop Flaget*, page 288. Spalding, however, says

A living, nay, an inspiring tradition in the province of Dominicans which they established tells us that those early fathers were scrupulously exact in the duties of their state of life; and that they sought, even under the most adverse circumstances, to carry out the rules and constitutions of their Order. Owing to the fact that they wrote but seldom, and to the destructive agencies of time, we have few documents bearing directly on this subject. Fortunately, however, we have enough distinctly to establish the truth of this tradition. In 1816, for instance, the Master General writes to congratulate the little band of religious on their spirit of observance. Then, an extract, in Italian, from a letter of the Provincial to Rev. John A. Hill, gives us a very pretty and illuminating account of their life, their studies and their labors on the missions. It informs us that their religious discipline and observance were all that could be desired. Community life, after the convent of Saint Rose had been established, was rigidly kept up in accordance with the rule. The choral office and the devotions of the institute were observed most religiously. The community frequently rose at midnight—never later than four in the morning. Community life was perfect. The beds were of hard straw. Even the canonical tonsure was worn by those not out on the missions; although, for prudence' sake, this practice was afterwards discontinued. Considering the trying labors and the circumstances of time and place, the Order's regulations for abstinence were perhaps followed too rigidly for the health of the community. The country was new and unsettled; eggs and butter, even vegetables, were scarce; fish almost an unknown luxury, cheese entirely so. Corn bread was the fathers' chief mainstay of life. Their beverage for breakfast and supper was warm milk fresh from the cow; for dinner it was usually water.²⁵

that Father Muños was sent to Saint Rose's by the Order's General in 1828, to "reestablish" a discipline that had existed there, but "had suffered some relaxation" through the "distracting cares of the missionary life." This is a far cry from what Maes would have the learned author to say: that is, no discipline had ever existed at the place. Spalding was led into an error by some notes of Bishop Flaget. Muños was sent to Saint Rose's by Bishop Fenwick, not by the Father General. Neither was his mission to reestablish discipline.

²⁵ Father Pius J. Gaddi to Father Wilson, Rome, March 16, 1816 (Archives of Saint Joseph's Priory); Wilson, Kentucky, to Hill, Rome, July 23, 1820 (Propaganda Archives, America Centrale, Vol. iii, No. 138).

From the same document we learn that, owing to poverty, the students, and even the priests, had occasionally to do manual labor. Nevertheless, through economy in time, they managed to carry on classes regularly and to give the young men a good education. Most of them, in addition to the courses ordinarily given in seminaries, knew French and Italian. The fathers (that is, those not engaged in the college) did much missionary work. But the missions were a source of expense rather than of income to the institution. Indeed, they would have been happy had the missions brought in enough to supply the fathers engaged on them with the horses and secular clothing required for that purpose. The greatest drawback to the young province was its extreme indigence, which often made the life of its members quite trying. Yet this did not prevent them from performing all spiritual functions *gratis*. These things, however, observes the Provincial, should not deter the new recruits from accompanying Father Hill to America; for they will still find food and clothing, and with these one should be content. Their labors will bear rich fruit.

Father Wilson's statement is confirmed by a letter of Father Hill who had just arrived from Rome itself. This document is dated November 21, 1821, and is given in the London *Catholic Miscellany*, I, 327-328. He assures us that the diet of the little community was indeed "very plain," and their life "sufficiently austere." That they enjoyed good health, he seems to insinuate, was a blessing from God, who "tempers the wind to the shorn lamb."

Having delivered the tirade which has been laid before the reader, Father Nerinckx proceeds to tell how he had formed an unfavorable opinion of the English Dominicans at Bornheim before he left for America, although he hardly knew them even by name. This impression he received from friends. And to give it the greater weight he assures Bishop Carroll that his informants were among the very best Catholics of Belgium—nay, precisely the men who have been so generous to the American missions. One of them went so far as to request him not to associate with the fathers going to America, should they be on the same boat as he. His friends had told him that, in the very midst of the persecution of all the clergymen who remained loyal

to the Church, the fathers of Bornheim were able, God only knows how, to go abroad as freely as the unfaithful priests who had subscribed to the iniquitous civil constitution of the clergy. Furthermore, these Dominicans managed to buy back their confiscated property, using bonds of the revolutionary republic for that purpose. Father Wilson, he continues, was even elected to public office, was held in high esteem by the prefect of that department, and received the sons of the Church's persecutors into Holy Cross College of which he was president. These things, Father Nerinckx says he was informed, aroused a strong suspicion in the minds of all good Catholics that those friars were in at least tacit agreement with the tyrannical government. In Kentucky, he declares, Father Wilson had spoken in defense of the present deplorable state of the Church in France. For these reasons, the missionary cannot doubt but that men of their stamp (*talis farinae*) should be handled with the greatest precaution. If they have not associated themselves with iniquity, they have at least become scandalously lax.

Father Nerinckx now comes to what is evidently the impelling motive behind his furious assault. It is to prevent the fathers from becoming the directors of Kentucky's future seminary, should they succeed in establishing themselves in the State. But if we may judge from their letters, his worry was without cause; for nothing seems to have been further from their minds. Perhaps he wished to see his fellow-countrymen, or those imbued with Jansenistic principles, in charge of this institution.²⁶

We shall let Father Raymond Palmer tell of the conduct of the English friars in Belgium after the revolution. His sober words, besides offering an agreeable contrast to Father Nerinckx's violent declamation, bear the impress of truth and bring conviction:

After the French had established their government and peace was outwardly restored, some of the fathers, in 1795, returned to Bernhem, but durst not openly settle themselves again in the convent. In 1796

²⁶ Although the missionary expressly states in this document that he writes unasked (*non rogatus quidem*), Maes, at the end of his rendition of it, puts in the words (and in quotation marks, as if they were a translation): "I feel all the more free, my Lord, in writing to you as I have done. . . . since you expect me to look after the interests of Religion in this region" (MAES, *op. cit.*, p. 176). These last words are not in the letter. See DOCUMENTS, pp. 76-82.

the possessions of all religious bodies were declared national property and the sale of them was decreed. A commissaire sent to Bernhem valued the property at 24,806 livres; it so happened that five pieces of the best land escaped the man's notice and were not sequestered. As a compensation the directoire executif offered the fathers [because they were Englishmen] the amount in *bons* [that is, bonds], and although those notes were available only for government purposes and their value very precarious, the fathers took them as they were better than nothing.

The property was brought to auction in April and August, 1797, and the whole was sold to a perfumer of Antwerp for 13,894 livres more than the government valuation. This perfumer was the agent of the English fathers, and so the convent of Bornhem returned to the rightful owners. The government was paid with its *bons* with an additional sum of about £700. As soon as the fathers had the house back, they formed a small community there and opened the college again. The constitutional oath was tendered to them which they refused; but a trifling bribe offered in the most barefaced manner got over the difficulty. The meanest scoundrels stood at the head of affairs; some whom the fathers had known in the lowest circumstances had thrust themselves by unscrupulous conduct into public notice and held great preferments. . . .²⁷

The convent, as Father Palmer informs us, could not again be opened as such. The people, unable to enter the church, gathered in the church-yard for their prayers. Doubtless, the fathers, naturally less molested because they were Englishmen, cautiously administered to the sorrowing faithful. Thus they were a blessing rather than the scandal that Father Nerinckx would have us believe.

When Father Wilson, more than a year afterwards, heard of the accusations that had been made against him personally, he wrote to Bishop Carroll explaining his conduct in Belgium and his remarks in Kentucky, and offered to produce proof of his assertions. His explanation must have given the venerable prelate such satisfaction that he could now hardly have desired the proof, even had he wished it before. From the Dominican's letter we learn that his argument in Kentucky was to call Father Badin's attention to the difference between the accidentals of religion, or discipline, and the essentials, or doctrine. This he did only to defend Pius VII, then so sorely tried by Napoleon Bonaparte, from accusations which the French missionary seemed disposed to lay at the door of the aged and distressed Pontiff.

²⁷ PALMER, *Life and Times of Philip Thomas Howard, O.P., Cardinal of Norfolk*, pp. 234-35.

Of his relations with the French government at Bornheim the learned friar says simply that, at the request of the bishop, the parish priest of the town and several other clergymen, he accepted, about a year before his departure for America, the position of counsellor to the mayor of Bornheim, a young, scrupulous and inexperienced man. In this capacity he assisted at three meetings of the council, in which were discussed the question of the salaries "for the midwife of our parish" and "for the person who wound up the clock of the parish church, and such like trifles."²⁸ He did not mention the fact that the fathers could not wear their habits, and for a time were obliged to live in hiding; that they could not reopen their house as a convent; and that they were able to reopen their college was because religious institutes devoted to teaching had not been suppressed by the revolution. All this the bishop knew.

Father Wilson tells Bishop Carroll that he is so conscious of his innocence of the charges made against him that he would not have written this letter, had he not been urged to do so by his brethren. But it should be noted in this connection that Father Nerinckx's sources of information about the Dominicans at Bornheim, in his letter of June 30, 1808, seem to dwindle down to one man; and he is not sure whether it was the dead Mr. De Wolf of Antwerp, or the living Mr. Peemans of Louvain, who had told him the ugly things narrated in the document just discussed.

Shortly after writing this letter, Father Nerinckx refused longer to attend the mission of Holy Mary on the Rolling Fork, where he was not remunerated for his services.²⁹ Prior to this, he had thought of joining the Trappists who were then in Kentucky. But now his troubles seem to have turned his thoughts in this direction more seriously than ever. The following year, Bishop Carroll, writing at the request of Father Badin to dissuade him from such a purpose, took occasion to say:

Perhaps it [the inclination to join the Trappists] proceeds from the difference of opinion, and consequently of practice, betwixt you and some of your brother clergymen on certain points of morality. If such be

²⁸ October 14, 1807 (Baltimore Archives, Case 8 B, L 7).

²⁹ Father Wilson to Bishop Carroll, August 25, 1806, as in note 5; Father Badin to same, November 20, 1806 (Baltimore Archives, Case 1, H 6).

the case, you have certainly recollected that this happens everywhere, in all the countries, which I have been in. Often, the rectors of adjoining parishes have imbibed different principles. Each follows those which he approves the best, and as long as they are tolerated by the Church, he suffers his neighbour to pursue them, tho' he himself pursues a different course.¹⁰

In the meantime, it having been rumored that Father Badin would likely be appointed the first ordinary of Kentucky, complaints of the most emphatic character against that missionary's extreme harshness and severity began to arrive at Baltimore.¹¹ So matters wore along until June 30, 1808, when Father Nerinckx wrote to Bishop Carroll the letter of which we now speak. It is another outpouring of bitter invective against the friars and the people. In his opinion, things are going from bad to worse; and still more serious consequences are to be feared. He thus sums up his charges under four headings:

1°. The dissensions, arrogance and tumultuous impudence of the people of Kentucky began with the coming of the Dominicans. Why these fathers did not inquire on their arrival, as he had done, what virtues were to be implanted, and what vices eradicated, he cannot understand, unless their aim was either to please the people, or to advance their own interests. He doubts whether they have gained the first purpose; but in temporal matters they have met with fair success. They have done nothing for the common good of religion. Whatever they get, they apply to their house. The church of Saint Ann is in the same state in which he left it. Perhaps they intend to transfer it to Saint Rose's. He fears the same fate for the church which he had intended to erect in Springfield. Saint Ann's Congregation, when he had charge of it, was given to the cultivation of every virtue, and was the most exemplary in the state. But now, he *hears*, all this has passed like a shadow. Marriages with Protestants are contracted with the utmost facility. Dances are permitted in the day time, and are no sin. In Saint Ann's Parish, in Scott County, and on Simpson's Creek, where "the

¹⁰ Bishop Carroll to Father Nerinckx, April 12, 1807 (Baltimore Archives, Case 10, D 2); Father Badin to Bishop Carroll, February 17 and March 14, 1807 (*ibid.*, Case 1, I 1 and 3).

¹¹ These charges commenced to arrive in Baltimore late in 1807, and continued through a great part of 1808.

cat gut" electrifies the feet at that more comical than evangelical practice, dances and marriages always end in tumult. At times these fathers do some missionary work, but only when there is hope of gain. When there is nothing but labor in view, they claim to be religious only. Again, he would emphatically call them to a stricter religious discipline, and have the General of the Dominicans send to Kentucky some men of his Order imbued with its spirit. Of course he means imbued with Jansenistic views. But now Father Nerinckx is not sure whether it was from Mr. Peemans of Louvain, or Mr. De Wolf ("of happy memory") of Antwerp, that he received the evil reports about the fathers at Bornheim, of which he had spoken in a previous letter.

In reply to the charges under this heading let it be said, first, that Father Nerinckx's own letters show that there had been troubles and loud complaints in Kentucky before the coming of the Dominicans. Of the fathers' zeal and self-sacrifice enough has been said to clear them from these renewed accusations of laxity, of selfishness, of want of religious observance. Of this latter the missionary could have known nothing, for the reason that he kept away from Saint Rose's. Nor is it anywhere stated that the friars made the same exactions on the purses of the people as the other two missionaries. Had they been grasping, it is hardly probable that they would have always been in such dire poverty. Maes' assertion (*op. cit.*, p. 173) that: "Many negligent Christians took a malign pleasure in going to the Dominicans and contributing more for their buildings than even the richest were asked to do for the support of their parish priests," is fiction pure and simple. Secondly: it was quite natural that, in those days of few priests and much to do, Saint Ann's and Springfield, as neither place was more than two miles from Saint Rose's, should be merged into the latter parish. This was a matter of economy for the greater good. Father Nerinckx should have told the bishop this circumstance. So also should he have told him that Simpson's Creek was under Father Badin's care, not that of the Dominicans. And he should have added that, although the superior of the friars had sought to place Father Angier at Saint Francis', Scott County, in compliance with the bishop's request, Father Badin had so

far thwarted this arrangement and attended the parish himself.²² Thirdly: real history tells us that, in spite of Father Nerinckx's statement, the Cartwright's Creek Settlement, for which Saint Ann's was built, was never more faithful to its religious duties, or in a better spiritual condition, than after it was placed under the administration of the Dominicans. To this day it remains one of the most exemplary parishes in the State. To this day a mixed marriage is almost unheard of in the congregation. As to the lawfulness of decent dances, the Church, through her theologians, speaks for herself.

20. Under this heading the good man turns his attention to Basil Elder of Baltimore. There lives in your town, he says, a crafty, contemptible fellow. His name is Basil Elder, but it should be Basilisk; that is, a fabled serpent whose very breath was fatal (*Est apud vos versepellis quidam de grege homuncio, Basilius, melius Basiliscus, Elder*). He has emitted his poison even unto these parts. Through his letters, which are handed about to be publicly read (but Father Nerinckx *has not seen any of them*), he has, though "unprovoked by me, heaped insult and injury upon me," until he is held in contempt by all good people and even by the more honest Protestants. "I forgive him from my heart [he continues], for I admit in him the crassest and most stupid ignorance. . . . He who wrote that list of accusations is a brute rather than a man. . . . I most sincerely believe (*sincerissime judico*) such a man utterly unworthy of any sacrament, until it is established beyond all doubt that he has repaired the scandal given. That sneak (*ille tenebrio*) boasts that he has the approbation and endorsement of your Lordship for all, or nearly all, that he says." Father Nerinckx doubts not that this assertion is gratuitous and mendacious. Should it be true, however, and should Elder's letters contain what they *are said* to contain, the missionary does not see how the affair can be remedied, unless the last chapter of the Book of Esther suggest a way.²³

²² Badin's interference with the bishop's arrangements for Saint Francis' Parish may be seen in several letters of the day, including some of his own. His officiousness in the matter eventually aroused the venerable prelate's displeasure.

²³ In his rendition of this part of Father Nerinckx's letter Maes (*op. cit.*, p. 178) substitutes "B— E—" for Basil Elder. "B— E—" is also made the instigator of the complaints, for which there is no evidence. The most opprobrious epithets

Doubtless the reader has noticed the extravagance and the lack of charity in this language. They become the more patent, when it is remembered that Basil Elder was an exemplary Catholic and the father of the late saintly Archbishop Elder of Cincinnati. Webb informs us that he was trusted, admired and beloved as a friend by the first seven archbishops of Baltimore.³⁴

Basil Elder's relations lived in the Cox's Creek Settlement, now Fairfield, Nelson County. And it was from this section that the greater number, as well as the most damaging, of the complaints were sent to Baltimore against Father Badin who was in charge of this mission. From this it will be seen how unfair and groundless is the following imputation by Father Maes (*op. cit.*, pp. 176-77): "It was especially in these places [that is, in Springfield and Saint Ann's Parish], where his [Father Nerinckx's] influence was no longer felt, that his enemies exerted themselves in the most shameless manner to destroy whatever good he had effected; the Dominicans holding themselves aloof, or being perhaps unable to counteract the evil influences of these rebels."³⁵

3^o. Under the third heading of his letter Father Nerinckx gives us a list of the accusations against him. As far as he can find out from what has been said or written, and from an examination of his conscience, these are, he says:

applied to Elder by Father Nerinckx are suppressed, and the bitterness of the attack further toned down by dividing the paragraph, and putting a part of it on page 181: "*Tali dedicatore*," etc. Basil Elder's identity is still further disguised by a footnote (*op. cit.*, p. 181), which represents him as a Kentuckian who "was in Baltimore at the time, and had had an interview with the Bishop." But Father Badin's letters, as well as the present document, with its "*apud vos*," leave no doubt as to who "B— E—" was, or as to where he lived. The name Basil Elder, although given in full by Father Nerinckx, is again rendered "B— E—" by the same author (*op. cit.*, p. 180), in No. 10 of the accusations against the missionary. Still again (*op. cit.*, p. 186), we find Father Anthony Sedilla given as "Anthony ———." One wonders why all this suppression of the identity of others, whilst the Dominicans are brought out so prominently. The answer to this question we leave to the reader. See DOCUMENTS, p. 87.

³⁴ WEBB, *op. cit.*, p. 123. See also the *New York Freeman's Journal*, October 23, 1869, and *Character Glimpses of the Most Rev. William Henry Elder*, pp. 11 ff.

³⁵ We have found only one person in Saint Rose's Congregation writing against Father Badin. This was in 1808, and the complaint was about that priest's action in regard to land attached to Saint Ann's. All the other complaints were from places attended by Badin. Some of the "rebels," as Father Maes calls them, afterwards retracted what they had said; but, unfortunately, there are not wanting signs that the retractions were made under some duress.

1. I insist on the people rising at 4 A. M. Rev. Father Fenwick is my accuser on this head, and that is the hour which he himself should keep. But he is deceived when he says that I deny absolution to those who sleep longer. If he knew what the Jesuit Fathers introduced in Paraguay, and the devotions practiced in Belgium, he would say mass at four A. M. for the negro slaves. 2. I promiscuously forbid dances as bad. 3. I prohibit promiscuous visiting between persons of different sexes. 4. I forbid and am opposed to marriages with heretics, etc. 5. Before marriage, I require preparation for the banns and frequentation of the Sacraments. 6. I prescribe rules to be followed in the married state. 7. On Sundays and holy days, I order public prayers to be kept up all the morning, but with intervals of rest. 8. I make continual exactions for the building of churches: fortunately, they do not say that I make them for myself. 9. I forbid excess in clothing and unseemly ornamentation. I will add that I even have women censors of mature age to see that this rule is observed in church. 10. I am too bitter and harsh in giving corrections, etc. Basil Elder calls me a tyrant. 11. Finally, with me is too much confinement [*sic* in his own English; that is, he imposes too much constraint].

As Father Nerinckx then proceeds to glory in the fact that this list represents his ministerial practices, no more need be said here than that they show an excessive severity and Jansenistic rigorism which should have been held in check. It may be remarked, however, that Father Fenwick's character obliges us to believe that he troubled himself about the first complaint no further than to smile and to tell the people that they did not have to obey.

4°. In this paragraph the missionary says that many are greatly afflicted by these accusations and offer to sign a protest against his calumniators. But this he will not allow, as he has wronged no man. He leaves everything to God. He rejoices that no earthly hope brought him to Kentucky, that he has received no temporal reward, and that whatever providence has bestowed upon him he has used for the greater glory of God. The affair grieves him principally because the knowledge of it may make his fellow-countrymen less disposed to come to the mission. Still he will not cease to invite them. Then he asks for an *exeat*.⁸⁸

We do not wish to say that Father Nerinckx did not write

⁸⁸ This violent letter is in the *Baltimore Archives*, Case 8 A, U 5. See the complete original in DOCUMENTS pp. 85-88.

this letter with a good intention. Yet we venture to believe that the reader can hardly have failed to detect running through all the document a strain of too much sensitiveness; of too pronounced a combative spirit; of too little consideration for others; and of too strong a conviction of being always in the right, as well as of a marked indisposition to allow either honesty, good-will, or the possibility of correct views in those who ventured to think or to act differently from the Belgian missionary. A previous letter shows that he had been greatly irritated on hearing that Father Wilson had spoken unfavorably of the famous Rev. Cornelius Stevens, whom Father Nerinckx considered a second Saint Athanasius.³⁷ Impartial history, however, by no means places Stevens on so high a pedestal.

Father Badin's letters are at once more numerous and, as a rule, of greater length than those of his friend. One of those to which we wish particularly to call attention was commenced November 20, 1806, and finished February 9, 1807. The other was begun March 10, and completed May 6, 1808.³⁸ But since to give even a *résumé* of them would not only extend this article to undue length, but would repeat much of what has already been said, suffice it to state that they are of the same personal nature, and characterized by the same extravagant language and accusations, and the same lack of proof and charity as the documents which we have reviewed from the pen of Father Nerinckx. Both these zealous missionaries were unmerciful to those who did not accord with their views.

Although himself only an ordinary theologian, Father Badin affects to belittle the theological attainments of the early friars and says they are afraid of the learning of Father Nerinckx. But to us the evidence seems to point the other way. More than once the fathers requested Bishop Carroll to use his good offices in order to establish a system of conferences for the clergy in Kentucky, and to suggest some common ground on which

³⁷ Nerinckx to Carroll, January 1, 1807 (*Baltimore Archives*; Case 8 A, U 3). This document is really only the postscript of a letter that cannot now be found in the archives. Together with a letter of March 21, 1807 (*ibid.*, Case 8 A, U 4), it shows that Father Nerinckx made another onslaught on the Dominicans at this time, and that his principal object was to prevent them from getting charge of the future seminary.

³⁸ Respectively in the *Baltimore Archives*, Case 1, H 6 and I 6.

they could agree. He did so in letters to Father Badin; but the letters were never shown to the friars, nor their contents made known to them. The conferences were never held.³⁹ The only author whom Father Badin seemed willing to follow for such a purpose was Antoine, a theologian of a pronouncedly rigorous type whose views pleased those imbued with Jansenistic principles.

Like his friend, Father Badin accuses the early friars of all manner of intrigue, as well as of a covetous, worldly and grasping spirit, lack of zeal and seeking an easy life. They tell the people, he asserts, of the want of harmony among the clergy; let it be understood that the Dominicans, because religious, are not subject to the bishop; declare that the other missionaries are too severe; and otherwise sow the seeds of trouble and discord. But again the evidence seems to point in the opposite direction. In one place, the French missionary, evidently to make his charges the more personal and effective, goes so far as to send Bishop Carroll what he calls a quotation from a letter of Fenwick casting a slur upon the Jesuits. On the margin of the document at the side of this assertion, the prelate has written: "Is not this a breach of private correspondence? Is it revealed to me for any beneficial purpose?" But, we think, the bishop had no cause for apprehension. Fenwick's letters and character, no less than his dealings with the Society of Jesus, offer the strongest rebuttal to Father Badin's charge. Indeed, that nothing really injurious to the reputation of these early friars occurs in the manuscript literature of the time, is certainly proof positive that they were men of edifying life and truly priestly character. And in this connection, it should be further noted that the Frenchman's letters reveal not only great love and admiration for his Belgian friend, but implicit confidence in his judgment. They show clearly enough how well founded were the often expressed fears of the Dominicans, that the Flemish clergymen's influence served to bring into fuller play the ultra severe and Jansenistic principles of Father Badin, which lay at the root of the discontent among the people, the complaints they sent to the bishop against him, and his charges against the friars.

Of Father Wilson's learning sufficient has been said. So also,

³⁹ This is shown by several of Fenwick's letters to Carroll.

though not so profound or so widely read as he, were his colleagues all college-bred men, and possessed of considerable erudition. Like Wilson, Tuite and Angier had won academic honors. Both were lecturers in sacred theology. Again, apart from what has already been said, and the hallowed memories in which they have ever been held by their later brethren, let it be noted, in opposition to Father Badin's gratuitous assertions, that it would be difficult today to find four priests more disinterested than were those four early friars in Kentucky. Certainly they did not deserve all this vituperation. This is the more evident from the fact that the gentle and humble and holy and unselfish Fenwick is singled out as the principal offender—doubtless because the French missionary imagines the future bishop to be still the superior, although he had voluntarily laid down the reins of authority months before. In some of the French missionary's correspondence Angier and Tuite are acknowledged to be gentlemen of pleasing ways and polished manners.

A later document shows that Bishop Carroll was much displeased with many of Badin's actions, and with his letter of March 10-May 6, 1808. The missionary was evidently taken severely to task. In spite of this, however, he sought to justify himself in his characteristic way. The result was a letter begun August 29, and finished October 7, 1808. It is from this that we learn of the bishop's displeasure. It is a document of more than thirty-nine closely written pages, in which its writer endeavors to defend himself by minute explanations, a renewal of his former charges, and the assistance of select friends.⁴⁰

Through all the unpleasantness the friars wrote but seldom—only when obliged to do so through duty, charity or self-defense. Their letters, calm, temperate and judicial, even under the trying circumstances, show not only a broad and kindly spirit, but much self-possession. More than once, as has been stated, they requested the bishop to designate some middle course in which all could concur. On the other hand, Fathers Badin and Nerinckx, stern, inflexible and unable to see any views except their own, wanted no compromise. Neither of them, as far as we have been able to find, ever sought the advice of the bishop in the matters under dispute. Nor did they follow his suggestions. They left nothing untried to have him condemn the Dominicans.

⁴⁰ Baltimore Archives, Case 1, I 10.

That Bishop Carroll held all these priests of Kentucky in high esteem is certain.⁴¹ It is also certain that he sought to bridge over their differences. His marginal notes and underlining on the letters from Fathers Badin and Nerinckx show that he was often perplexed, if not vexed. Precisely what he said in his letter to the French missionary that brought forth Badin's long reply of August 29-October 7, 1808, cannot now be known. But the fact that the unpleasantness, although the two clergymen continued to hold their rigid principles, begins to wane from this time, would indicate that the good prelate must have insisted on more charity and more moderation. Perhaps, too, the part the Dominicans took, in 1809, in helping Father Nerinckx to escape the administratorship of Louisiana, to which he had been appointed, had its share in the establishment of a better understanding. By the time of Bishop Flaget's arrival in Kentucky, Father Nerinckx, it would seem, had learned to esteem the friars. And during his last years in Kentucky Father Badin appears to have regarded them as his best friends. Indeed, while abroad, the French missionary made two unsuccessful attempts to join the Order of Saint Dominic for the American provinces. Failing to become a member of the First Order, he made his profession as a Dominican tertiary, and returned to the United States to labor under Fenwick, who was the bishop of Cincinnati.

The following words of Father Wilson, written to Bishop Carroll some seven months after the friar reached the missions, present, we think, a fair idea of the state of affairs in Kentucky at the time of the arrival of the Dominicans in the state.

The men [he says], both young and old, of this poor country are very shy of Priests. A little good nature will, I hope, in time bring many to their duty. Some already drop in by degrees. Not one in twenty frequent the Sacraments—few since they left Maryland. They will not be driven, they say. And indeed, with good words, they will do almost anything for you. Considering their poverty, they are beyond expectation generous in our regard. I hope Almighty God will bless their good-

⁴¹ Of the Dominicans, for instance, Bishop Carroll, writing to Father Concannon, November 21, 1806, says that they are "exceedingly and deservedly beloved" by all; and that he views them "as choice auxiliaries conveyed hither by the special appointment of Providence to instruct the young and the old, to extend our holy religion and preserve by their lessons the integrity of Catholic faith" (Archives of the Dominican General, as above). This letter was written when the unpleasantness was at its height, and there is absolutely no indication that the great prelate ever changed his opinion.

will and desire of seeing Priests, as they call them, of their own. I hope we shall agree with Mr. Badin, whose principles, with those of Mr. Nerinckx, are somewhat rigid in many points. But this will be an affair of some prudence and forbearance.⁴³

The characteristic of the people of Kentucky noted by the learned divine, more than a century ago, remains a characteristic of them to this day. No more stubborn people can be found anywhere if one attempts to coerce them. One would look in vain for a more docile people if those who should guide them are but kind and lead the way. Father Nerinckx also remarked this trait of the Catholics in Kentucky. Had he and Father Badin adapted themselves to the spirit of their flocks, doubtless not only would their ministrations have been more acceptable, but the fruits of their labors at once more abundant and more lasting. In his famous letter of June 2, 1806, the Belgian missionary says to Bishop Carroll:

Nevertheless, I will add this in favor of these people: however refractory very many of them are, they offer, in my opinion, much hope for good; if the directors of their souls, be they ever so exacting (or, if you will, even strict), are only kind and gentle, and show sympathy for their weakness. Harshness terrifies and repels them; but paternal piety wins even the unwilling.⁴⁴

Father Nerinckx seldom mentions the names of those with whom he had had trouble, but Father Badin was less cautious. In this way we learn that their differences were with some of the best and most influential Catholics in the state. Such, for instance, were the Spaldings, the Hamiltons, the Lancasters, the Elders and the Simpsons. In speaking of these families, Father Badin even surpasses the acerbity of Father Nerinckx. A fair appreciation of the French missionary's character and practices may be found in the following words from his own pen:

Mr. Nerinckx says that I mean well, but that, in his opinion, I take the wrong means to gain the confidence of the people. My success in that difficult [affair] and many other affairs for fifteen years undoes his opinion.⁴⁵

Attention has been called to the kindly attitude and spirit of the Dominicans, and to their views of the unpleasantness. Let us now give two concrete examples of this as exemplified in Fenwick. Writing to Rev. Robert A. Angier, who was still in

⁴³ July 25, 1806 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 8 B, L 5).

⁴⁴ See note 20.

⁴⁵ See note 40.

Maryland, he tells his friend that he may have Father Badin as a companion on his way to Kentucky. Then he writes:

He [Badin] has not yet offered me any of the church lands he once talked so much of. He even objects to giving us the little tract belonging to the chapel which we serve, and which was bought for the Priest who should serve it. . . . For the peace of the Church here, and for the sake of harmony among us, I wish you would request of Bishop Carroll to examine into his and Mr. Nerinckx's whole practice, and to require a clear and minute statement of the whole—and of ours—and to pronounce whether they or we are singular in our practice, and which of us must reform.⁴⁶

The other example is contained in the closing words of a letter of Fenwick to Father Concanen. The statement was written more than two months after the selection of a bishop for Kentucky and is the only one in which the friar so much as refers to the affair in all his correspondence with Rome. Here he writes:

I have never mentioned to Rev. Mr. Badin that I had leave to admit him in our Order, as I found, on my [second] arrival in the country, his attachment and zeal for us were no longer the same as at our first meeting. His mind, we believe, was changed by associating with a new missionary from Flanders, Rev. Mr. Nerinx, who seems to have imbibed prejudices against us, and to have instilled them into the mind of Mr. Badin. Mr. Badin is a zealous and active man on the mission, and will likely do better under his own control and the Bishop's than in our Order. He is generally more zealous than prudent—in fine, much of a Frenchman. Consequently I think he is an unfit man to be Bishop of Kentucky. I wish him not to be, for our sakes, and for religion in general. Bishop Carroll, in a letter to me, says he fears his nomination will be unpopular, though he was in the first place, recommended among others, in consequence of his zeal and long service in Kentucky, having been [for] some time the only Priest there. I do not mean or wish, dear Sir, to hurt the good man in your opinion, but to say, though he is a man of real merit, yet [he] is unfit to fill a Bishop's place, on account of his overbearing, hasty temper, and his harsh, strict and rigid practice in *Sacro Tribunali*. This, I know, is Bishop Carroll's opinion. If you have any influence in the Pope's Council, you will serve us and the Church in Kentucky by preventing his nomination. The good Doctor Carroll is our real friend.⁴⁷

With this quotation from a document which is a fair exemplar of all the friars' letters on the question, we may close an episode which, even if it is somewhat sad, need offer no cause for shock

⁴⁶ Fenwick, Kentucky, to Rev. B. A. Angier, Maryland [1807] (Archives of Saint Joseph's Province).

⁴⁷ Lexington, Kentucky, July 10, 1808 (Archives of the Dominican Master-General, Codex xiii, 731).

or scandal. As long as men, even clergymen (be they ever so good), remain in this land of trial and probation, such things will occasionally happen. Saints Augustine and Jerome are an example in point. Fathers Badin and Nerinckx were ever the attacking parties; the others necessarily on the defensive. We have dwelt on the unpleasantness at some length, much against our liking, only because misrepresentation, the interest of true history and a just defense obliged us to such a course. Though the affair can hardly fail to throw something of a shadow on the names of two ambassadors of Christ which we should like to see glow with all possible luster, it casts no serious reflection on their character. Neither does it detract from their reputation for piety and apostolic zeal.

Few priests, we venture to believe, can examine the documents in the case and fail to pronounce the teachings and practice of the Dominicans not only kindlier, but saner, more Catholic and better calculated to bear good fruits. Unlike Father Howlett, who deftly insinuates that it is a question whether these friars were a real benefit to the missions, those in possession of first-hand evidence will be constrained to declare the presence of the Dominicans in Kentucky at that time an undisguisable blessing to both the Church and the people of the state.⁴⁷ That they were regarded as such a blessing by the Catholics at large, no bad judges, we think undeniable history. As tells us a traveller, writing from Elizabethtown, Kentucky, January 14, 1825, Fenwick and Wilson, the two fathers specially censured by the Belgian and French missionaries, were idols in the State. They won the hearts of all—the former by his zeal and “engaging and unaffected manners,” the latter by his “moderation and extensive ecclesiastical learning.”⁴⁸

It is with a feeling of no little relief that we now close this ungrateful article. It has been written, we repeat, solely in vindication of good men who have been unjustly maligned.

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⁴⁷ HOWLETT, *Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx*, pp. 163-164. Although this biographer is not so unfair as Father Maes, one must needs be blind not to read his thoughts between the lines. It is indeed strange that neither of these authors could find time to say a single good word of the future bishop of Cincinnati and his companions in religion.

⁴⁸ *United States Catholic Miscellany*, July 20, 1825.

THE JESUITS IN BAJA CALIFORNIA, 1697-1768

The occupation of either of the Californias by the sea route, rather than by following the line of overland progress to the junction of the Gila and Colorado rivers (thence branching out southward to the peninsula and northwestward to Monterey), represented a departure from the normal course, necessitating extraordinary efforts for a successful achievement. Yet both regions were settled and maintained as an overseas venture, and one of them, Baja California, served in some degree as a preliminary base for the acquisition of the other. Credit for the occupation of Baja California belongs jointly to the Jesuits and the Spanish government, which cooperated to bring it about and especially to maintain the initial gains made at their own expense by the Jesuits. The Jesuits, however, are entitled to principal recognition as the active agents of the crown who succeeded in an enterprise which for nearly two centuries had had an almost unbroken record of failure.

The disappointment of the government over the outcome of the Atondo colony in 1685 disposed it for the moment against incurring further expense in the Californias, but it was almost immediately reminded of the desirability of Spanish occupation by the appearance of *Pichilingues*. In this case the "deep-voiced" foreigners were English freebooters under Swan and Townley, who came up the coast in 1685-1686 in search of the Manila galleon. Swan tried to reach Cape San Lucas, but failed on account of the age-long difficulty of the contrary winds. He therefore turned about and made for the East Indies. The galleon was not taken, but the government was again roused to action. It was believed, however, that a new method of conquest should be tried, and therefore in 1686 an offer of 40,000 *pesos* a year was made to the Jesuits to undertake it; since the conversion of the Indians, rather than wealth in pearls or the development of rich lands, was their primary aim, it was hoped that they might succeed where others had not been able to do so. The royal government might indeed have commanded the Jesuits to do this work, but in the nature of things it was essential to

have their free consent. Thus when the Jesuits declined, on grounds of the wretchedness of the land and the small number of Indians, the government did not press the matter. The suggestion was soon to bear fruit, however. It was after the Jesuit refusal that the government made the already mentioned plan to finance Atondo again, a plan which came to naught.

The revival of the idea of a Jesuit conquest was due to two religious of that order, Fathers Eusebio Francisco Kino and Juan María Salvatierra. As a member of the Atondo expedition Father Kino had developed an enthusiasm for Jesuit penetration into the Californias which became one of the abiding aims of his life. Upon his return from the San Bruno colony he had been sent to Sonora, where in 1687 he had crossed the Altar River to found a mission at Dolores in Pimería Alta. It was there that he met Salvatierra, who had been sent out by the Jesuit Order as *visitador*, or inspector, of the missions in that region. Kino imbued Salvatierra with his enthusiasm, and the latter put himself at the head of a movement for a Jesuit occupation of Baja California. The time was unusually unpropitious, for Spain was then prostrate before France in a great war which was not yet finished but was virtually decided. Not only the government but also the higher Jesuit officials opposed the plan, but in 1696 help came from the fountain-head of Jesuit power. In that year Father Santaella, General of the Order, was in Mexico City. He favored the project. It was therefore not hard to procure a license from the government, which had so long desired the achievement of this very aim, but the proviso was attached to its consent that the Jesuits must find the funds. Early in 1697 Salvatierra was empowered to raise them, if he could, by private subscription. Salvatierra was assisted in his project by Father Juan de Ugarte, a member of the Jesuit college of Mexico City, and it was this individual who now began his important services on behalf of the Californias by suggesting the establishment of the Pious Fund of the Californias. This institution provided for the collection of funds from pious individuals and for their employment in the founding and maintenance of missions. The royal license to the Jesuits, dated February 5, 1697, called for the occupation of the Californias by the Jesuits at their own expense (assisted by the Pious Fund). The most striking feature of the contract was the

provision that the entire enterprise was to be under Jesuit control; not only were they to have charge of spiritual interests, but they were also to hire and command the soldiers and such other officials or helpers as they might need. This was something new in California history, though it had been tried elsewhere in Spanish dominions, notably in Paraguay, with success. The one check on Jesuit authority was the requirement that the conquest should be made in the name of the king and subject to the orders of the viceroy or other higher representatives of the crown.

Salvatierra met with many discouragements in getting his expedition under way. He found that insufficient provisions had been supplied. Then Fathers Kino and Piccolo, whom he had intended to take with him, did not appear at the rendezvous; Kino was detained permanently in Pimería Alta, but Piccolo eventually joined Salvatierra, though not until after the latter had reached Baja California. Though affairs were not in such a state as he could have wished them to be, Salvatierra resolved to go anyway; so he gathered together his "army" of six men and started. The voyage was made in two small crafts, which endeavored to cross from the Sinaloa coast to the peninsula. Salvatierra's boat got across the gulf in a single day, sailing on October 10, 1697, and arriving on the 11th. The other boat was caught in a storm, and did not reach its destination until November 15, over a month later.

On October 18, after a week's search, Salvatierra picked out a site about a third of the way up the peninsula which Captain Romero said he had visited two years before—on a voyage of which otherwise there is no record, unless Romero was in fact referring to the Itamarra voyage of 1694. At this place, to which the name Loreto was given, was now established the first permanent European settlement of the Californias. A fort was made, with the provisions as bulwarks, and a tiny swivel-gun was mounted. There were many natives in the vicinity, and they helped in the work of preparing the camp, receiving gifts of porridge and maize. Salvatierra was a very busy man in the early days of the colony. He was priest, officer, sentry, governor of the province, and cook for the army rolled into one. Yet he found time to study the native tongue and to conduct

religious services from the first. The Indians were invited to attend, and were given an extra allotment of porridge when they did. Trouble soon developed, however, on the part of the unconverted. They wanted as much porridge as the converts received, and furthermore began to steal things about the camp. Their dissatisfaction at length reached such proportions that on the first of November they issued demands for porridge. For several days the Spaniards thought it best to accede to their demands, as the second ship had not arrived, and their forces were hopelessly insufficient. Meanwhile they became exhausted with watching, for it was evident that the Indians, emboldened by their success, planned to rush the camp. At last, on November 12, the attack came. The Spaniards felt that it was time to use the swivel-gun. They did so, and one famous shot was fired—but the result was very different from what they could have hoped. The gun burst and killed two Spaniards, while the Indians received no harm. Seeing what had taken place the Indians charged. All seemed over now, but the Spaniards prepared to sell their lives dearly. They fired their muskets point-blank at the Indians, and several of the latter were killed. A new light dawned upon the Indians, and they came to a sudden unanimous, and simultaneous decision to run the other way. The battle was over. The next day the Indians sued for peace. Two days later, on the 15th, the second boat (the one which had left Sinaloa at the same time as Salvatierra's) reached Loreto, and on the 23d, the first boat (which had been sent back to New Spain) came in, bringing Father Piccolo. Success now seemed likely. All the Indians appeared to want conversion, and manifestly desired porridge, but Salvatierra insisted upon more instruction and greater proofs of their sincerity. The conquerors were now eighteen in number, two religious, seven soldiers, five sailors, and four Christian Indians from the mainland—a force that was large enough to cope with the Indians of the neighborhood, numerous as they were.

Salvatierra's rectorship, or presidency, of the Baja California missions (carrying with it the government of the province) lasted until his death, in 1717. The events of these twenty years are typical of frontier life and are representative also of the course of affairs in the later period of Jesuit rule. The first five years

were a particularly crucial period, for the entire weight of responsibility fell upon Salvatierra and his co-workers at this time, without more aid from the king than the royal good will. The Pious Fund did especially effective service in these years, with the result that the number of soldiers was increased, supplies made adequate and regular in shipment, and more buildings erected. In 1699 the mission of San Javier was founded south of Loreto, at a fertile site, and Father Piccolo went there as missionary. In the early years the Indians were occasionally hostile, being stirred to resistance by their native priests, or medicine-men, whose profession was of course frowned upon by the Jesuits. But the fiery Captain Tortolero proved himself to be a Californian Miles Standish and was able to keep the Indians in hand. They displayed no enthusiasm for conversion, however; on Palm Sunday of 1698 Salvatierra planned to represent a dinner of the twelve apostles, with Indians filling the rôle of the apostles, but only two Indians put in an appearance. There were also the inevitable quarrels of religious and military, especially between Salvatierra and Tortolero's successor, Mendoza, though in this case the Jesuits clearly had authority. Mendoza wanted to employ more summary methods against the Indians and also to use the soldiers in fishing for pearls. Despite the risk involved, Salvatierra did not hesitate to settle the matter by discharging eighteen of his thirty soldiers.

The most serious difficulty arose over the inadequacy of the Pious Fund for the needs of the colony, and furthermore the amount of gifts to the Fund fell away, due to the charges of the disappointed soldiery and the pearl-fishers. It is to be noticed that obscure seekers of pearls were a constant factor in the history of the province. The Jesuits complained against them, because they forced the Indians to dive for pearls, and consequently the religious would not sell provisions to these hunters of under-sea treasure. The government, however, encouraged the pearl-fishers, and by a decree of 1703 waived the old idea of the monopoly; the effective occupation of the Californias, by whatever means it might be brought about, was what the government wanted. When it became evident that the Jesuits could not sustain themselves without royal aid, the king and his councillors came to the rescue. Philip V himself attended a session

of the Council of the Indies in 1702 at which it was decided to grant a subsidy of 6,000 pesos a year and two additional missionaries (naturally, at royal expense). Shortly afterward an additional 7,000 pesos, thirty soldiers, and religious vestments were added by the king; and in later years the royal subsidy reached as high as 30,000 pesos a year, thus providing for the soldiers, sailors, and missionaries. With this aid the Pious Fund was able to furnish the rest. It is to be noted that there was almost no financial return on the royal investment and that expensive wars in Europe were all along taxing the treasury to its uttermost. Yet the Spanish government, though occasionally behindhand in its payments, made what was, for the times, a generous allowance to maintain and extend the conquests in the Californias, primarily because of their strategic importance with reference to the rich kingdom of New Spain.

Another important factor of a permanent variety was the difficulty of communications with the mainland. Many instances of delays and wreck occasioned by the storms of the Gulf of California have already been noted. In Salvatierra's time about one ship a year was lost by wreck. Salvatierra became convinced that it would be much better to develop a supply-route by way of Sonora, and in 1701 visited Kino in Pimería Alta to discuss the matter. As a result, plans were made for joint expeditions from Sonora and Baja California to see whether there were a practicable trail. It was impossible to do this by boat, as the number of wrecks left the Jesuits with an insufficient fleet of vessels, and the contrary winds were too difficult a factor to overcome readily. Explorations were made by land to the end of Jesuit rule, but never quite reached the Colorado from the side of Baja California or the settled part of the peninsula from the side of Sonora. It is important, however, that the need for such a route was recognized; Baja California was in fact at the extremity of an overland advance, occupied as the result of special circumstances before the intervening spaces.

The greatest of the Baja California Jesuits, undoubtedly, was Father Salvatierra, but second only to him stood Father Juan de Ugarte. It was Ugarte who organized the work of the Pious Fund, but he was not content with the task of administering that institution; he wanted to be an active toiler in the

field. So in 1701 he came to Loreto. Father Piccolo had just been driven away from San Javier by the Indians, but Ugarte went there to restore the mission. Moreover, confiding in his great strength, for he was a giant in stature, he sent back the soldiers who had gone there with him. His reestablished the mission and, as the site was fertile, put the Indians to work at agriculture. The experiment, which had not previously been tried, was a success, and in course of time San Javier was able to produce a surplus for use at the other missions. Ugarte was a man who radiated enthusiasm, and he was able to succeed where others would have failed. Patient, as a rule, he could also exhibit a picturesque wrath. On one occasion he took an Indian by the hair and swung him around his head, and on another seized by the hair two Indians who were fighting and dashed them to the ground. His bountiful courage was particularly useful in 1701, the year of his arrival. (Provisions got so low that even Salvatierra was ready to abandon the province.) Ugarte opposed and said that he would stay, whatever the others might do. All stayed therefore. Very soon they were reduced to eating roots, but a ship came in time to save them.

Naturally, upon the death of Salvatierra, Ugarte was appointed to succeed him, and he ruled until 1730, when he died at the age of seventy years. His term of office was one of great munificence to the Pious Fund, with the result that more missions were founded and the establishments generally placed on a secure basis. Ugarte resolved to solve the riddle of the gulf, if gulf it were. First it was necessary to build a ship, for those which plied between the mainland and Loreto had proved unequal to the northward voyage. Scouring the land for timber, Ugarte found a grove in an almost inaccessible ravine. The builder said that it was not suitable for a ship, but Ugarte cut it anyway, and hauled it for a hundred miles over mountain ranges to a mission on the coast. The ship was built, and named appropriately the *Triunfo de la Cruz* (Triumph of the Cross). In this boat the venerable rector, then sixty-one years of age, made a voyage up the gulf, in 1721, taking an Englishman, a certain William Strafford (called Guillermo Estrafort in the Spanish), as pilot. Ugarte proved that the sheet of water upon which he sailed was a gulf. Yet so persistent were the old ideas that the

voyage had to be repeated by Father Consag in 1746. Then at length the legend of California's insularity was overthrown forever.

A serious Indian revolt broke out in 1734. The Indians of the Cape San Lucas region had always been unruly, and particularly objected to the Jesuit efforts to deprive them of their institution of polygamy. There were only three Jesuits and six soldiers in the south when the rebellion began, and two of the former and four of the latter, together with many Indian converts, were killed. In 1735, when a boat from the Manila galleon put in at Cape San Lucas, thirteen Spaniards were massacred. The news of these events spread through the peninsula, and the Indians of the north seemed on the point of rising, wherefore all the missions, save that of Loreto, were temporarily abandoned in 1735. Sixty hard-fighting Yaqui Indians were brought over from Sonora, and they saved the situation for a time. Later in the year Governor Huydobro of Sonora came to the peninsula and decisively defeated the Indians of the south. As a result, the revolt in the north died before it had fairly broken out, and that of the south lost force, though the Indians of that quarter continued to drive off cattle and to commit other depredations for some ten years more. Abandonment of the province had been averted, however.

In 1768 the Jesuits were deprived of their position in the peninsula. Before relating how this came about, it is well at this point to summarize their achievements in Baja California. As a recent work puts it:

During their seventy years' sojourn in Lower [or Baja] California, the Jesuits had charted the east coast and explored the east and west coasts of the Peninsula and the islands adjacent thereto; they had explored the interior to the thirty-first parallel of north latitude¹ in a manner that has never been excelled; they had brought about the institution of the Pious Fund; they had founded twenty-three—including the chapel of Jesus del Monte—mission establishments, of which fourteen had proven successful;² they had erected structures of stone and beautified them; they had formulated a system of mission life never thereafter surpassed; they had not only instructed the Indians in religious matters, but had taught them many of the useful arts; they had made a network of open trails, con-

¹ About a hundred miles south of the present international boundary.

² Two of the fourteen were abandoned by the successors of the Jesuits.

necting the missions with each other and with Loreto; they had taken scientific and geographical notes concerning the country and prepared ethnological reports on the native races; they had cultivated and planted the arable lands and inaugurated a system of irrigation. . . . Considering the abundance of level land, the water and tens of thousands of Indians about them, the establishment by the Franciscans [at a later time] of twenty-one missions in Upper [or Alta] California during the fifty-four years preceding the passage of the Secularization Act, is no circumstance to the peninsular work of the Jesuits.

Finally, the Jesuits of California were men of high education, many of them of gentle birth; of their labors in the Peninsula it has been said with truth that 'remote as was the land and small the nation, there are few chapters in the history of the world on which the mind can turn with so sincere an admiration.'"¹

Aside from the mission-presidio at Loreto and the other missions there were few settlements in Baja California where Spaniards lived. The Jesuits always resisted the entry of any whites other than themselves and their mission guards; they even opposed, with success, several royal projects for the founding of presidios on the west coast. Their idea, here as in Paraguay, was that the conversion and civilization of the native was the prime reason for their presence and that these aims would best be attained if the selfish interests of white settlers were not allowed to complicate the situation. There was a sprinkling of miners, however, in the south, and, as already noted, the pearl-fishers continued to visit the coasts. It remains to deal in somewhat more detail with the Pious Fund.

The Pious Fund of the Californias, founded by Salvatierra and Ugarte in 1697, came to be, eventually, one of the principal supports of the missions of both Baja and Alta California. The royal treasury never provided enough for the needs of the missions, which could not have been sustained without a much larger governmental grant if it had not been for the assistance of the Pious Fund; for the first few years, indeed, the Pious Fund was the sole reliance of the Jesuits. At the outset the method of handling was for the donors to pay over the interest merely, on sums that they had given but retained in their possession. Thus, a grant of 10,000 pesos, which was usually regarded as the capital required for the support of one mission,

¹North, Arthur Walbridge, *The Mother of California* (San Francisco and New York [1908]), pp. 44-45.

entailed payment of 500 pesos a year as interest to the Jesuit administrator in Mexico City. One donor went bankrupt, however, and from the year 1716 the funds were paid over in entirety and reinvested, usually in ranches. The greatest benefactor was the Marques de Villapiente. In addition to providing sums for the founding of a number of missions, he gave several hundred thousand acres of land in Tamaulipas, with all the flocks and buildings upon them. A certain Josefa Paula de Argüelles gave nearly 200,000 pesos, and a member of the great Borja (or Borgia) family, María de Borja, Duquesa de Gandia, gave 62,000. The fund reached a total of from 500,000 to 1,000,000 pesos, and produced at a rate of about 5 per cent. A Jesuit procurator managed the estates and bought and shipped goods to the missionaries in the peninsula.

After the expulsion of the Jesuits had been decided upon in 1767, the Pious Fund was taken over by the government, but was managed as a separate financial institution, with a view to carrying out the objects of the original donors. It was henceforth applied to both Californias. Occasionally, too, funds were devoted to other than purely religious objects, as in the case of the expeditions of 1769 and 1775-1776 to Alta California, both of which were provided for, in part, out of the Pious Fund. In 1836, the Mexican government, which had succeeded Spain in exercise of sovereignty over the Californias, passed a law that the Fund should be applied toward the expenses of a bishopric of the Californias, which, with papal assent, it was proposed to establish. Thus the religious were deprived of any further utilization of the fund. In 1842 the Mexican government reassumed control, but announced that it would employ the proceeds to promote the civilization and conversion of the savages. Later in the same year the separate estates of the Pious Fund were sold, and the moneys obtained were incorporated in the Mexican treasury, but the government made formal acknowledgment of an indebtedness for religious objects in the Californias to the extent of 6 per cent a year on the amount it had received.

When the United States took over Alta California in 1848, Mexico ceased to make further payments on behalf of that territory, and for many years they lapsed. In 1868, a commission met to adjust claims between the United States and Mexico,

and while it was still in session the Catholic authorities of California put in a claim, in 1870, for a portion of the income of the Pious Fund—so much as would normally have been Alta California's share. The United States entered the claim, but as no agreement with Mexico could be reached the matter was submitted to an umpire in the person of Sir Edward Thornton. This gentleman rendered a decision in 1875, calling for payment by Mexico of 6 per cent annually on one-half the value of the fund, on the theory that Alta and Baja California were equally entitled. His decision covered the twenty-one year period from 1848 to 1869, and required payment by Mexico of \$904,070.99, or \$43,050.99 a year. Mexico paid, but announced that any future claim for arrears would be inadmissible, a contention with which the United States did not agree. In 1891 the United States put in a claim for the arrears since 1869, but Mexico declined to honor the claim. In 1902, however, the two countries consented to a submission of the case to the arbitral tribunal at the Hague—the first case ever acted upon by that body. The court gave a unanimous decision that Mexico should pay the accrued interest, which by that time amounted to \$1,420,682.67, and also that Mexico should forever pay over the sum of \$43,050.99 each year on the second of February. The money is payable to the United States, which of course recognizes its obligation to give the full amount to the Catholic Church in California. Mexico has again fallen in arrears, and the matter of the Pious Fund has taken its place as one of the perennial unpaid claims of this country against Mexico. As for the share due Baja California, Mexico has long since ceased to make payments. Thus strangely does the course of history take its way. Who could have foreseen such a varied career for that heritage from the missionary zeal of Salvatierra and Ugarte, the Pious Fund of the Californias!

In 1767, the Spanish government issued a decree expelling the Jesuits from all of their dominions. The causes for this action had scarcely anything to do with Jesuit activities in Baja California, though there, as elsewhere, charges were filed against them. It was merely part of a world-wide movement in Catholic countries against the Jesuits, growing largely out of a fear that the Jesuits were planning a great revolution against the absolute

monarchs of Europe. Portugal and France had already expelled the Jesuits, and Naples followed the lead of these countries and Spain in 1767; indeed the Pope was induced to suppress the Jesuit Order in 1773, though it was later restored. It is therefore futile to go into the question of the justice of this decision as affecting the Jesuits of Baja California, as the complaints of their detractors, which were in a great part false or very greatly exaggerated, had no real bearing on the case. In Baja California, as in all other Spanish domains, great secrecy was observed in carrying out the decree, and no hint of what was coming was given. In September, 1767, Captain Gaspar de Pertolá (a native of Catalonia) arrived in the province with a commission as governor. He called the Jesuits together, and on February 3, 1768, they were sent out of the peninsula. The Indians, it seems, made great manifestations of grief, and well they might, for their future in other hands was to be less happy than it had been under Salvatierra and his successors.

The Franciscans of the College of San Fernando,⁴ Mexico City, had been offered the California field in June, 1767, and had accepted, but it was not until April, 1768, that its first missionaries actually arrived in the peninsula. Meanwhile, the missions had been turned over to military commissioners, who gave very little thought to the Indians and very much to a search for the vast treasure that the Jesuits were reputed to have accumulated. As a result the missions were nearly ruined, and the Indians were left in sad straits, while little or no treasure was found. At the head of the Franciscans who arrived in the spring of 1768 was Junípero Serra, the appointee of the college as president of the missions, then in his fifty-fifth year. The conditions under which he took up his presidency were very different from those of the Jesuit era. Not only was the government of the province forever removed from mission control, but also the temporalities of the missions—that is, the flocks, crops, and economic resources

⁴ The College of San Fernando was not a "college" as that word is ordinarily understood in this country. It was one of several Franciscan institutions, such as the colleges of Queretaro, Jalisco, and Zacatecas, which served as an administrative center for missionary work and as a home for missionaries without employment or for those who had retired from active service. The College of San Fernando, which was destined to supply all of the missionaries of Alta, California, in the Spanish era and most of those in the Mexican, was founded in 1734.

in general—were left in the hands of the military commissioners. Only the church properties and spiritual authority were to be in charge of the Franciscans. The military men had proved to be self-seeking or else incompetent, so that the missions seemed doomed to fail. Not having food or clothing to give the Indians, the missionaries could not attract the unconverted or even hold the former protégés of the Jesuits. Later, in 1768, José de Gálvez, *visitador* (or royal inspector) of all New Spain, arrived in the peninsula, and one of his first reforms was to give back the temporalities to missionary control. With this, the new regime in the Californias, that of the typical frontier province, may fairly be said to have been installed.

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MISCELLANY

THE EARLIEST RECORD ON THE FRANCISCAN MISSIONS IN AMERICA

(Contributed by Rev. Livarius Oliger, O.F.M., Munich, Bavaria)

Much has been published by different religious Orders with a view to furthering our knowledge on the early efforts of converting the aborigines of America. The movement, indeed, owing to the profound religious sense of the age, started very early, and if there is no record of any priest accompanying Columbus on his first expedition, we know for certain that on his second journey to the West Indies, he had already a Vicar-Apostolic with him, in the person of the Minim friar, Bernard Boil.

As to the Franciscans, I leave aside the question of Juan Perez, whether or not that noteworthy Spanish friar accompanied the great discoverer to the new hemisphere on one of his first expeditions. What I want to present to the American scholar in general, and to the readers of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW in particular, is the contemporary account of the first Franciscan Missions in America, as it was written down at Nürnberg between 1506 and 1509 by the Franciscan Chronicler Nicholas Glassberger. Curiously enough, this account, although of the highest value and printed since 1887, seems to have escaped the attention of most Franciscan scholars on things American. Bonaventure Hammer, for instance, does not mention it,¹ nor does Zephyrin Engelhardt in the general introduction to his work on the Franciscan Missions in California.² The only writer, so far as I know, to use the valuable contribution of Glassberger, is Heribert Holzapfel, O.F.M., in his instructive *Manual of Franciscan History*.³

Before entering into details, it will not be out of place to say a few words about Nicholas Glassberger, the author of the record.⁴

Glassberger was born at Olmütz in Moravia, and entered the Franciscan Order in 1472, at Amberg (Bavaria), which was then in the Province of Strassburg. In 1475-76, he studied at Basle; after 1479, we find him again at Amberg, and somewhat later at Munich. From 1483 to 1509, Glassberger was a member of the Franciscan House at Nürnberg. Here he labored for some time as preacher and confessor of the Poor Clares. As we find no trace of him after 1509, he is supposed to have died about that time.

It was at Nürnberg that Glassberger wrote his Chronicle: in the years 1506-1509; a circumstance which contributes much to enhance the value of his work. For, as Nürnberg was then the great commercial centre of Southern Germany, the friar had excellent opportunities for ascertaining what was going

¹ *Die Franciscaner in den Vereinigten Staaten Nordamerica's*, Köln, 1892.

² *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, Vol. i, San Francisco, 1908.

³ *Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens*, Freiburg, i. B., 1909, pp. 500-501; Latin edition: *Manuale historiae Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, ib., 1909, pp. 450-451.

⁴ See *Analecta Franciscana*, ii, Quaracchi, 1887, Preface, and H. BOHMER, *Chronica Fratris Jordani* (*Collection d'études et de documents*, Vol. vi), Paris, 1908, Introduction, pp. xxv ff.

on in the world abroad; all the more so, since being preacher and confessor of the convent of St. Clare, he knew the first families of the town. His Chronicle reflects clearly in some passages this *milieu*. To its influence is certainly due the long text he consecrates to the discovery of the New World, an event which, in the eyes of the zealous friar had perhaps more religious interest than any other, since an immense unlabored field for spreading the Gospel was disclosed, and a new prospect of mission work opened to his Order.

Indeed, the chief interest of Glassberger's account consists in his narrative of the first endeavor made by the Franciscans to convert the inhabitants of the West Indian Islands, while here and there we get a glimpse at the life and customs of the Indians and at the marvelous productions of the soil of the New World.

It appears from the narrative of Glassberger, that the news of the great discovery achieved by Columbus was generally spread amongst the Franciscans of the Observance at their Chapter held in 1493 at Florenzae (France). Immediately many of the friars applied with great eagerness to their Vicar-General, Olivier Maillard, for permission to go to the new missions. The first to obtain the longed-for permission were, strangely enough, two lay brothers, John de la Deule and John Cosin, both belonging to the Province of France. They went to Spain and remained some time there before the opportunity came of sailing for the West Indies; this opportunity being no other than the second expedition of Columbus, which started from Cadix on September 25, 1493, and in which Bernard Boil was also a member. On arriving in the New World the two friars lived with the natives and tried first of all to learn their language and by degrees to instruct the people. They lived thus for five years, and considering the fact that they were not priests, they could not do much towards conversion; so they determined to return to Europe to bring over some Franciscan priests. They took along with them two Indian youths, having the precaution to embark each with one of the Indians on two different ships, in order that, if one should perish, at least the other would survive. On reaching Spain one of the natives became seriously ill and soon died after having been baptized. The two lay brothers considered this the first visible fruit of their long work and buried the poor Indian at the nearest Franciscan convent. They presented themselves to their Superior, Olivier Maillard, who happened to be in Spain, and gave him a full account of their work, at the same time beseeching him to send over some priests. Maillard accordingly settled the matter with the Sovereigns of Spain, and thus towards Easter, 1500, F. John Baudin, a native of Bretagne, with some other Franciscans, sailed for the West, fully equipped with all the requirements of their holy ministry. On August 25, in the same year, a second Franciscan Mission started from Spain and reached in 25 days the harbour of St. Domingo on Hispaniola (Hayti) where they baptized—doubtless after due instruction—some 3,000 natives.

Here Glassberger inserts in his narrative the calumnies against Columbus, which were spread over Europe, after his return from his third expedition. For, no doubt, the *admiraldus* who is mentioned, is none other than the great discoverer, who experienced in so large a measure the ingratitude of this world.

Describing at some length the different islands of the West Indies, the

Chronicler gives us the full text of a letter which the Franciscan Missionaries of Hispaniola (Hayti) wrote on October 12, 1500, to Olivier Maillard, who received it whilst visiting the Saxon Province in 1501, and who left a copy of it (at the request of Glassberger?) in the Franciscan Convent of Nürnberg. The letter itself bears witness to the anxiety of the missionaries to obtain more help for their great work. The whole Order was to be aroused to take interest in the enterprise and to send laborers for the great spiritual harvest.

These are, briefly, the outlines of Glassberger's narrative, which has the great advantage of being a contemporary one and of being fully confirmed and partly completed by other independent early sources. Bartholomew de las Casas,⁴ the great benefactor of the Indians, tells us of two Franciscan lay brothers, whom he met at Barcelona, John de la Ducla and John de Tisim (evidently the Cosin of Glassberger), natives of Burgundy, fellow-travelers of Bernard Boil, and with whom he became very friendly. Their zeal for the conversion of souls in the New World had brought them to Spain, and although only lay brothers, they were well instructed, and it was clear, says Las Casas, that they had declined the priesthood for humility's sake. From the narrative of Las Casas we can correct the statements of Glassberger, who although generally well informed, was in this case not an eye-witness as Las Casas was. It would appear from Glassberger that the two friars set out to preach to the Moors of Southern Spain and only perchance got a place with Columbus, whilst Las Casas tells us clearly that he met the friars in question at Barcelona, where they had already been engaged for the expedition by Boil. By this it would seem that their staying amongst the Spaniards was due only to the circumstance that they had to wait for Columbus' second expedition to start.

The *Archivo de Indias* at Sevilla⁵ has preserved us the names of some of the Franciscans who were sent to America in 1500, by the great Ximenez, Archbishop of Toledo. Amongst them we find Francis Ruyz, the bearer of the letter to Maillard. That missionary was sent back, as the letter says, on account of his weak health. We find also John Deledeulle, our John de la Deule, who in 1500 returned to his beloved mission. His death in the West Indies is recorded in the Chapter of the Observant Franciscans in 1511, as having happened since the last Chapter was held in 1508.

⁴ *Historia de las Indias*, lib. i, c. 81, in *Collection de documents inédits pour la historia de España* por el Marqués DE LA FUENSANTA DEL VALLE y D. JOSE SANCHO RAYON, Vol. lxii, Madrid, 1875, p. 494. After having said that he could not see Bernard Boil at Barcelona (in 1493) Las Casas continues:

Pero alcancé á cognoscer dos religiosos de la órden de Sant Francisco, que fueron con él, frailes legos, pero personas notables, naturales de Picardia ó borgoñones, á que se movieron á venir acá por sólo celo de la conversion destas ánimas, y, aunque frailes legos, eran muy bien sabidos y letrados, por lo cual se cognosca, que por humildad no quisieron ser sacerdotes; uno de los cuales se llamó fray Juan de la Ducla, ó fray Juan el Bermejo, porque lo era, y el otro fray Juan de Tisim. Fueron bien cognoscidos míos, y en amistad y conversacion, al ménos al uno, muy conjuntos.

JOSE COLL, O.F.M., who in his work: *Colon y la Rabida*, 2 ed. Madrid, 1892, p. 271, has already drawn attention to this text, quotes also p. 270: JUAN DE TORQUEMADA, O.F.M., *De la Monarquía Indiana*, Madrid, 1723, Vol. iii, lib. xviii, c. 6, who speaks in much the same terms of the two first Franciscan missionaries, the most prominent of which seems to have been John de la Deule; on him see also WADDING, *Annales Minorum*, ad a. 1493, n. 3, ed. 2, Vol. xv, p. 28.

⁵ COLL, p. 272. WADDING, ad a. 1511, n. 9 (xv, 431); DE GUBERNATIS, *Orbis seraphicus*, iii, Rome, 1684, p. 220b.

In the meantime, missions and convents had so increased that the first Franciscan Province in America could be erected in 1505 under the title of the Holy Cross. This Province included Hayti, Cuba, Jamaica and the other islands of the Antilles.⁷

The Munich Manuscript, from which we take the narrative of Glassberger, measuring mm. 225 × 156, is written by two hands at the beginning of the XVI century. There are in the MS. 298 numbered folios; in the beginning there are three folios (two wholly, one mostly unwritten) and at the end five (unwritten) folios, which are not counted. Folios 5-9 remain also blank. Folio 192 was counted twice, but the mistake has been corrected by pencil all through the rest of the MS. Most titles and a few initials are written in red; some short annotations are in red or black on the edges of the pages, surrounded by several circles in red or black. The groups of the folios are usually made up of twelve (sexternions), the first six of which being marked in the right corner below with the letters of the alphabet in red, for instance, a1, a2, etc., till a6, the six following folios not being countersigned. This system begins on fol. 8 with a1 and ends on fol. 239 with æ6, hence comprising fol. 240-245 in the system. There are, however, some few instances of traces of letters written in the same manner, but in black, on the following folios; but these marks have either not been regularly written or, more probably, have been cut away at the binding. The binding itself is contemporary to the MS. and consists of wooden boards covered with pigskin with impressed handsome Renaissance ornaments. Two former brass clasps are wanting now.

The text published below is copied from the Munich Manuscript, which has already been printed with the rest of the Chronicle in the *Analecta Franciscana* (Vol. ii, QUARACCHI, 1887, pp. 523-526), where the orthography of the author has been rather modernised. We give the text exactly as it stands in the manuscript, in modern punctuation, and with u and v as we use them nowadays.

Fr. Nicolaus Glassberger, O. F. M., *Chronica*, ad a. 1500

Ms. in the Archives of the Franciscan Province of Bavaria, Munich, folio 270v-272r.

[f.270v] Ea tempestate, cum superioribus annis regnante in Hyspania aliisque circumiacentibus regnis Ferdinando catholico, rege, et Elisabeth, eius legitima coniuge, [f.271r] regina, fide christiana ferventissima, quidam mercatores et naute in mari expertissimi, opera et impensa dicti regis insulas quasdam novas maximis periculis, infortunys et impendiis in remotissimis partibus Oceani versus Indianas partes, Deo auspice, reperissent, in quibus gens barbarica, a nostra fide omnino aliena, bestialiter vivens, nudo corpore pecudum more incedens, morabatur. Que res cum Fratribus Ordinis Minorum et Observantie de familia ex Provincia Francie innotuisset, more elephantis ad sanguinis aspectum animati, post capitulum Florentiaci celebratum reverendum patrem fratrem Oliverium Maillardi, Generalem Vicarium, pro impetranda licentia accesserunt, viti utique vita maturi, zelo fidei ferventissimi, patientia probati martirioque apprime flagrantes Fratres. Inter quos erant duo fratres laici, viri corpore robusti, animo devoti et mente ad

⁷ WADDING, ad a. 1505, n. 11 (xy, 298).

quecumque obprobria pro Christi nomine perferenda promptissimi, videlicet frater Johannes de la Deule, et frater Johannes Cosin. Hy, obtenta licentia a dicto reverendo patre Vicario Generali, ad partes dictas infidelium ultra regnum Granate perrexerunt in nomine Domini; in quibus tamen partibus propter gentium barbariem infidelium et ignorantiam ydeomatis facere fructum nequibant, quamquam plurima paterentur a Saracenis incommoda in tantum aliquando, ut coacti fame et inedia, serpentes manducarent. Cum autem sine fructu ibidem starent, ad alia loca divertere statuerunt; et ecce, Deo duce, ad novas insulas aspirantes, et ad oras Hispanie applicantes naves illo tendentes reperiunt, in quas naucleri benignitate recepti sunt, eo quod et corpore robusti, religione devoti atque moribus graves videbantur, in quos nec parum aliorum vota aspirabant, utpote qui et corporis valitudine et mentis devotione apud Deum in periculis suffragari possent.

Cumque predicti Fratres sic, ut permittitur, ad dictas insulas pervenisent, nec tamen in aliquo ob linguagii ignorantiam proficerent in populo, nihillominus ad quinquennium inibi persistentes maximis persecutionibus, aliquantulum ad ydiomatis peritiam pervenerunt. Et quia habitus et vestimenta computruerant, unus ex ipsis Fratribus cepit filare lanam bombicem sibi ac socio, ne nudi incederent, tunicas sive vestes aptare. Finito autem quinquennio, cum predicarent populis fidem catholicam, repperunt eos satis voluntarios et aptos. Unde et apud se deliberantes, cum essent laici, ad Hispaniam pro adducendis sacerdotibus redire disposuerunt cum nautis, duos invenes illius gentis et insule nondum baptisatos secum ducentes. Cumque in duabus navibus separati unusquisque Fratrum unum iuvenem secum haberet, ut si una navis periret, salvaretur altera, ne effectum fraudarentur per equora, aut diversa fortuna, et multis periculis velitantes aliquamdiu, tandem partes fidelium applicuerunt. Unus autem ex iuvenibus illis gravissime cepit infirmari, quem Fratres morti vicinum videntes baptisaverunt in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti etc., [f. 271v] et tandem mortuum in dorso et brachys ad viciniorem Fratrum conventum deportantes, solemniter novum Christianum quasi laborum suorum primitias sepulture tradiderunt, alio reservato.

Cum autem dictum reverendum patrem Oliverium in Hispanie partibus reperissent, accedentes cum narraverunt, que viderant mirabilia in mari et insulis, humili instantia eidem supplicantes, ut sacerdotes ad insulas destinaret. Ille autem reverendus Pater, cum rem ipsam regi Hispanie regineque insinuasset, idem rex, gaudio repletus, cum sua inclita consorte navem cum necessarijs aptantes, quamplura clenodia pro divino cultu, videlicet cruces, monstrantias aureas et argenteas, calices, casulas et ornamenta imponentes cum variis tabulis et picturis hystoriarum et gestorum Salvatoris, quibus gens tam effera ad pietatem duceretur.

Quo audito, multi Fratres ad dictum reverendum patrem Oliverium accedentes, illuc mitti se postularunt, viri maturi, martirio flagrant, et complures alij ab ipsis excitati. Quorum zelum et fervorem dictus reverendus Pater considerans et iuxta regularia instituta eos de vita et constantia fidei examinans, eorum petitioni condescendit.

Anno igitur currente millesimo quingestesimo circa medium Quadragesime sese preparantes, tandem sabbato ante dominicam Palmarum Fratres devoti: Johannes Baudin de Britania cum duobus alijs singularis devotionis, nec non alijs comitantibus, navim conscendentes, cum nautis per longos maris tractus

ad supradictas insulas venerunt, omnem operam et diligentiam adhibentes ad dominicam voluntatem adimplendam, ut gens illa barbara fidei rudimenta reciperet. Exponentibus autem militibus de thesauris regis et regine pro divino cultu et ornamentis, plurimum ducebantur illi homines in admirationem et stuporem et cum gaudio volabant ad baptismum, collaudantes Deum.

Preterea, eodem anno, xxv, die Augusti, exierunt aliqui Fratres sancti Francisci, divino amore ferventes, in insulam Chades, insulam Hispanie circa strictum Sibillie, non longe a columnis Herculis, in xxix diebus venerunt ad insulam Hispanam. Et dum applicarent naves Hispanie ad quendam portum, quem iam nominant portum *sancti Dominici* a naclero, qui dicebatur Dominicus, baptisata sunt tria milia hominum. Speratur autem, in brevi multas alias insulas magnas sacrum baptismum suscepturas. Amiralus autem quidam capitaneus et prior inibi positus, male tractans homines istos novos bona eorum et uxores auferendo et filias virgines stuprando, accusatus, ab officio depositus, chatenis et loris ferreisque compedibus alligatus, in Hispaniam reducitur, alio in eius locum subrogato.

Sunt et alie insule sic ab Hispanis nominate. Prima dicitur insul Dei, quia Dei providentia et solo eius nutu inventa est; 2^a insula Ferdinandi, a rege Hispanie; 3^a insula Elisabethina, a regina Hispanie; 4^a Hispana; 5^a Hispaniola. Sunt autem homines inibi commorantes natura liberales, simplices et pii, sed magni zelotipi, vivuntque de panibus, confectis ex radicibus odoris et saporis pastinace, [f.271r] vulgariete *Gelb Ruben*¹; similiter et ex sorgo, quod est species milii. Et insule sunt fertilissime, carentes tamen omni animali quadrupede preter cuniculos. Adducta sunt ex Hispania multa paria animalium, que inibi miro modo prolificant, precipue porci. Item, adducte sunt vites, que eodem anno botros protulerunt, similiter frumentum et legumina. Ceterum nullam habent legem nec libros nec litteras, ignorantes, quomodo illuc devenerint, nec putabant, alios homines vivere super terram. Credebant post hanc vitam aliam, in qua melius haberent nescientes tamen, a quo et ubi. Lanam arboribus procreatam in copia habent et tamen ab antea nudi incedebant; ex qua lana quidam Frater compulsus, filando ipsam, sibi et confratri suo habitum fecit. Habent in Augusto diem longissimum xviii horarum, alias dies anni equals sunt, nisi forte ad duas horas; suntque homines illi coloris citrini ad modum foliorum de arboribus cadentium. Ex insula autem Hispaniola miserunt Fratres litteras reverendo patri fratri Oliverio, Generali Vicario, qui eos destinaverat, quas anno Domini 1501 in Provincia Saxonie recepit, exemplar nobis in conventu Nürenbergensi relinquens subsequentis tenoris:

Reverendissimo ac dignissimo in Christo patri fratri Oliverio Maillardi, Vicario Generali cismontano Ordinis beati Patris nostri Francisci etc.

Reverendissime atque dignissime Pater et domine. Vestram Paternitatem facio certiore, quantam nobis Dominus contulerit misericordiam, quia ipse, qui olim Patribus nostris per mare rubrum dux exstitit, etiam nos indignos dignatus est incolumes concedere, ad istas insulas pervenire, in quibus tanta invenitur animarum multitudo, quod est mirabile dictu. Sed mirabilius, quod omnes sine contradictione aliqua et cum maximo affectu Domini appetunt baptismum. Unde bene potest verificari illud Salvatoris nostri in Evangelio: *Messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci*. Pauco tempore, videlicet dum

¹ German term for carrots.

starent naves in portu, tria milia animarum receperunt fidem Christi. Quamobrem multum gaudere debes de prole Christi multiplicata, maxime per ministerium filiorum tuorum. Sed quia non te fugit, mi colendissime Pater, istam esse professionem nostram, fidem Christi in nobis et in proximis nostris, divina adiuvente gratia Christi, multiplicare; ideo rogo Paternitatem tuam ob amorem Ihesu Christi, ut ista predices et manifestes filijs atque subditis tuis, ut omnes, quibus Dominus animarum suarum zelum infuderit, qui velint crucem Christi suaque vestigia sequi et ad insulas istas venire, eos benigno favore prosequaris. Insuper, in capitulo generali coram patribus hoc insinuans, ut omnes simul conformiter sine Prelatorum perturbatione et scandalo aliqui Fratres per omnes Provincias et Custodias ad hoc assignentur et cum benedictione Dei totiusque capituli ad partes istas mitantur. Et quia frater Franciscus Ruyz, qui propter suam debilem complexionem, et ut adiuvet nos coram Domino Archiepiscopo et suis regalibus maiestatibus, ad Hyspaniam mittitur, longiorem faciet vestre Paternitati relationem de omnibus. Valeat et oret pro me et suis filiis, qui mecum sunt, qui plurimas tibi mittunt salutes et tuam humiliter postulant benedictionem.

Datum in insula, Hispaniola nuncupata, 12 die Octobris, anno 1500.

DOCUMENTS

SOME LETTERS OF FATHERS BADIN AND NERINCKX TO BISHOP CARROLL

The following documents are printed from photostat copies of originals in the Archdiocesan Archives, Baltimore. They all have a direct bearing on the historic misunderstanding between Revs. Stephen T. Badin and Charles Nerinckx, two pioneer missionaries of Kentucky, and the early Dominicans in that state, and throw much light on the article which this issue of *THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW* (pp. 15-45) presents to its readers on that subject. They certainly give the question a phase quite different from that to which the American public has long been accustomed. Many letters of a similar character on the same topic might be reproduced, but the fact that they contain much litigious, disagreeable or other matter wholly foreign to the point at issue, determined us to limit ourselves to the publication of those that follow. The first two, as will be noticed, are from the pen of Father Badin, and cannot be overlooked by those desirous of knowing the real origin of the unpleasantness. The others were written by that missionary's friend and companion, Father Nerinckx. For the sake of correct history and illumination, notes and comments will be made on them as they appear in their proper order.

Father Badin's Reception of Rev. E. D. Fenwick on the Occasion of the Latter's Visit to Kentucky in the Spring of 1805

For the historical setting of the following document in the unpleasantness referred to above, the reader is referred to the article (pp. 15-45). Suffice it here to state that the letter reveals a heart filled with gratitude and joy at the prospects held out to the Church in Kentucky by the coming of the Dominicans.

Near Bardstown, 15th May, 1805.

Most Reverend Sir:

I have the happiness this day of enjoying the company of the Revd. Mr. Fenwick which you had announced in former letters, intimating as soon as he arrived in America that, as Kentucky was likely to be a center from which true Religion would be disseminated in the western countries, you would engage him to turn his views towards our desolate congregations so needful and capable of cultivation. I never doubted of your sincere wish to procure for us spiritual assistance, which indeed was not to be obtained in your Diocese without your direction or concurrence. Many are the tokens of your goodness towards me and my numerous congregations, and I have now to return my heartfelt thanks for making Kentucky the first object of your pastoral solicitude upon the arrival of St. Dominic's family. Flattering myself that I seconded your views, knowing the scarcity of Priests in your immense diocese, fully sensible of the difficulty and almost impossibility to replace clergymen as they depart from life or from duty, impressed also with the idea confirmed by former experience that much less good is done by individual clergymen, isolated as they are or unconnected with a regular

body acting uniformly by the same principles of obedience, disinterestedness and zeal, seeing how the missionaries along the Mississippi have already abandoned their numerous flocks to follow the Spanish government, apprehensive also that the service of Alm. God and the salvation of souls cannot be *permanently* secured to this and the neighboring countries but by the exertions of a regular body of pious and enlightened men, who shall not fail of success, when established under the Blessing of heaven in a country where there are no prejudices of the civil constitution to oppose their humane and religious views; evidencing every day the alarming progress of infidelity and vice which threatens us with an almost universal deluge, unless our youth be regenerated and properly educated; actuated by these and other congenial motives, I have made a proposal to Mr. Fenwick which is submitted to your Reverence, and which I earnestly request you to sanction. I have begged this gentleman to exonerate me of the trouble of holding so much ecclesiastical property which in my opinion will do much more good to my fellow-creatures, when vested in the order of St. Dominic, under your episcopal jurisdiction. Wherefore I hope you will grant me the favour or leave of transferring to that religious order the Ecclesiastical property now in my hands, to which I have added 220 acres of my own land, the whole containing upwards of 100 acres of cleared ground, with other convenient improvements. By these means may be immediately started the intended plan of an Academy with a moderate assistance from the Catholics of this State who will undoubtedly join their cordial endeavours to procure their own happiness, that of their children and their children's posterity. I had conceived for these ten years past the desire of seeing in Kentucky such an establishment arise, the which appeared to me almost a chimera, since I saw then neither temporal means for a foundation, nor any probable hope of having the cooperation of such men as would be calculated to answer so useful designs. But how limited are the views of men! and how evident that the Divine Providence over the church is *attingens a fine usque ad finem fortiter disponens omnia suaviter!*

As Mr. Fenwick and his brethren will assume the obligation of fulfilling the duties of the mission as well as myself, and it is important that the missionaries of the country should as much as possible be directed by the same spirit, I do humbly request and confidently hope that you will give me leave to be associated to St. Dominic's family. I conceived that wish as well as the other resolution within two day[s] after Mr. Fenwick's arrival and have never varied.

Should I have been unwilling to apply to its intended use the property trusted by Providence as a depositum in my hands, I would esteem myself accountable for the good not done, which will be otherwise done to my Parishioners and other denominations, and for the evil which might have been prevented and I hope shall be prevented by the instrumentality of Mr. Fenwick and his brethren.

Craving your Episcopal Benediction, I have the honour to be very respectfully,

Most reverend Sir,

Your obedt. Son in Xt,

STEPHEN THEODORE BADIN.¹

¹ *Baltimore Archives*, Case 1, G 9.—Although it is somewhat French in its phraseology, there can be no doubt about the meaning of this straightforward letter, or the impression made on Father Badin by the humble Dominican.

Father Badin's Change of Mind

The reader is again referred to the article (p. 19), for the place which the following document occupies in the controversy. But he must not lose sight of the fact that meanwhile Father Badin had seen no Dominican. Father Fenwick returned to Maryland, with the above letter, and wrote to Rev. R. L. Concanen, as has been stated in the article, telling him of the prospects held out for his pious enterprise in Kentucky, and of Badin's proposals which, he says, Bishop Carroll "applauds and consents to." That the friar also sent Father Badin a similar message, and that Doctor Carroll wrote to the same missionary advising at least such an arrangement for the good of religion in the new west, the document which we now lay before the reader leaves no room for doubt.

The church lands in Kentucky at this time consisted of several hundred acres, mostly covered with forests and of little value. There were also two small log presbyteries. Besides these, Father Badin had a residence of the same character, known as Saint Stephen's. Doubtless the friar hoped to see the day when the land would be brought under cultivation, and used for the same good purposes to which he had seen similar property devoted in his native Maryland. The little rectories would give shelter to the missionaries and perhaps eventually become centers of extensive spiritual activities. However, when he learned that these possessions were not to be his, he bore the disappointment with that spirit of Christian resignation which characterized his whole life.

The reader, we venture to think, can hardly fail to notice how grotesque, inconsistent and preposterous this document really is. Such, however, are most of Father Badin's letters in which he tries to extricate himself from a difficulty. In spite of all his subterfuge, we fancy that those who read the document with care will have great difficulty in convincing themselves that he had only a few talks with Father Nerinckx on the subject in question, or that the Belgian clergyman was not the inspiration of practically all that it contains.

Near Bardstown 5th 8ber 1805.

Most Reverend Father in God

I am just returning from Madison Cty and avail myself of an hour of leisure to answer your favors of May 29 and Aug. 12. The last being an answer to my letter sent in May; since which epoch I have not had the honour of writing to your Reverence, both for want of leisure or opportunity and of your last favour which Mr. Fenwick made me expect shortly after his return to Maryland. Indeed the principal subject of our present correspondence is so weighty that it needed time to meditate on it, especially as my venerable companion Mr. Nerinckx seems to be reluctant to give his opinion; and his zeal in the mission forbids frequent communications: for these four or five weeks we have had but very few interviews, although our lodgings be under the same roof.² His constitution must be uncommonly robust to do so much business as he does, and I am apprehensive his example may possibly prove detrimental to my

² This certainly proves the truth of Fenwick's statement to Concanen that Bishop Carroll "warmly applauds and consents to" the two proposals contained in Badin's previous letter. However, the prelate evidently left the final decision of the matter to Fathers Badin and Nerinckx, the latter of whom had started from Georgetown College for Kentucky before Fenwick returned to Maryland.

health, as I am ashamed to be so far behind him. I return heartfelt thanks to Divine Providence for having procured us a Priest who is in *omni sensu* what a vicar of Christ ought to be; and who, if he lives long enough, will operate wonders here. I cannot express the happiness I enjoy in him; it is only allayed by the fear that I have of seeing in Kentucky Priests who would not be capable of imitating his zeal and disinterestedness, the plainness of his manners, his rigid sobriety, &c. &c. which are all necessary in a country situated as this is; where so many scandals have been given in the infancy of the church, and where so much good is to be done at a time when men seem to arise from a Lethargy, and express their amazement at the (dying) follies which have taken place for these three years past among various Religionists, who are ending now or sinking into Socinianism or Scepticism. Twelve Apostles of the venerable Mr. Nerinckx's disposition would make most of the western countries embrace the true faith.

Seeing the necessity in which we are of missionaries, I was willing to make the sacrifice of my all, to procure them and assure a permanency and succession of faithful ministers, raised in the very country where they are to exercise the sacred functions: But since I have made my proposals to Mr. Fenwick, I have evidently seen that not only it would not be advantageous, but it might prove very detrimental to Religion to surrender the whole Ecclesiastical property to one Order, exclusively, which in time will probably claim, besides, privileges and exemptions from the jurisdiction and control of the Ordinary. I shall not comment on the many and valuable reasons your Reverence has adduced in your last.³ I really thought that Mr. F. at the very time I was writing my proposals was, with modesty, however, showing a grasping disposition: for he was not satisfied with one only of the church livings; but as two days before I had show'd a cheerful disposition to part with everything to establish the Order, he insisted on possessing everything: Knowing and expressly mentioning that such a disposition should be submitted to your corrective, I acquiesced although but little edified. This and other traits of character seem to confirm your observation that it is but too common among Religious to think that the splendor of their Order is the greatest benefit to religion.⁴ I have noticed and reflected on whatever passed between Mr. F. and me, and plainly saw that he had a great partiality to Maryland, which I was determined to counteract, according to your wishes; at our first interview in Scott Cty he expressly said within a very few minutes that he was pretty indifferent about Kentucky, and that unless better offers were made here to him than he had received in Maryland where he had very flattering prospects, he could not think of settling in our State; and that he had undertaken his journey rather in compliance to the request of your Reverence. The possession of the church in Scott Cty did not excite at all his ambition. Finally both he and his brother-in-law appeared to be in a great hurry to return home.

³ This also shows that Bishop Carroll advised giving the church lands in Kentucky to the friars. Yet he waited to hear Father Nerinckx's wishes in the affair before making the transfer. So also it may be remarked here that Fenwick's character is so opposed to what is said about him in the rest of this document, that those who have studied the man will be compelled to believe Father Badin drew generously on his fertile French imagination. A number of his letters show him to have done this at times. Here the change is so sudden and the inconsistency so patent that the influence behind it all cannot be concealed.

⁴ Father Badin must have misread Doctor Carroll's letter. The rest of the document, the fact that the bishop himself was a religious and his high regard for Fenwick would indicate this at least.

Being unable to obtain from him the least assistance in the mission of Scott City, he was at my house four or five days in my absence, and on my return home, I found them in the disposition of going back the next day to Maryland, without exploring any more of the Country, especially the extensive tracts on Green river, where a new settlement might be made for the poor Catholics who have no land or have had land or are narrowly settled in Washington and Nelson Counties. I had even the obligation of Mr. Davis for 300 acres of good land for an Ecclesiastical settlement. I represented the distress of the poor Catholics who daily importune me for that object, I insisted on Mr. F. travelling in the limitroph¹ counties, I offered my company: but they appeared so unwilling, especially Mr. Young whom Mr. F. was not likely to disoblige, that my project vanished: I was still more unwilling that Mr. F. should return to Maryland without encouragement; I knew too well that the clergy were not very ready to visit Kentucky, and I feared they would or might receive additional prejudices which would render our present condition still worse. The delays of Mr. Nerinckx, in coming to Kentucky, which I could not account for, since he might have come with Mr. F. who passed by George T. College on his way; the wish of your Reverence that Mr. F. should establish his Academy in Kentucky; the parsimony of the Catholics in general, some of whom had circulated that I countereacted the will of Priests destined for Kentucky lest my (poor) salary should be diminished; in fine everything made me too willing to give. I flattered myself, considering the want of liberality and justice in the people and too often of disinterestedness in clergymen, that the same persons might be both professors and missionaries, that the Academy would supply what would be wanting to maintain the church; and in fine that men who have made a vow of poverty and would lead a temperate laborious life would not make so much expence in a monastery nor need so great salaries, as those who are not restricted by vows and have separate livings. I supposed men to be what they should be, and what yourself trusted the Dominicans of Bornheim are. My own reflections on what I have witnessed myself, and other subsequent information which I have all reason to believe correct, give me too much cause to apprehend that illusion is possible respecting the obligation of the vow of poverty.²—I have considered what might be the probable utility in Kentucky for our poor Catholics of a college where \$100 should be paid for board and tuition. I find on a serious reflection that not half a dozen Catholic parents are able to afford so expensive an education to their children, that consequently the labours of Mr. F. and his four companions would be almost entirely applied to the benefit of other denominations, without much service being rendered to the missions which are so extensive and numerous; that it could not be expected that more than one congreg. and the college could be attended to by the body of the Dominicans. On the other hand we could hardly find secular clergymen willing to become tenants under the control of a regular Order, and consequently the missions would not be sufficiently attended to nor extended and I might have the affliction of incurring censure from the Catholics who have subscribed a considerable sum for the erection of the Dominican college, in hope that they will be able to afford to their children a liberal education for a trifling

¹ Limitrophe, a French word for *neighboring*.

² All this is evidently the inspiration of Father Nerinckx.

³ Yet the college was most beneficial to the Catholics, many of whom received their education practically gratis.

consideration. On this occasion I must observe that the institution of Père Urbain is more likely to answer their expectation, because less expensive.

However as there is a prospect of great services, of edification, of respectability to Religion being procured by the Order; I am ready to comply with your direction and invest Mr. F. and Brethren, in such manner as you will point out, with one seat of land viz. that contiguous to Cartwright's Creek chapel. The land is much better than that I live on. It consists of 112 acres to which I have some prospect of adding the adjacent plantation consisting of 80 acres with good buildings, and orchard.⁸ I think the land near Bardstown should be reserved for a Bishop who probably will have a living also (36 acres) in the suburbs of the Town, having received an assurance from a Catholic without heirs that such was his intention. According to the will of Mr. Fournier, I have put Mr. Nerinckx in possession of the plantation on the Rolling Fork. A Priest is much wanting in Scott Cty, Lexington and Mason Cty; I hope that some virtuous friends of Mr. Nerinckx will soon come, as he expects. A Priest also should be settled in Danville who should attend the Congreg. in Madison, and make excursions about the country. Two months ago I visited two new settlements in Shelby Cty one of which is likely to become considerable. It is about 40 miles n. e. from my residence. Two Priests are wanting about Bardstown, one for Coxe's Creek, Shelby and Jefferson Cties; the other for Bardstown, Poplar neck and Hardin Cty. There are several families where they might be accommodated. I should also have a Priest constantly with me for Pottinger's Creek alone; and after much labour, much will remain undone. I receive frequent communications from St. Vincent (Indiana). The people there appear to be in great distress for want of a pastor, and there is a great harvest to make. Mr. Nerinckx will no doubt inform you of the Catholics in Ohio State.⁹

Bardstown, 12, 8ber 1805.

Most Reverend Father in God

Since I wrote the above, I have had one only interview with Mr. Nerinckx, for the space of half an hour, on the subject of the transfer of the Ecclesiastical property to Mr. Fenwick, &c., although he was unwilling to give his opinion, an ominous circumstance; at length, seeing the business coming to a crisis, he expressed himself fully.¹⁰ He thinks that such a thing is contrary to the Canons of the Church, that it is a subtraction of Ecclesiastical property, not an addition of means intended immediately for the good of souls. Indeed the Dominicans would be made independent of the Episcopal authority, if they were possessors of the whole Ecclesiastical property; and the Bishop, who is by the nature of his office the Governor of the Church, must be governed by those under his jurisdiction, and seeds of schism would be sow'd,¹¹ as is this day exemplified at N. Orleans. For let us suppose that the Dominicans or any

⁸ This shows how it happened that Saint Ann's Church passed to the charge of the Dominicans. However, they did not get the land, although it was given, largely at least, by the people for the use of the priest who should serve them.

⁹ Likely Jacob Dittos had written of the spiritually destitute condition of the few Catholics in central Ohio. But Father Nerinckx never, as far as we have been able to discover, visited that state.

¹⁰ This is another proof that Bishop Carroll himself sanctioned and advised the transfer of the ecclesiastical property to the Dominicans. We recur to this so often because we have heard a person maintain that this letter shows the venerable prelate demurred to Father Badin's proposal.

¹¹ This letter is published in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, xliii, 166ff. But the part from this comma to the end of the next paragraph is omitted.

other Order should be possessed of the whole Ecclesiastical property; let us further suppose that error or heresy, or any substantial deviation from morals or discipline should take place in individuals or in the body; let us suppose that the Bishop of course should attempt to suspend the delinquents; in that case they will submit or they will not: if they submit, still they retain possession of the temporal property of the church, although they are incapacitated to serve it, and the congreg. must find an adequate salary for a successor: but if they submit not, the which they will probably be inclined to considering their independence otherwise, we have a schism; and the Parishioners who see the schismatic perform the same rites of the church as the genuine Pastors do (this was lately the case in France &c.), and who are not generally speaking capable of Theological discussions, or rather are prepossessed in favor of the clergyman enjoying temporal independence, and who needs or will require no salary to propagate his independence among his adherents; the Parishioners, I say, will naturally prefer such a man, whose practice cannot be rigid, to the true Pastor who has come in the Sheepfold by the door, not as the thief &c., but must receive a proper salary.¹²

These reflections may be deduced from the Bull of Pius VI of Pious memory for the erection of the See of Baltimore, intrusting the Bishop with the management of the Ecclesiastical property; and accordingly I did in my Testament will that now in my hands both to Your Reverance and R. R. Coadjutor, jointly and separately.

Mr. Nerinckx expresses no little surprise at the ambition of the Dominicans of Bornheim, who hold now the property of that foundation which is worth 100,000 crowns and in better times would fetch what it is worth, without mentioning the other resources of Mr. Fenwick.¹³

In fine Mr. Nerinckx, whose Charity hindered the manifestation of his opinion, until necessity urged him, does strongly suspect the purity of their faith who, when clerymen in the low countries were under violent persecution, could be with impunity strolling in the country and in the streets, and amidst the lawless soldiery of the French revolution: Their having redeemed the Bornheim property confirms his suspicions.¹⁴ A letter does not admit of lengthy details; only he is so much disheartened at the thought of becoming partaker with them in the sacred ministry that he spoke with resolution of his leaving the State if the Dominicans trouble themselves otherwise than with a college.¹⁵ This thing I the more heartily deprecate, as his disinterestedness is quite Apostolical, a thing little to be expected in our days; and he looks for some respectable friends, who have been tried in the crucible, and have powerful protectors in Europe, able and willing to support the Missions where they will establish themselves; and in fact Mr. Nerinckx has already received several remittances which prove that this is not an ideal scheme. I speak confidentially, because I repose myself entirely on the experience

¹² This bit of curious English and Jansenistic and Gallican canon law, omitted in the *Records*, etc., must have provoked Bishop Carroll to a smile.

¹³ The property at Bornheim belonged to the Dominicans in England, not to those in America. Just at that time, the house could have been bought for 25,000 florins. So, too, were Fenwick's resources practically consumed by the purchase of Saint Rose Farm.

¹⁴ For this matter see article, pp. 32-33.

¹⁵ Father Badin is afraid that the Dominicans will not labor on the missions. Father Nerinckx says that if they do, he will leave Kentucky. This looks like the friars were "between the devil and the deep blue sea."

and wisdom of your Reverence. Mr. Nerinckx observes also in addition to the above that monks are but auxiliaries, that they have but a delegated jurisdiction, that they enjoy the ordinary only in becoming Bishops, and that the reverse must be the case, if invested with the whole Ecclesiastical property, and armed besides with immunities, privileges and exemptions from the ordinary.¹⁶ I shall add only that Religious communities which have appeared to Catholic Governments so formidable or useless that their property has been unjustly made national, may at a future time become in this *infidel* country exceptionable also, especially if in the course of things feuds, envy, scandals, independence or rivalities were to take place, the which we have but too much reason to apprehend, considering the nature of man. If I be well informed the Legislature of Virginia has already made an havoc among the Episcopalians, a body which appeared to them too wealthy and perhaps formidable: The same alarm might possibly at a future time be raised in this country, where we have already the Trappists [*sic*], probably the Dominicans, and possibly the Franciscans, friends to the Revd Mr. Eagan, as mentioned in your letter of May.¹⁷—To conclude, as there are particular graces for every vocation, and the merciful Providence of God has placed you to rule his church, I shall trouble myself with nothing else but to follow your orders.

I shall briefly advert to other subjects. Fathers Basil and Dominic, Trappists, died at my house two weeks after their arrival in Kentucky; F. Urban has received the Viaticum several times and is now in a poor situation as I am informed. The two thirds of the community have been very sick from the fatigues of the journey. . . .¹⁸ I sincerely rejoice at the restoration of the Jesuits and hope their services will again be felt in America more extensively: they have some enlightened friends in the Government of this State.—As to Mr. Stoddart's land, it might be expedient to receive for church purposes a small tract *unconditionally*, say 500 acres for the maintenance of a Bishop. I shall probably take a ride there with Col. Edwards (once of Maryland) to explore that country, but 30 or 40 miles from this.—Mrs. Abell has not become Catholic and may not become such for several years to come.—We have not as yet published the Jubilee.—I have published lately the *real principles of Catholics*, of which I shall send your Reverence a copy by the first opportunity. I have six dollars in my hands for your Cathedral.

I have the honour to be very respectfully, craving your Episcopal benediction, Most Reverend Father in God,

Your very hble Servant and obedi Son in Xt.

S. T. BADIN.

P. S. I have thought proper to inclose my letter to Mr. Fenwick for your Reverence's inspection, which you will be good enough to seal and send, if you think it answers the purpose.¹⁹

¹⁶ This speaks for itself. But we submit that Father Nerinckx should not have let his desire to establish a Belgian mission in Kentucky, a laudable ambition though it was, carry him to such extremes against the Dominicans sent there by the bishop.

¹⁷ What a change from Badin's previous letter!

¹⁸ The matter omitted here is of a delicate personal nature, and has no bearing on any Dominican or on our subject.

¹⁹ Father Badin's letter is in Case 1, G 10 and 11, of the Baltimore Archives. Evidently the one who indexed these archives was led, by its double date, to think that there were two letters. We do not know whether Bishop Carroll gave Fenwick the letter enclosed for him; but it is probable that he did not.

Father Nerinckx's First Letter to Bishop Carroll Touching on the Dominicans

It has been told in the article how Bishop Carroll did not acknowledge the receipt of the above letter from Father Badin, but took advantage of a later one to defend the friars; and the reader has doubtless noticed how Father Badin insinuates, in the document just given, that Father Nerinckx would wish to make at least a part of Kentucky a mission under the care of Belgian priests. Indeed, Father Nerinckx's heart was set on this project. He refers to it in a number of his letters. It was a laudable ambition; but the good priest should not have suffered himself to become so embittered against the Dominicans because their presence was an obstacle to his plan. Like himself, they were sent to Kentucky by the bishop. Yet, although he had signified his intention of leaving the state, unless they confined their labors to the proposed college, hardly had the first two sent west, Wilson and Tuite, reached their destination, when he begins to write, belittling not only their zeal, but that of those who were still to come. Both this project of a Belgian mission and this spirit of disparagement may be seen in the following letter to Bishop Carroll.

J. M. J.

Illmo.

Illustrissime ac Reverendissime Domine!

Fasciculum litterarum vobis tradendum curo benevolentia vestra fretus, in finem eum destinandi Rdo Dno Brosius, quem quaeso, ne gravetur ipsas in European transferendas tradere, salva enim fuit prima litterarum missio, quam ipse curavit; plurimum illi debitor sum; Deus remunerator sit ejus! ac in grati erga eum animi testimonium sincerissima mea vota pro illius illiusque familiae dilectae et valetudine et salute dignetur accipere. Unum petere mihi liceat ac requirere ab illustriss. Dntne Vtra, ut scilicet non gravetur vel paucissima verba addere litteris meis ad Dm De Wolf Antverpian; magnum enim hinc litteris meis pondus accedet et fides, in subsidium Americanae missionis et viros et ornamenta et nummos postulanti-bus.

RR. PP. Dominicani bini jam dudum in hanc regionem advenerunt, coeperuntque aliquamdam Religionis rei operam navare, ut egestate spirituali pressis imo deficientibus succurrant; ast ut apparet, modicae durationis erit eorum adjutorium, cum ex repetitis eorum assertionibus constet illos non ad missionum suppetias sed ad ordinis sui propagationem exiisse, quamquam tamen dicant se quod poterunt facturos in monasterii sui vicinis;²⁰ argumentum itaque certissimum incongrue ipsis bona Missionis aut titularium Ecclesiarum fore concedenda, ac spes insuper infirma valde colendi hujus Evangelici agri, ubi sentibus et tribulis spinisque plena omnia, quae semen quodvis suffocant, vix una alterave manu ad resecandum occupari valente; desiderium ergo manifestare cogor habendi in hac regione R. Dm De Cuyper nostratem et si qui sunt alii (:non est tamen hic Dominus singulariter mihi notus:) qui huc accurrere vellent; res sane urget; nam est hic videre miseriam. Porro si fas mihi est mea sensa promere, vereor non expedire nostrates in longe dissita a se loca mittere, quia adventantes novi, plane peregrini nec

²⁰ Wilson and Tuite, the two fathers then in Kentucky, were specially intended for the novitiate and college which the friars proposed opening. In view of Fenwick's oft-expressed intention, it is safe to say that this, and this only, was what they told Father Nerinckx.

quo se recipiant, cum advenerint, commode invenient, nec cum laborando defecerint seniore aut morbo languerint, ubi mortem praestolentur felicem, ut apud suos facile reperient; ad hoc quae ex patria nostra forte possent subsidia expectari in unam aptius regionem quam in dissitas a se mitterentur, sic ut horum concessa veritate unicum fere videatur superasse, delectus scilicet istiusmodi regionis; quae autem praefenda sit, notissima Illustrissimae Dnatis Vtrae sagaxque prudentia pro gloria Dei determinare dignabitur; omnia, apprime nosco, loca in universa vestra Dioecesi vehementissime desiderant operarios, sed vix credo fieri posse, ut major inveniatur penuria, quam hac in parte, ubi mea quidem opinione fructus sat uber, tardus licet, insuper datur sperari; nolim tamen cuiquam importunus nimis persuasor esse, ut huc advolet, nisi solo Dei zelo et proximi charitate ferveat, solum quae Christi sunt quaerens, certus, quod quae sua sunt, non sit inventurus, atque hisce tantum sub promissis volentem omnem huc amantissime invito.

Non possum non repetere ardentissima mea vota, ut cum operariis aliis Episcopus unus adveniat, non qui videat semel gregem transiens, sed qui visitet semper illi cohabitans vir omni exceptione major, cui committatur grex, ipse fere miseria miserior.

Casuum duorum in causa matrimoniali statum ad Illustrissimam Dnatis Vtram transmissi, qui quaeso ne oblivioni tradantur. Litteras quoque cambiales 100 Dalerorum recipiendorum per Illtm Dm Vtram per virum in George-town itinerantem misi, ex quibus 90 designaveram pro tribus campis in turribus appendendis, quae si emptae sint bonum est; quae si non sint, optarem unam tantum emi valoris ut in praecedentibus notavi, ac de reliquis nummis coemantur libri precum, piarum instructionum ac catechismi & notato in charta quadam eorum pretio, plurimum enim hic libri desiderantur; inter illos optarem aliquoties invenire libellum, cui titulus *Fifty Reasons*. Hoc negotium forte R. Ds Brosius non dedignabitur cordi habere, ut autem huc adferantur opportunitas, puto, proxime aderit, cum multos audiam huc transire paratos. Coeterum paternae vestrae solitudini quam possum

Commendatissimus tota observantia signor

Illustrissime ac Reverendissime Domine

Humillimus obsequissus

vester servus

C. NERINCKX,

pbr.

6 febr, 1806

Holy Mary's at the Rolling F.³¹

P. S. Multum salvere opto R. D. Beeston. Oro placeat inclusas pro R. D. De Bart destinandas ipsi curare.

The following document shows its writer to have been a master of bitter invective. It almost staggers belief that a pious and humble man could employ such violent language. If his ministrations among the people were anything like as harsh as the way in which he speaks of them here, they could not have been otherwise than unpopular with many. Few, we think, will be found who will accept Father Nerinckx's characterization of the early Catholics of Kentucky, nearly all from the old Maryland colony, or born in Kentucky of Mary-

³¹ *Baltimore Archives, Case 8 A, U 2.*

land parents. For the answer to his charges against the Dominicans, for the sake of brevity, we must refer the reader to the article of which we have spoken (pp. 15-45). Suffice it here to say that Father Nerinckx, through the arrangement of Father Badin or Bishop Carroll, had now lost, or was on the point of losing, Saint Ann's, his favorite mission. There he contemplated building a brick church which would be the first in Kentucky; but this parish was soon to be given to the Dominicans, if it had not already passed under their care. Doubtless this was as fuel added to the fire. Nor should it be forgotten in this connection that the gloomy, rigorist principles with which Fathers Nerinckx and Badin were deeply imbued, also had their part in the inspiration of these ugly letters against the friars, whose teachings and ministrations were not only milder, but more Catholic. This brought the people to the Dominicans from far and wide, which was more than the other two good missionaries could hear with equanimity. But for further information on this point see article.

J. M. J.

2 Junii 1806.

Illustr

Illustrissimis ac Reverendissimis Dominis.

Gratissimas vestras, Illust^{mo} Dñe, nec minus desideratas recepi salvas; plurimum me confuderunt expressa in iis benevolentiae in me sensa, quibus qualiter respondeam non invenio.

Rvdum De Cuyper et mihi et populo huic ereptum summopere dolui, ob hoc maxime, quod casus hic sit nostrates alios a capessendo itinere absteriturus, et, circumstantiis quibusdam praeter haec attentis, videatur praesagire frustra fieri tentamina ad Missionem quamdam Belgarum, quam quidem ordiri tam fatuus non praesumerem, sed adventantibus ad hoc a Deo viris esse a servitio, quantum mediocritas mea fert, peroptarem; ast Dominus est, quod bonum est faciat.

Ut ordine pergratis vestris respondendo prosequar, pauca de desiderato hic Episcopo tangere nunc occurrit: doleo simulque horreo, tantae rei tantillum me sive in modico sive in magno ad arbitrium compelli, pietati tamen ac observantiae in patrem judicans cedendum, quod Dominus voluerit suggerere exponam, cujus maxime causa agitur; parcat, quaeso, Deus optimus miseriae meae! Condonetque Illustris. Dñatio Vtra adolescentulo et contempto, qui de seniore sensa edere cogor! Addecet sane, ut, si fieri potest, vir eligatur et regionis et morum populi gnarus, qualem, in superioribus vestris memoratum Rvdum Dm, iudicio quoque meo designasti; scientia ejus in utrisque litteris, si ipse iudicio quid valeo, apparet mihi supra mediocrem, quae si per tempus et negotia liceret, fusior haud dubie ac magis profunda esset; ratione plurimum valet iudicioque et prudentia (: mense proximo, qua nescio die, annum aget trigesimum nonum); doctrina existimo sana est, paratus decisioni superioris audiens esse; zelus ejus sat superquerque est notus, qui forte Gallici fervoris plusculum habet et subamarae cujusdam rigiditatis, quique, si modico mansuetudinis melle temperatus esset, et suorum palato magis gratus esset, et majoris in inveteratis curandis putidisque vulneribus esset usus, quod quidem in causa est quod non tam generatim diligatur — quamquam et hoc fatendum, populum hic multam partem difficilem, indocilem, ingratum, immorigerum, dyscolum, indifferentemque esse, et sine ullo omine religionis, ejus venerandum nomen blasphemare facientes. Mea quoque ipsius sors est, diris a pluribus convelli, odioq' adjectia, etiam de morte minia, satis acerbo devoveri ac proscindi, dum

interim alii, nec forte numero minores nec minus religiosi, dociles, alacres et in pietatis officiis ferventes nec male erga me affectos sese demonstrant; in quo priores gravem vix intelligo; non in temporalibus sane, cum nil recipiam, et annum medium ad Ecclesiae restorationem remiserim, quae quidem ipsa nil hinc sibi sperare potest, non enim ad sacras liberalitates usque hujus religio populi provecta est hactenus, qui vix si Deus aut spiritus est, audivit aut vere credit; puto spumas lunaticorum illorum ex eo maxime provenire, quod qui captivos ipsos tenet infernalis tenebrio, Domini correptus verbis, timensque expelli miseros miserrime afficiat, sed novimus haec apostolicorum operariorum esse fercula et obsonia post labores ac defatigationes; at justo longior modo haec digressio²² — temporalia negotia satis dextere tractat, pietatis studiosus est, a cujus exercitio forte aliquantulum consortiorum amantior impeditur, quae tamen ab adventu meo, in ejus domo aut nulla aut rara fuerunt; ast cum foris est, invitatus non summa reluctantia renititur, quod quidem facere se inquit intuitu boni hinc sperati; haec de ipso assertio potius aliena est quam mea, quamquam tamen quoque mea; dicebat enim haereticus quidam honestioris sortis; I like very well Mr. B., but he is too fond of company. Et revera quamvis bonum aliquod forte subinde sperari detur, vereor tamen ne mala nimium praeponderent; ego potius a parte praeconum starem, v.g. Conc. Aquil. [?]: "Convivia et nimiam laicorum familiaritatem multarum offensionum et scandalorum originem debent clerici in quocumque gradu constituti declinare ac fugere," et S. Hier. ad Nep.: "Convivia tibi vitanda sunt, et maxime eorum qui honoribus tument," & ac alibi: "Nunquam petentes, raro accipiamus rogati . . ." "Saepe fit, ut contemptui sit ecclesiastici ministerii dignitas," dicit Conc. Med. IV. Et iterum S. Hier.: "Valde despicitur clericus, qui saepe vocatus ad prandium, usu recusat etiam necessitate aliqua compulsus," & alia plura, quae quidem omnia magis in hac patria quam in nostra, ubi ea verissima ipse comperi, vera arbitror; haec sunt, quae praecipue notare potui; nec in iis quidpiam videtur apparere, quod a ministerio, terribili quidem, arcere ipsum debeat; nam supposita etiam allatorum veritate facile emendari emendanda [sic] poterunt seria ipsius ministerii consideratione; coeterum neminem ego nosco huic loco magis aptum;²³ interim rogo atque obtestor, ut, quam possunt minime, mea sensa in hanc determinationem influant, qui in peccatis natus sum totus.

Pro campanulis illis tribus, de quibus in anterioribus, schedulam illam cambialem 100 Dalerorum destinaveram, quam Illustr. Dñatio Vestra litteris inclusam ad me misit, saltem ad tantum ex eo capiendum, quantum illis solvendis erat necessarium; in posterioribus tamen mentem meam parum immutatam reperies, casu quo necdum sint emptae; nempe praeferam (:attento quod ipse solus sumptus haud dubie sim facturus, voluntate populi, quae quondam veleitatis cujusdam speciem habuit, vix aut ne vix ad contribuendum inclinata:) ex residuo, empti unica campanula 30 dalerorum pro Ecclesia residentiae meae, libros pios, precum, catech., &c., coemi quorum magna hic penuria; inter hos Scripturam S. mihi mitti optarem; quod si emptio facta sit campanularum, bene est. Mittantur in Louisville in ripa fluvii Ohio situm vicum, cum inscriptione ad virum catholicum, *De Gallon* vocatum, pistorem ibidem, quem

²² This harsh language about the Catholics in Kentucky certainly forms a strong contrast to the praise which the friars unflinchingly bestowed upon them.

²³ This certainly sets aside the statement which one reads here and there, that Father Nerinokx did not think Father Badin a suitable candidate for the miter.

quamprimum rei certiores faciam. Novas litteras cambiales huic includo in hunc finem, missas ad me particulari quodam, ut exprimit Dñs De Wolf in litteris suis; valent 105 daleros; alia adjumenta vix expecto, quae tamen non negantur sed offeruntur potius, verum cum intelligam illos circa Jesuitarum et Trappistarum institutiones plurimum occupari eisque allaborare, satius duco illis impensas fieri quibus major Dei gloria procurabitur; de me minus sollicitus pro modulo, quantum licet, conabor, nec deerit mihi nunc qui semper paterne mei curam gessit utcumque indignissimi. Modica, ut mihi scribunt, spes est obtinendi ex patria nostra viros, cum qui zelosi sunt ibidem ipsi sint necessarii, et inertibus non indigeamus. Trappistae in patria nostra magis magisque tolerantur et increscunt, religiosae hospitales et filiae *charitatis dictae* a praefectis et Episcopis expetuntur, pastores fere ex mendicato vivunt, et reliqua rerum facies, aiunt, sat lugubris est. Promittunt benevoli isti homines cistam aut cistas ad petitionem meam mittere, ornamentis altaris plenas, quorum distributionem Illustriss. Dñationi Vtrae relinquent, in qua, quaeso, meminisci hujus loci non dedignabitur, populo hic praeter paupertatem bonae voluntatis defectu laborante; amant ipsi generosi et religiosi viri domum sibi assignari Philadelphiae aut New Yorki, cum directe Antverpia in alterutrum portum saepe occasio occurrit mittendi; valde autem raro Baltimorum, nisi prius Amstelodamum missio fiat, quam incommodam dicunt et sumptuosam; sed ego nescio utrum cum Philadelphiam appellant non sit plus solvendum quam Baltimori, quod adventitii Dominicani innuunt, qui ultra 135 Daleros ibidem solvere coacti sunt, quod Illustriss. D^a Vtra melius noscere poterit, qualiterque se res habeat, aveo edoceri, ut ipsis quam potero citissime locum designatum annuciare valeam, et modum quo procedatur.

Fideles ad *Post Vincennes* cum R. D. Badin invisi, cui itineri mensem prope dedimus, errantes sicut oves quae perierunt invenimus, et certissimus videtur eorum totalis interitus nisi adjutrix manus advolet; pessimi sunt homines, vitiis variis libidinis maxime et perjurii immersi. Ecclesiae praecepta de festis observandis, legesque jejunii ac abstinentiae pro nihilo habentur, verbo, non est species neque decor sed contritio et infelicitas. 80 ibi circiter, puto, sunt familiae, sed plures in circuitu dispersae; vehementer desiderant sacerdotem habere, qui eis opituletur, quamquam multum timeam ut ipsi pareant; gens est otio diffuens, a labore aliena, sequax voluntatis. Necesse est sane pastoris habitatio sit ibi tristitia, amara, desolata; de temporalibus tamen R. D^a Rivet curam habuit. Gubernator loci operam suam offert, ut advenienti sacerdoti procuret annue 200 Daleros, quos recipiebat D^a Rivet; quibus ego potius renunciarem, quos non dubito religionis libertati maxime nocivos, uti ex relictis quoque in domo mortuaria scriptis palam est. Sylvestrium praeterea duae tribus sunt, nempe *les Myamys* et *les Loups*, in quibus magna spes apparet conversionis; prior populosa habens 1500 viros ad arma aptos, posterior 800 capitum; hi jam eo processerunt [?], ut Ecclesiam habeant, in qua congregantur Dominicis et festis ad audiendum catechismum & qui per duos laicos mercede conductos populo proponitur; distant hi a Post Vincennes 400 fere milliaribus, illi autem in ejus fere vicinia sunt siti; obtuli me ad quamvis ex eis stationem, si ita superiori fuerit visum, uti per hasce Illmae Dñi Vtrae me offero, quamquam ipse fatear, non obstante bona quacumque voluntate adjuvandi proximum, oportere me magis inquirere locum, in quo numerum mensium meorum fiendo lugendoque transigam judicium durissimum expectaturus; instantissime tamen iterum repeto, insisterem ut ad aliquos horum derelictorum mitterer,

nisi absolutissima nullitas mea contrarium clamaret; videtur omnino quoque necessarium in aliquo locorum istorum Episcopatum erigere, attentis locorum distantis cujus consilio, statutis ac decisionibus stetur, nec suspensi animi in varia detorqueantur, multoque promptius is media adinveniret, sine obice aut dilatione de mediis judicandi ac decernendi quae e re Ecclesiae esse valerent.

In Louisville spes magna apparet obtinendae quamprimum Ecclesiae, si sacerdos sit, qui hanc subinde valeat visitare; imo audeo dicere ac certum videtur, pro numero sacerdotum fidelium quoque numerus augeretur: O mittat Dominus operarios in messem, quia multa jam alba sunt ad illam! Quod autem illustriss. Dñatio Vestra dignetur hic me consolatorem consiliariumque agere viri luminis tanti ac experientiae, videtur mea quidem mente abs re esse, nisi dicendae sint tenebrae luci lucem tenebrositate sua addere, aut, quod fere idem innuit, ut luceat lux magis efficere. Certum interim est Rvdum illum Dm nullo meo consilio aut re indigere, quo tamen obstante non longius migrare intendo nisi in domum illam, in cujus possessionem me induxit, ubi, quo res melius agantur praesentem me esse oportet, cuique soli loco, utcumque modico, invigilando, toto, ut dicitur, meo homine opus habeo, sicut duae congregationes reliquae Sti Caroli et Stae Annae nimirum quantum vires meas excedant. Hoc est dictamen mentis meae, paratae interea ad maxime contraria quaevis; obedientia enim excusationi locum tribuet aliquem, ubi ausus temerarii ratio sufficiens nequit inveniri.²⁴

Trappistarum res satis tarde procedunt ac lente, cujus congregationis quidem ruinam timeo, nisi novis auxiliis hominum ac nummorum, quae utraque promittuntur ex patria nostra, fulciatur; prospere magis, videtur, omnia fierent si R. P. Urbain, quod frequenter ipsemet illi suggessi, ab humilioribus fundamentis ordiretur, nec de eligendo loco ad defatigationem usque anxietur; verendum ne continuis suis excursionibus rem minuat, minusq' bonae de Trapistis opinioni ac famae consulat.

De Dominicanis nostris binis haud dubito, quin R. Ds Badin sit sua sensa traditurus. Vix equidem jam haesitare potest quin prognosticam meam assertionem oculatus arbiter agnoscat, speculatione tanta differunt ab ipso, praxi vero in quibusdam tota. Quantum vero jam dicere expediat, quantumve dici valeat, vix ausim censor esse; interim hoc asseveranter, puto, pronunciare possum: Fortasse gentem multiplicabunt, sed non magnificabunt laetitiam nec faciem terrae renovabunt. Hoc verum est; petulci nostri insolescunt magis, et qui sin amore metu saltem tantisper coercerantur laxatis jam habenis proruunt ac extento collo incedunt refugii civitatem invenisse se ovantes; plurimum sibi insuper promittunt ex adventu duorum residuorum, qui indulgentias plenarias non de poenis peccato remissa culpa debitis sed et de reatu culpae incurrendo allaturi expectantur vel ardentissime; forte minus exactus sum dum plurali numero promiscue utor, nam videtur P. Tuite, paucioribus tamen litteris excultus, justae disciplinae addictior; alter autem ut apparet, multis litteris, siquidem multis, non ad insaniam sed ad mollitiem, quae forte propter salis acrimoniae defectum infatuatio dici potest, adductus est: mollem illum vocat R. Ds. Badin, apud populum *easy* audit; utrum tamen ad exorbitantes laxistas relegandus sit iudex nolim esse.

²⁴ This indicates that Saint Ann's was still under Father Nerinckx's jurisdiction; but it seems certain that Father Wilson attended the mission from early in 1806, and that it had already been determined to place it permanently under the Dominicans.

Ego rigidus censor, R. Ds. Badin rigidior et acrior;²⁵ verumtamen plerique ab acribus ac pungentibus (:si tamen nostra talia revera sint:) veram sanationem potius citiusque sperantes, mellitaq' apium arbitantes fastidire incipiunt, ac pristina remedia inquirunt, pacem inter et pacem justum tantaeque, id est, aeternae consequentiae, discrimen subolentes.

Ab illius R. P. adventu res matrimonialis (:haec enim antequam ipse huc advenerim, multi rumoris ac murmuris occasio fuerat:) omnino pro votis equorum ac mulorum in parte carnali decisa est, quamvis in re sacramentali pro sanctitate nihil hactenus videatur inventum; omnia jam licent in matrimonio et forte brevi omnia expedient. Res eo est, uti relatam est mihi, ut quaedam dixerit, laxato hoc ursi sui fune se amplius ferenda non esse: *I kan no more*; quae antea intra honesti tori repagula naturae regulis laeta vivebat, religionisque gaudebat adjumentis ac sacris laetabatur juriis, a bruti insanientis secura excessibus. Porro doctrina ista si vera sit, actum est de ritualibus nostris, de pastoralibus, &c. &c., de omnibus dicam christianae praxeos regulis; insulse sane (:sit dicto venia:) Tobias egerit, priusquam hoc sacramentum magnum in Ecclesia esset, tot sanctae castitatis conjugalibus, finisque conjugalibus copulae sancti tam expressa edendo vota ac specimina; vereorque ne forte quaedam (:pudet dicere!) sortem subeant uxoris illius Levitae Jud. 19, non alienis exornatae libidinibus, sed propriorum enecatae carnali furore, succumbant. O quam pulchra est casta generatio! Istae similesque speculationes ac praxes, si pro genio cujusque contra mandatum Domini, apostoli repetitum consilium omnemque sanorum scholasticorum opinionem pro praxeos regula debeant haberi, non video, quid spiritui privato haereticorum valeat juste opponi. Hoc solum restabit, ut cum pagano condoleamus infelicitati Ecclesiae saeculorum praecedentium, et fideles illorum temporum dicamus miserrimos, quibus haec porta empyrii fuit clausa, quorum plurimi essent damnati, qui quod honestum est turpe existimantes, a propriis sacerdotibus male instructi ac decepti ex conscientia erronea peccaverunt. Longior hic fortasse sum, quamquam vix dicendi finem inveniam; sed parceret solita vestra benignitas, confido.²⁶

Hoc interim ardentissime desiderarem, ut (:si forte iste ordo figat mansionem, quod vix credam, attenta quam praevideo modica pecuniaria assistentia, consideratoque quod non a tam humilibus videantur initiis velle incipere:) ut regularis observantiae verus amator et animarum zelo plene accensus ex alio quodam ordinis illius coenobio huc advocari posset; quid

²⁵ Compare Father Nerinckx's original given here (from the words: "*Fortè minus exactus sum dum plurali numero promittens utor*," to this point) with Maes' rendition of it (*Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx*, p. 174); and do not overlook that author's quotation marks. The "*aller*" *pater* was Father Wilson. Here is Father Maes' translation: "The people call these reverend gentlemen *easy*; Rev. Badin pronounces them extreme *laxists*, and I (who, although severe, look upon my colleague as altogether too rigid and stern,) think that he is not mistaken in his estimate of them." Compare also Maes' parenthetical clause with the parenthetical clause in the next line of the text: "(:si tamen nostra talia revera sint)."

²⁶ All this exhortation of the Dominicans is one paragraph covering three long, closely written pages. We have taken the liberty of dividing it into several. Compare this paragraph with Maes' rendition of it in *op. cit.*, p. 175. In a footnote on the same page he attempts to prove that Father Nerinckx had "formed a correct idea of the state of affairs at St. Rose's" when no such place as Saint Rose's existed. But for further information on this matter see article, pp. 15-45. Surely no one, not even Father Maes himself, can justly take exception to our attempt to set right all this misrepresentation and unfair treatment.

enim de tali institutione Religioni decoris sperandum aut veri nominis boni, ubi homines seipsos satis amantes, pondusque diei et aestus plusculum exhorrescentes, a regularis disciplinae censore ac custode tanto remoti spatio, plebis catholicae mores cui praeerunt, ad suorum normam formabunt? quos quidem absit ut improbos dicam, tamen vix religiosae observantiae zelo animatos aestimabo. Plura hic scribere nec jam vacat, R. P. Urbain jamjam has in itinere ad vos secum assumpturo, nec forte rebus non satis hactenus plenae ac maturae convenit. Quae autem querulus satisque fortasse acris, miserrimus ipse ego ac nequissimus patri ac Episcopo scribo non rogatus quidem²⁷, solius, confido, gloriae Dei zelo, si modo discreto [discreto?] satia, et rei christianae amore sunt exarata, ut quantum fieri potest, si religiosae institutiones, quod optandum, hic locum inveniant, allaboretur ut viri perfecti, quod perfectionis status sonat, obtineantur; quorum enim vana est religio aut vix a saeculari discreta commercio, novimus in patria nostra nunquam satis fienda experientia quantum religioni obfuerint, hic autem majus hinc timendum malum, si quos nos perfectos vocatione viros gloriamur communis aut mollioris vitae homines deprehendant, sicque pro aedificatione iis, qui ex adverso sunt, scandalum detur. Ideam quidem minus favorabilem mihi impresserant de hujus collegii patribus vix ante ne nomine quidem mihi notis omni exceptione majores viri nostrates, illi ipsi, qui missionis Americanae rem tam zelose amant curare, cum unus eorum mihi dicebat velle se, ut si forte comites illos haberem in maris tractu, tamen quantum possem a familiari consuetudine abtinerem; noverant enim R. PP. viam media in persecutione totius electi cleri nostri libere incedendi et obambulandi tyranno ipsis, quo titulo Deus scit, uti juratoribus parcendo, quod saltem bonis omnibus violenter suspectum semper visum fuit; ad hoc *bons* usi sunt ad emendas possessiones suas, quod zelantes pro religione plus satis probarunt fieri non potuisse sine expressa vel tacita accessione ad tyranni votum; deinde P. Wilson ipse in officialem publicum a gubernio electus fuit, Praefectoquo Departiment multum acceptus, collegium eorum varios numerabat alumnos, filios hominum parti tyrannizanti aut addictorum aut subservientium, quibus si addamus expressiones quasdam in favorem status miseri Ecclesiae Gallicanae, quam pius nullus non videt amaritudine amarissima repletam, vix dubitare ausim, quin talis farinae viri cautiissime sunt tractandi, qui si iniquitati volentes nomen non dederint, tamen usque ad scandalosam molliem condescenderunt; praevidensque jam, quod illi ipsi, talium principiorum morumque viri (:delicatul enim sunt, sat bonam valetudinis et corporis curam agentes, non tamen sunt potui multum dediti:) sint aliquando futuri, si res ipsis succedat, Seminarii KKyani professores, aut saltem pro longo tempore, ni aliter misericors providentia disponat, numerosiorem constituturi cleri hujus partem²⁸. De his omnibus paulo amplius verba facere ad cautelam oportere me censui, ne fortasse tacuisse postea poeniteat, seroque paretur aliquando medicina; interim non pluris haec mea

²⁷ These words prove conclusively that Father Nerinckx wrote these things solely on his own initiative. But see Maes's translation (*op. cit.*, p. 176, second paragraph) of the end of the document: "Since you expect me to look after the interests of religion in this region." These words, in spite of that translator, are not in the document.

²⁸ In rebuttal of all this see article, pp. 31-33.

expositio valeat opto, quam attenta frivolitate mea, ac pudenda miseria valere judicabitur.^{32a}

Sunt et alia quaedam quae scribere luberet, sed per tempus non licet. Hoc tamen addam pro laude populi hujus plurimam partem utut dyscoli, multam in iis mea opinione spem boni inveniri, si animarum eorum directores utut exacti, et, si placet, etiam stricti, modo mansueti, mites et infirmitatis eorum condolentes sint; acerbitas ipsos terret, sed pietas paterna etiam invitos trahit; defectu tamen *sacerdotum* necesse est ut plurimi pereant, quod quidem quantopere me, utcumque indolentem, affligat non sum [par?] exprimendo."

Alias hic iterum includo litteras cambiales, quas particularis quidam per D. DeWolf ad me misit; dignabitur opto Illtriss. Dñatio Vtra illius curam habere, expensasque quae in gratiam meam factae sunt, solvere. Veniam itaque humillime petens de omni gravamine quod vobis causo; precibus, si quid valeo, conabor resarcire. Coeterum enixis votis pro duplici vestra prosperitate bonorum omnium largitorem incessanter obtestans, qua par est filiali observantia, debitaq' reverentia, studio animoque signor

Illustrissimae ac Reverendiss. Dñationis Vtrae

humillimus obedientissimq.

SERVUS C. NERINCKX,

prbr.

P. S. Plurimum salutis illustrissimo coadjutori, Rdis DD Beeston, Brosius, &c., aliisque benevolis nostris, quorum post vestras, precibus sacrificiisque totum me commendo.³²

Document No. 5 is only a postscript to a letter that can no longer be found in the Baltimore Archives. Taken together with a later letter of date, March 21, 1807 (Baltimore Archives, Case 8 A, U 4), it shows that the document of which it was a part, was long, largely devoted to the missionary's ideas of the Dominicans, severe in the extreme, and aimed at preventing the friars from becoming the professors of the future diocesan seminary. With this latter point, however, Father Nerinckx needed not to have troubled himself, for nothing seems to have been farther from the friars' minds.

P. S. Paratis jam ad discessum litteris sat temporis superest ut notulas quasdam superaddam. Mors viri vere plorandi a digna tanto viro vidua matrona nunciata nulli dubio locum linquit; Dominus De Wolf ergo obiit, verum mihi amicum ereptum lugeo damnumque non vulgare ambae Indiae sentient; interim Dominus est, qui disposuit, quod bonum est in oculis suis faciat! Erat huic religioso viro intimus amicus, zelo hujus simili aut eodem animatus, rerum gerendarum justitia ac theologica etiam scientia supra sortem

^{32a} One cannot suppress a feeling of astonishment at seeing Father Maes (*op. cit.*, p. 176) translate the latter part of this paragraph: "I feel all the more free, my Lord, in writing to you as I have done, from the fact that I foresee that the Dominicans will be professors of our Ecclesiastical Seminary, or at least will constitute a majority of our clergy, if providence does not interfere; and I might be sorry afterward, but too late, not to have spoken my mind on the subject, since you expect me to look after the interests of Religion in this region. . . ." Our surprise is all the greater because the last clause is not only an interpolation, but is in ill accord with Father Nerinckx's statement referred to in note 27; while the whole paragraph, as rendered by Maes, is so toned down as to make the Belgian missionary's charges the more plausible by making them less bitter and extravagant.

³² *Baltimore Archives*, Case 8 A, U 1.

suam instructus, confessorum nostratium hortator et consolator, principique De Gallitsen, quam pariter vita functam intelligo ac doleo, familiaris; est viro huic nomen J. Peemans. Mercator est satis dives Lovanii, ubi habitat prope canalem, quem quidem puto ad Revdiss. Dnatem Vestram litteras dedisse. Videtur omnino e re Christiana in hac regione futurum, si zelotae hujus pius zelus litteris foveatur, casuque quo ego aut alii, inter quos praesertim Jesuitae duo novelli ex ea regione adventitii, aut forte Illustriss. Dnatio Vtra ipsa, cui et novum hunc annum et alios post hunc multos totis votis benedictione coeli plenos exopto, e vivis evocaretur, res taliter disponantur, ut cooperatione viri illius iter servetur apertum et Missionariis in hanc Regionem, et iis, quibus Missiones valeant juvari.

Nuperrime mihi dicebat R. P. Urbanus expectare se ornamenta ex Europa, quae ipsi et Rdiss^o Episcopo competebant; nil ad hoc respondi, sed ad me scripsit Ds Peemans & Ds De Wolf, quod coemissent ac congregassent varia ad ornatum Ecclesiarum nostrarum, qualiter res se habeat ignoro; sed et praeterea scribit ad me soror mea varia quoque comparata ex pecunia ad me pertinente et ab aliis procurata, quibus forte pecunia quoque aliqua addetur, imagines pro catechese, Crucifixi, Rosaria, &, pro quibus jam tertio scripsi; horum non dubito quin mentio sit exprimenda in litteris; idem nuntiat vidua Dni De Wolf, quae etiam addit Remonstrantiam, Ciboriumque et casulas, &, mittenda fore; hos ergo articulos, quantum fieri potest, ad me mitti optarem, cum partim sint futuri mei proprii, partim mihi donati, cumque nullum hic sit medium super habendi quidquam in Ecclesiis, nisi quod ex propriis coemimus, totumque meum, quod valde modicum est, in hunc finem expenditur. Ipsa vidua De Wolf spondet se pro me facturam uti pie memoriae maritus ejus mihi promiserat, petitque assignari modum faciliorem, de quo in superioribus mentio, mittendi quod volunt in Americam ad certum correspondentem, et an similia quaevis liceat huc inferre, ad quod respondi ipsi licere. Sic enim opinor.

1 Januarii 1807.

Diu multumque deliberavi, utrum hanc de Dominicanis mentionem facere deberem; nempe miserrimus ipse confundi deberem, cum vel minima de proximo defavorabilis suspicio animum pulsaret. Sed ad scribendum compulerunt me rationes sequentes. 1^a Videtur gloria Dei et bonum proximi, in nova Ecclesia hac, requirere ut omnes possibiles cautela adhibeantur. 2^a Memor praesertim quot modo infelices sacerdotes haec nova Ecclesia passa sit, ac ipso hoc tempore iterum (:qui casus hic quidem populo huic hactenus ignotus est) patrem Flynn [sic] spatio aliquo temporis hibernum (?), nullis instructum credentialibus ex Episcopi parte; hic vir ex testimonialium defectu si non suspectus, saltem minus probatus, ex consensu tamen R. Dni Badin in quibusdam Ecclesiis conciones habuit congregationesque varias obivit nunquam tamen confessarius nisi paucissimorum, quem quidem ego judicabam satius in monasterio Trappistarum remansurum. Ut vero fatear verum non sunt hic fundatae contra ipsum quaerelae factae, sed ut jam ex rescriptis ejus intelligimus in Sti Ludovici aut alio ibidem Louisianae loco, ut litteralis est epistolae ejus sensus, intrusit se pastorem, vel potius a Laicis, aeditui nempe, intrusus est, quamquam, benignius interpretando, credere debeamus a vicario ibidem generali ipsum jurisdictionem habuisse, nullis tamen instructum testimoniis episcopalibus, quia, ut jam videmus, Illustma Dantne Vtra omnem illi denegante positive jurisdictionem; faxit Deus, ut negotium hoc

infaustum non habeat finem!³⁰ maxime cum vicarius ille ipse, Maxville [Maxwell] opinor nomen est, apud catholicos nostros non tota famae integritate gaudeat, cujus R. Ds Badin se dicit aliquando mentionem ingessisse in litteris ad Illustriissm Dntm Vtram datis; absit tamen simile quid de Dominicanis suspicari, quod potius de me ipso timendum esset, cujus quidem timore et securius certiusque uni necessario, animae scilicet saluti propriae consulendi causa, in animum iterum admisi cogitatum quem in patria nostra tantisper foveram, Trappistarum nempe ordinem ingrediendi, maxime summa Regulae observantia post novorum adventum virorum illectus, ac praesentissimae certissimaeque ruinae meae in missionaria vocatione periculo ad stuporem percussus, arbitransq' legatione mihi imposita functum me abunde, cum transmarinum iter primus tendendo aliis occasio et hortator fuerim ad sequendum in hanc regionem, in qua sperandum fore ut fructum centesimum faciant. 3^a Quia Patri certus sum me scribere, cujus sagaci pietati ac discretioni res scrutanda tuto justeq' committatur. 4^a Ut verum fatear, stomachum mihi parumper moveri sensi, intelligens Patrem Wilson gratis asseruisse Dm Stevens, quem alii melioribus argumentis temporis hujus Athanasium vocarunt, interdictum aut suspensum esse et censura notatum propter importunum scriptandi zelum, sub eadem sane censura erat S. Athanasius et alii quivis qui pro muro aeneo Ecclesiae fuerunt adversus quosvis Ecclesiae desertores aut persecutores et ignavos propugnatores. Praeterea falsa nimis est et a calumnia vix distans assertio, meliusque esset solidas quasdam redargutiones in medium adducere, quibus moderni illius Athanasii oracula labefactentur, sed tam vasto in imperio tota saeculi illuminatione adjutus nemo hactenus id attentare publice verbo aut scripto ausus est, nedum P. Wilson praetendit facere³¹. Omnibus ergo bene combinatis videtur in cunctis hisce transperare, salvo meliori, segnior pro defendendis orthodoxae fidei principiis zelus, justo quaedam major in erraticam pravitatem indulgentia, ac tepescens quidam ad currendam arctam Evangelii viam fervor, contra praeclarum effatum Excell. Episcopi Grassensis (A. Godeau) dicentis: "In declarationibus casuum contingentium sequimini hoc generale axioma; ut eligatis semper eam opinionem, per quam Deus magis glorificatur, et quae majorem habet conformitatem cum arcta via Evangelii." 5^a Quod nihil intenderem nisi Illustm Dnatm Vtram pro modulo meo rogare obtestarique, ut quantum fieri potest, alii ordinis ejusdem viri probati vereque ad Religionem propagandam apti religiosi advocentur, qui hic praesint ut prosint. Hisce unis ac solis vicibus mentem sat superque expressam autumans finio, ac si quaedam ausu temerario aut indiscreto sint expressa veniam precans, ausim protestari sine bile aut felle, sed propter solam conscientiam scripsisse, quod cum

³⁰ Bishop Spalding (*Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions in Kentucky*, pp. 259ff.), speaks of this clergyman in terms of high praise. Certainly could anything of a really serious character have been said against those early Dominicans, it would have found a place in the uncharitable documents of the day. That nothing of the kind is recorded proves them to have been splendid priests. It may be further submitted here that Father Nerinckx's frequently recurring "*miserrimus ipse*," his confusion at casting the slightest suspicion on others, and his protests at writing thus solely "for the glory of God and the good of his neighbor" ill accord with his many caustic strictures. Perhaps, after all, Rev. G. I. Chabrat does not deserve the censure that has been passed on him for consigning that missionary's writings to the flames.

³¹ As the reader will doubtless remark, Father Nerinckx, as is the case with nearly all the others, makes this charge on mere hearsay. However, history would hardly place Rev. Cornelius Stevens on so high a pedestal as Father Nerinckx would have him occupy.

fecerim forte nunc ad nauseam in posterum exoneratum me ac exemptum censendi ratio erit abundans.²²

Father Nerinckx's letters, with all his humility, show him to have been superlatively sensitive—too much so for his own happiness. This, it seems to the writer, was the cause of much of his worry. The documents again indicate that his troubles were largely imaginary, and that he gave too ready an ear to gossip. Pious and zealous though he was, his sensitiveness, imagination and proclivity to accept idle talk at its face-value led him, at times, into the most bitter and violent language. In harsh invective the document, which we are now to lay before the reader, surpasses even that of June 2, 1806. For the reply to these reiterated charges against the Dominicans the reader is again referred to the article mentioned (pp. 15-45). The extravagance to which the good man could go, in his perfervid moments, is evidenced by the ultra-severe attack of this letter on Basil Elder, father of the late saintly Archbishop Elder of Cincinnati, an exemplary Catholic, and an intimate and trusted friend of the metropolitans of Baltimore from Carroll to Spalding.

J. M. J.

Illustrissime ac Reverendissime Domine!

A paucis septimanis litteras vobis destinandas Revdo Dño Badin tradidi; post has rursus officiosissimas ab Illustrissima Dominatione Vestra accepi, quae quo sunt magis sincere eo quoque magis ad confundendum me sunt aptae. Litteras meas sat longas invenies, minus tamen quam, eas esse optarem, sed taediosas nimis. In ipsis mentionem facio dubii debiti numerarii, quo forte obstringor, rationem reddo deinde de distributione facta ornamentorum sacrorum, quae maximam partem ex propriis meis et consanguineorum liberalitate religiosa sunt comparata; tum unam aut alteram paginam impleo, non Apologistam agendo pro me, cujus hactenus, pro summa Dei optimi in me clementia, necdum indigni, et dubito perquam, utrum etiam illius unquam, nisi gloria Dei aut bono proximi id requirente, usum sim facturus, sed aliquam reddo rationem praxis meae, quam 20 et amplius annos, sub oculis tot venerabilium virorum, martyrum forte aut intrepidissimorum orthodoxae fidei certo confessorum in agitatissima patria nostra, sub insignissimo Duce Joanne Henrico Eminen-tissimo illo Cardinale, sine ulla contradictione secutus sum, et ad quam sequendam ab iisdem ipsis sum et verbis animatus et scriptis, quae reposita apud me servo, non ut laudis hinc aliquid circumferam, cum praeter confusionem nil mihi juste supersit in tempore et in aeternitate, sed ut sint quasi quaedam regula, quam inoffense liceat sequi. Tandem facta matura reflectione super actuali rei catholicae hic statu et positione mea praesente ac illa, quam sine dubio futuram tandem praevideo ex rebus contingentibus et anfractibus, per quos inimicus homo mala sua pellit, priusquam major procella fiat, finivi litteras meas dando dimissionem meam cum gratiarum actione infinita pro tot tantisque in me beneficentiis ab Illustrissima Dominatione Vestra toties

²² *Baltimore Archives*, Case 8 A, U 3.—Another letter of March 21, 1807 (*ibid.*, U 4), shows that the lost document of which the above postscript was a part, contained a whole list (*elenco*) of charges against the laxity, want of zeal, etc., in the friars; and that the object of all this was to prevent them from getting charge of the future diocesan seminary. The words: "*Hinc unis ac solis vicibus mentem sei superque expressam autumans*," etc., at the end of the postscript, would indicate that Father Nerinckx had forgotten how often he had written on the same topic. In spite of his protest that he is now finished with the matter, he recurs to it, at least, again and again in his letters for the next three years or more.

repetitis; hoc unum addebam, ut liceret pro tempore, quo hic degerem, in privata domo sacra facere.

Res, mea quidem opinione, peiores, magis seriae et sequalarum pessimarum evadere possunt; notitiam aliquam dare, quamvis non dubitem, quin tota res sit amplissime vobis referenda, mei muneris duxi pro gloria Dei, quam, prout affectus sum et sentio, nullo tamen ordine, promam.

1^o Dissentionum, arrogantiae et tumultuantis petulantiae hujus populi verissima Epocha est adventus Dominicanorum in hanc Regionem; ante hoc tempus nil, quod inveniri potest, in publicum hujusmodi prodiit, et si quaedam minus grata laterent, a discolis quibusdam clam absumenda erant sine ullo multitudinis damno, cujus erat passim, sin modo, anima una saltem brevissime unienda ad opus quodlibet etiam perfectum; res porro sic procecidisset, si R.R. illi PP., uti ego volens obligatus feci, inquisiissent a vicario Episcopi et Pastore loci de vitiis eradicandis, de virtutibus plantandis, &c. Nec ego hactenus video, cur ab hoc ordinario, canonico et necessario ac indispensabili modo deviarint, nisi vel ut hominibus placeant, quod nescio utrum consecuti sint, aut sine ministerii injuria consequi possint; vel ut commodis suis studeant, quae res satis ipsis, ut puto, ex voto cessit, cum interim pro bono generali Ecclesiae nil sit, quod factum ab ipsis possit monstrari. Quaecumque congerunt quomodocumque ad domus propriae usum applicant; fabrica, forte quia animum habent titulum illius Ecclesiae extinguendi et ad S. Rosam transferendi, quod etiam de Ecclesia sperata in Springfield vereor, Stae Annae in eodem omnino statu est, in quo illam ipse reliqui. Quoad regimen spirituale, (:in insipientia dico:) erat ibi melius ante adventum illorum quam in ulla alia congregatione; abhorrebant a publicis conventiculis maxime nocturnis, a choreis, a matrimoniis cum haereticis et consanguineis, ab habitu mundano et ornatu; infantes et adolescentes maximam navabant pietati et doctrinae christianae operam, publicis nempe certaminibus et proemiis stimulabantur. Conjugati ab omni licentia statui injuriosa scrupulose et ex virtutis motivo abstinebant, Dominicis diebus religiose ac pie a summo mane ad finem usque officii pars maxima et vere magna in templo praesto erat; nunc autem, uti audio, omnia haec transierunt velut umbra; matrimonia cum haereticis ineuntur vel facillime. De causis matrimonialibus alias scripsi. Miror ego quod de haereticis aliquando Erasmus, laxistarum et molliorum confessoriorum eorumque poenitentium semper in nuptias aut choreas exire tumultus, indeque comicam magis quam Evangelicam videri praxim. Nempe in Scot [t] Cty, in Stae Annae in Simpsons Creek felium viscera plurium pedes electricarunt. O miseram pietatem quae hisce eget animalis exercitiis!!! Saltationes diurnae permittuntur et peccata non sunt, et sic de aliis (:nam amo brevis esse:) quae quidem, quod nunquam somniavi, si concederem mala non esse, numquam tamen adhuc eo potui penetrare, cur saltem recepta hic, et sine murmure servata (:paucis exceptis:) non servarint, cum nullis immutatione sua prosint, et plurimis, quod forte magis postea patebit, obsint; nec de hac novorum daemoniorum annuntiatione Ecclesia habet quod sibi gratuletur. Quod si ab insensato etiam audire consilium liceat, ego cathgorice ab ipsis exquirerem, velint ne Missionarii esse aut Religiosi tantum manere? Nempe jam passim missionarium agunt ubi commodi hinc aliquid sperare datur, et Religiosos tantum se dicunt ubi tantum labor subeundus, hujus ego testis esse possum; pro parte autem, quam in Missionibus habere velent, omnino jurisdictioni Vicarii illos subjectos vellem et communi Ecclesiae bono intentos; pro parte vero monachali omnino ad severioris disciplinae nor-

mam adhortarer, ad ipsosque evocarem homines quosdam, vero illius ordinis spiritu plenos, aut ab ordinis generali postulare. Cujus autem characteris hi religiosi sint, ipse quantum potui aliquando vobis coram exposui, ac certior fieri poteris, illustrissime Domine, per excellentem illum amicum Lovaniensem D. Peemans, qui (nisi forte pia memoriae Ds De Wolf fuerit:) de caute cum eis agendo me praemonuit. Nam modice mihi noti erant. Haec sufficiant pro semper.²³

2^o Est apud vos versipellis quidam de grege homuncio, Basilus, melius Basiliscus, Elder qui plurima venena in has usque partes evomit, quamquam quidem a bonis quibusvis, imo et ab haereticis honestioribus, cum paucis adhaerentibus sibi, contemptui habeatur; pro injuriis, quibus, a me nunquam provocatus, me afficit publice (nam litterae ejus publice legendae traduntur:) ex corde ipsi remitto, quia in eo crassissimam admitto ignorantiam et stupidissimam. Tali dedicatore damnationis nostrae etiam gloriamur. Tertul. de Nerone. Addito huic, quod et qui accusationis schedam conscripsit a pauculis signatam, sit homo de animantium potius quam hominum genere; hoc volo tantum, ut recordetur in amaritudine animae suae, si callosa necdum sit, quas turbas concitaverit in Domo Dei, quarum sit causa sequelearum, et serio de reparatione cogitet. Ego sincerissime judico hominem hujusmodi sacramentis ullis indignissimum priusquam de reparato scandalo planissime constet. Gloriatur tenebrio ille, se ab illustrissima Dominatione Vestra omnium quae dicit, vel plurimum saltem, testimonia ac faventes habere rationes. Ego vero non dubito, quin mendaciter et gratis id asserat; tamen, ut candidus sim, vereor, ne litterae (:ego nullas hactenus vidi:) quae nomine illustrissimae Dominationis Vestrae circumferuntur a paucis istis hypocriticis et rebellibus familiis, multum pondus tribuant calumniis eorum; lugebo multum, si unquam verae sint, et quod ostendant contineant, quia, quomodo reparari res possit, non invenio, nisi forte cap. ult. Libri Esther suggerere modum quemdem valeret.²⁴

3^o Summa capitum accusationum contra me, quantum expiscari possum ex dictis et scriptis et propriae conscientiae interrogatione, haec est: 1^o. Surrectio matutina hora 4^a. Hujus accusator est R. P. Fenwick, et haec quidem hora est, quam ipse tenere deberet. Sed fallitur, dum dicit me longius dormientibus absolutionem negare. Si nosceret R.P., quid in Paraguay Jesuitae introduxerint, et devotiones in Belgio usitatas, ipse hora 4^a pro servis et ancillis missam celebraret.²⁵ 2^o. Prohibeo promiscue choreas ut malas. 3^o. Prohibeo visitationes promiscuas inter diversi sexus personas. 4^o. Prohibeo et aversor matrimonium cum haereticis &. 5^o. Requiro ante matrimonium praeparationem ad Banna et Sacramenta frequentanda. 6^o. Regulas in ipso Matrimonio servandas praescribo. 7^o. Preces diebus Dominicis et festivis toto mane, publicas, servatis intersticiis, mando. 8^o. Continuas exactiones facio pro fabricis Ecclesiarum (:fortunate non dicunt quod mihi ipsi illas faciam:). 9^o. Prohibeo excessum vestium et ornatum obscenum (:addam ego, quod et censors foeminas habeam aetatis provectae, quae in Ecclesiis huic invigilent:). 10^o. Acerbius sum in correctionibus dandis &. Basil Elder vocat me tyrannum.²⁶

²³ For the reply to these renewed charges see article, pp. 35-36.

²⁴ For further information on Basil Elder, and how Maas gives the name as "B-E—," and otherwise renders this paragraph, see article, pp. 36-37.

²⁵ Maas, *op. cit.*, p. 180, translates the second sentence of this accusation: "Rev. Father Fenwick is my accuser on this head, and that is the hour that he himself as a religious ought to keep." But, as the reader will notice, the clause "as a religious" is not in the original. Yet the last sentence, about Paraguay, etc., which shows the mind of Father Nerinckx, is left out altogether by that author.

²⁶ Maas, *op. cit.*, p. 180, again renders Basil Elder "B-E—"

Tandem dicunt: apud me is too much confinement. Hoc si verum sit, miror cur quotidie tam multi a mane ad vesperam quocumque vado fores et aures meas obsideant? Si sint alia praeter haec crimina, de quibus accusor, ignoro; ego autem cum similes praxes in vita S. Caroli aut alterius sancti lego, puto has ad eorum commendationem plurimum facere, et ego nescio quale foret ferendum iudicium de illo confessario, qui attentaret poenitentes suos ad directe oppositam praxium mearum obligare vel inducere: v.g. nullam ante matrimonium requiri praeparationem, nullas in Mat.² sequendas rgas &. Deinde si vera nostra sunt crimina, cur non canonicè citamur &. &. ad quid condemnemur in populo priusquam convincamur in iudicio?

4^o Plures de populo nostro lugent hanc calamitatem, turmatim se offerunt ad signandam contra calumniatores protestationem; id quidem me inscio fecerunt, et Dominica septe intendo omnino prohibere, ut causam meam agant, quia nemini injuriam me fecisse cognosco; ideoque cuncta Domino commendo, qui quod bonum est in oculis suis faciet. Interim gaudeo, quod huc venerim nulla temporali spe animatus, gaudeo insuper quod nil hic temporale acceperim, sed et cuncta, quae divina providentia mihi fuerat largita, expenderim ad maiorem ut puto ejus gloriam. Unum omnino doleo, quod cum nostrates mei sacerdotes horum notitiam habuerint, animo minus alacri forte sint adventuri; ego tamen ad veniendum invitare illos non desinam. Haec sunt pauca, Illustrissime Domine, quae superioribus meis addenda judicavi. Iterum atque iterum orationibus benevolentiaeque vestrae commendatus, cum voto quantocius recipiendi dimissoriales vestras, quae simul testimoniales aliquae sint, signor votis perfectissimis

Illustrissime ac Reverendissime Domine

Humillimus obedientiss'q'

Vtr Servus,

C. NERINCKX.

30 Junii, 1808.³⁷

The above documents may be considered in the nature of *pièces justificatives* to the article in the present issue of the REVIEW. Many other documents might be added as source-material for the subject, but we venture to state that those given will enable the reader to form a truer perspective of the well-known misunderstanding between these two pioneer missionaries and the Dominicans of Kentucky.

V. F. O'DANIEL, O.P.

³⁷ *Baltimore Archives*, Case 8 A, U 5.

BOOK REVIEWS

Very Rev. Charles Hyacinth McKenna, O.P., P.G., Missionary and Apostle of the Holy Name Society, by Very Rev. V. F. O'Daniel, O.P., S.T.M. The Holy Name Bureau, New York, 1917. Pp. xiv + 409.

This work is a labor of love, and as such bears on every page traces of that admiration and affection which the disciple rightly pays to the great master at whose feet he sat for years, and whose spirit he endeavors to imprison in these pages. Father Charles McKenna ranks very high among the zealous missionaries who toiled in the American Catholic Church during the decades immediately following the Civil War. The son of Irish farmers, inured to labor from his youth, compelled to emigrate (1848) at the tender age of thirteen for the reason which drove across the seas in those years the flower of Ireland's manhood and womanhood, his ideal was the holy priesthood, and he followed it with tenacity until he saw himself arrayed in the Dominican habit and empowered to work for the salvation of souls. Quite apropos does his biographer say (p. xiv): "To young men aspiring to the service of the altar, but deprived of the means of attaining their holy ambition, Father McKenna's life cannot fail to be an inspiration. To Christ's anointed it will ever be a model of every priestly virtue and an exemplar after which to pattern their own lives." For nearly fifty years this apostolic man preached east and west, in season and out of season, in cities and towns and hamlets, wherever duty called him, the great saving truths of the Catholic religion. His splendid physique, the stern regularity of his habits, and his iron will enabled him humanly to accomplish herculean tasks of endurance in the pulpit, the confessional, and the office. But to many it seemed as if only a special assistance of the Holy Spirit could sustain the man of God amid so many and so continuous demands upon his strength and his zeal. His zeal literally devoured his strength and drove him to ever renewed inroads upon it, until he sank exhausted in the unequal combat and gave up his pure and holy soul (1917) into the hands of his Maker in whose

service he had consumed every gift and opportunity that came his way.

Dr. O'Daniel follows chronologically the labors of Father McKenna in the routine life of the missionary—sermons, instructions, exhortations; confessions, visits to the sick and the stubborn; consultation and correspondence; writing of booklets and leaflets; travel and other hardships—every channel of religious activity in search of souls more or less astray from God. In all this there is, of course, a striking similarity to the labors of other missionaries less famous than the great Dominican, but similarly active in the service of the sinful and the lukewarm, the backslider and the apathetic. It was the Holy Name Society which brought into play the virtues of Father McKenna as a spiritual leader of men and an incomparable organizer of the fruits of laborious weeks of grinding toil in the pulpit and the confessional. It is true that he labored incessantly and successfully for the Holy Rosary Confraternities, but his inclination and his sympathy led him to interest himself profoundly in the spiritual welfare of men. For them he had a charm and a force all his own. He knew the way to their hearts with unerring accuracy. Every mission increased his clientele of men who thenceforth lay in wait for him whenever his duties brought him again within their reach. Few priests in the United States had a larger circle of male penitents, to whom the good priest's occasional visits were like the oil of gladness and the balm of comfort.

In the Holy Name Society, of ancient origin, but previously little known in the United States, he found an instrument of extraordinary value for arousing the faith of vast congregations of men and moving them to an ardent love of the Crucified One and a tender reverence for His honor and glory. Its ranks have grown from year to year until it now represents many hundreds of thousands of devoted Catholic men committed to clean and wholesome lives before God, and potentially the best material of good citizenship. Our great cities have witnessed of recent years immense parades of the members of this association, and few public events have brought home so forcibly the development of Catholic life and temper amid populations once suspicious or hostile, now respectful and often sympathetic. In this work Father McKenna was simply tireless and rose often to the greatest heights of elo-

quence and to equally great levels of devotion and sacrifice. He recalls the figure of St. Bernardine of Sienna, with whom he has much in common, once the quest of souls is accepted as a norm of comparison.

Perhaps the best work of Father McKenna was not in the pulpit and the confessional, dear as they were to him, but in his own daily life as it fell under the observation of clergy and people. Dr. O'Daniel, summing up his qualities (p. 315) as a model priest and missionary, says rightly: "How the great missionary could touch the souls of all may be judged from the fact that pastors and the parochial clergy often found themselves almost unconsciously making the mission which they had engaged Father McKenna to give to their parishioners, convinced that they could not make a better retreat than by following the spiritual exercises he was giving their people. . . . Young priests in particular, for whom he had a special love and in whom he took a keen interest, profited by his example. Many of our most representative clergymen of today frankly confess that they owe their lofty ideals of the priesthood to contact with Father McKenna in the early days of their ministry." This humble priest, surely one of the holiest missionaries of modern times, had the secret of goodness and mercy, and gladly made it known to all men. Herein lay the source of his influence, that has by no means melted into the general void, but is yet active. He denounced sin in words of flame and was a moral portraitist of supreme skill and accuracy. But he loved every sinner with a Christian-like love, and in that love he entered the heart of every sinner and took possession of it in the name of Jesus. Of Father McKenna might well be written, as of the God-Man, *Pertransiit benefaciendo*; he shed charity and peace as an aroma. Whithersoever his calling took him he was always "vir bonus et rectus timens Dominum," and, like the Good Samaritan, rejoiced greatly to bind up the wounds of his weaker brethren and to provide for them every spiritual comfort. This world is immeasurably better for his apostolic life, and his white robe has surely added to the company of the elect a new radiance.

✱ THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Peter Saily (1754-1826): A Pioneer Champion of the Champlain Valley, with extracts from his Diary and Letters, by George S. Bixby. New York State Library History Bulletin 12. Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1919. Pp. 94.

Pierre, son of Frederick Maire, was born April 20, 1754, at the forges of Ste. Marie, in the old Lorraine province of France. He was educated for professional life, but turned to iron making. In this came misfortune for which he was not responsible. He therefore joined the considerable number of French immigrants of condition and character who were attracted to the United States after the peace of 1783 with Great Britain. With his new country he took a new name. As Peter Saily he settled down with his family on land he purchased in 1785 near Plattsburg, New York. He died there March 16, 1826. For four decades he was a notable and influential figure in the social, commercial and political life of northern New York, as merchant, county judge, member of the legislature, representative in Congress, collector of customs and patron of all public improvements and institutions of education. "A man of exceptional force, of impressive personal appearance and manner, of unusual courage," and further says this biography: "Although reared a Roman Catholic he failed to set great store by ecclesiastical forms, and he was by no means a churchman. However, he never attached himself seriously to any other Church. He contributed liberally to the building of the Presbyterian Church in Plattsburg and owned a pew in it." He had seven children. It can be surmised what effect the Presbyterian pew had on their religious convictions and that his grandchildren are not among those prominent in the affairs of that local institution, the Plattsburg Catholic Summer School. A number of other French immigrants were attracted like Peter Saily to northeastern New York towards the end of the eighteenth century. Many were men of means and education, but, under their auspices, the Church made neither transient nor permanent progress. Their neglect and indifference stand out in sharp contrast to the zeal of the poor Irish canal-diggers and railroad-builders who followed after them. They soon occupied pews in churches of their own. Their posterity have multiplied them all over the great state consecrated to the True Faith by the French blood of the martyr Jogues.

THOMAS F. MEEHAN.

The United States in the World War, by John Bach McMaster.
New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1918. Pp. 485.

The publication of this book is a pleasure to historians, but it is a pleasure commingled with some measure of incredulity and hesitancy. At first sight such work must seem to be too hurriedly written, too premature for a correct historical presentation. The events are too vital, too near to all to be viewed with fairness. These fears have some basis in the present work—they must have. Nevertheless, the joy it gives is real. The difficulties of such a task as the author sets himself to must be understood if justice be dealt. It has passed into a proverb that history is written a generation after the events. Prejudices and overpowering feelings, often frantic eagerness, scorch with flame a cold, logical judgment. This is true today as it has ever been. What truly sound evidence can be examined? Evidence we have unmeasured, but it does not entirely satisfy. Newspapers and magazines for current opinion, diplomatic publications for the statement of international relations. It is their business to be so, but, alas, are they? The learned professor of Pennsylvania realized all this and set to work to sift the false from the true, to give a clear, concise, impartial account of the War of Wars. The work is as true and just as it could be; it reflects historical acumen, and the reader will find it worthy of such an illustrious pen. There are too many publications instigated by bias or hate, and it is a relief for sane Americans to read the *United States in the World War*.

The author begins this history with June 29, 1914, and ends with the withdrawal of Russia and Roumania from the war. It is important to note that no military operations are treated. This is not surprising. Accuracy in military matters in war times is an anomaly. The author confines himself to relations between the warring nations and the United States—the antagonism to the war on the one hand and the patriotic ardor of the great majority on the other. Some idea of the work can be obtained if the chapter headings are recorded and something of their contents discussed. Under chapter 1, "The Opening of the World War," the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and the strained relations this event caused between Serbia and Austria are narrated. In rapid succession, but with concision, the entrance of Germany, France, Russia, Belgium, and England are

treated, the author quoting from the Russian Orange Book No. 4, the British Blue Paper No. 2, the French Yellow Book No. 39, and the Austrian Red Book No. 20. "Pro-German Propaganda-Belgium Relief," chapter 2, explains itself, but it is striking to note that there is no mention of pro-Ally propaganda. Such, it would seem, ought to be considered. Its existence is unquestionable. Such an omission may be condoned, but a treatment of it by McMaster would be illuminating.

In chapter 3, the difficult question of neutral trade is treated at length: "Trade between neutral nations in neutral bottoms was now no longer regarded as presumably innocent; the final destination of the cargo determined its innocence; the accepted list of contraband articles was greatly extended, and our vessels, seized on the high seas, were taken into ports for examination and often detained for weeks before they were released," by the British Navy. Particular cases and the necessary communication with Great Britain which grew out of them are treated at length. The right of Great Britain to visit and search American or neutral vessels was conceded, but the United States could not permit, without protest, American ships or cargoes to be taken into British ports, there to search for evidence of contraband. The consequence of the interference with our ships and our mail, and the peaceful ending, hold the attention of the reader by their thoroughness. Passing over the chapters, "Submarine Frightfulness," "Lusitania Notes," an "Embargo Demanded," chapters teeming with interest, let us note chapter 7, "Treacherous Acts of German Officials." Under this heading the aiding of German cruisers by false clearance papers of vessels, placing bombs in allied ships, procuring passports for German reservists and the work of Franz von Papen, Werner Horn, Captain Boy-Ed, Von Bernstorff, the work of the ubiquitous, illusive *Providence Journal* are sketched, not only here but especially here. The interest is centered around the aforesaid journal, and perhaps there is a haze which is not lifted. The prudent who favor a tardy assent are not satisfied. The statement of its work is clear enough, but we feel that something is lacking.

In the chapter, "Sinking without Warning," the contrary reports of allied and Germanic sources are clearly set forth with reference to the liner *Arabic*. The German note delivered by

Bernstorff to the Secretary of State declared that a submarine on August 19, 1915, stopped the British liner *Dunsley* south of Kinsale, intending to sink her by gun fire, when the steamer *Arabic* appeared, having neither flag nor neutral markings, altered her course and steamed towards the subsea boat with the intention of ramming it. The British officers on the *Arabic* declared that the *Arabic* did not intend to ram the U-boat. Similar conditions existed in the *Ancona* case and many others. The author also treats under separate headings, "Preparedness and Pacifists," "Plots and Crimes on Sea and on Land," "The Peace Notes," "Diplomatic Relations," "We Enter the War," "The Call to the Colors," "German Intrigue," "Rationing and Fighting," and the "International Peace Debate."

The presentation of the author is precise and concise, but at times it becomes tedious. This effect possibly follows from his concision and the number of current sources quoted, but this defect is a blur, not a blotch. His arrangement of facts, as far as temporal propinquity will admit, is noteworthy. The variant sources are placed side by side, and the reader is enticed to decide. Accurate decision in all cases is out of the question. Time alone will tell, but the opinion of legislators, and that of the great majority of the people, settle the matter for the present.

Despite the lack of treatment of the effect of the pro-Ally propaganda, which is of much interest and importance in its purpose and consequence and result, despite the fact that the book is at times hard to peruse, it is of value to educated Americans. It was written by a student of history, not by a zealous apologist, and it breathes a candor that does honor to the learned writer. He has labored to present a summary of those intricate international relations that others have accumulated slowly and with a hazard at the truth. It is concise, as accurate as possible, and well worth the reading.

WILLIAM LENNARTZ, C.S.C., LITT.D.

America among the Nations, by H. H. Powers. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918. Pp. 376.

This book was first published in the latter part of 1917, when the world was in the midst of war and when the problems of nationalities, boundaries, policies, and similar questions were

being discussed by political philosophers and others in pamphlet, newspaper, magazine, and book, without regard for the existing shortage of paper. The author describes his effort as an "attempt at an historical interpretation of our national character and our relation to other nations." He would discard "the time-honoured formulas and arrive at an independent estimate of national character from the homely facts of our national history;" and likewise disregard the "prepossessions and epithets which have too long done duty with us as estimates of foreign nations, and arrive at a juster conclusion based on their action."

The work is divided into two parts, the first reviewing the history of America at home, the second treating of its relations with other nations. The second part contains too little history and too much prophecy (I was about to say "propaganda") to receive attention in an historical journal. We may approve or disapprove of his boundless admiration for the Greatest Empire; we may agree or disagree with his statement that upon the absolute control of Ireland depends the very existence of that empire, and that "not the British Parliament but the maker of the planet decreed the dependence of Ireland;" but in spite of the efforts made nowadays by many historians to rewrite the relations with Great Britain, it scarcely seems possible that historical students are yet ready to go so far as this author. "The relation between the two countries," he says, "has never been one of serious hostility, nor has our membership in the Anglo-Saxon fellowship (which is the substance of the British Empire) ever been cancelled. We have become independent, but so have Canada and Australia. . . . We have fought for our independence—and for theirs—and Britain fought for it too, fought with us against a king who acted without her warrant and against a theory of government that she had repudiated with the sword a century before. . . . She has stood by us from the first, and in every crisis of our history she has tipped the scale in our favor."

Much of the latter part of the volume is concerned with the international problems of the war and of the peace, which had not been determined when the book was written (and this later reprint differs not at all from the first). This is no longer timely and need not be discussed. The results have shown the fallacy of much of his prophecy in this connection.

The author in reviewing the history of the nation, in tracing its development to its present power and position, has indeed broken away from the long-traded paths and shows us a land that is more or less unfamiliar—and not very pleasing if we use his glasses. The period of colonization is presented in a natural, connected manner in a style characteristic of the book throughout, fresh and attractive. With conditions as they were bound to be, on account of the isolation of the colonies, physical separation from the mother country was inevitable. Then began a century of unparalleled territorial expansion and conquest. First it was that part of Florida involved in the secret clause of the treaty with Great Britain. Since Spain denied our right and yielded to a threat of force, this was conquest; and our Constitution was then but six years old. At the ripe age of fifteen the nation further showed its imperialistic sentiment by purchasing stolen goods from Napoleon. Next it was West Florida that we took, then the Florida of our own day, the seizing of which was disguised under the form of purchase, a policy “peculiarly American.” With the southeastern corner of our continent properly rounded out, our restless energies turned to the northeast, where we established an unenviable record in the history of arbitration in ignoring the award of the arbiter. The author is not impressed with the moderation of American demands in this first period of our history. “We want the earth, and we say so frankly. . . . Our method of procedure is equally characteristic, to ask for what we want—for all of it—and stand our ground. Recognizing that possession is nine points in law, we have shown a strong inclination to make appropriation our first step in the proceedings, whether we contemplated purchase or conquest. We have also appreciated the value of a threat of war at the proper moment.”

In the same tone the struggle for the Pacific is described. If we wanted a natural stopping place the Rocky Mountains was the place to stop. “But the American people have not been looking for stopping places. For them all stopping places have been starting places, and that forthwith.” And so Oregon was secured (the Whitman myth is preserved), although England had a prior right since her explorers had come earlier and gone farther.

In a chapter entitled, “Despoiling the Latin,” the annexation of Texas and the forfeit exacted of Mexico are put down as natural

outcroppings of our militant and imperialistic nature. This whole territory had begun to attract American settlers. "That is tantamount to saying that we had begun to desire the land." Yet the author holds the annexation of Texas the most irreproachable episode in our long record of imperialism; nor does he share the popular opinion regarding our war with Mexico. The Gadsden purchase was another transaction of doubtful satisfaction, but here we were the victims of our own ignorance and cupidity in losing control of the Gulf of California.

The purchase of Alaska was a break with tradition, but at that time we trusted to a future annexation of Canada to reestablish our doctrine of continuous territory. Our war with Spain was one of the best justified of all our wars, and, in the mind of the author, there was more reason for our imperialistic tendencies in the Philippines, Porto Rico, San Domingo, and Cuba than on our own continent. Finally, further expansion in the Caribbean Sea is prophesied by reason of our situation on the Canal. If our nation is "the offspring and heir of New England" and is "still Puritan in a substantial degree," as the author maintains, this story of a greedy people dishonestly grabbing land on all sides, if true, shows the heir to have wandered far from the path of Puritanic rectitude.

It is evident very early in the volume that the author has not disregarded "the prepossessions and epithets which have too long done duty," in his explanation of the religious element that entered into the conflict for America. "When the great competition began," he says (p. 21), "England and France were in revolt against the intellectual bondage of Roman Catholicism, while Spain was intensely loyal. . . . Coligny and the Protestant cause had perished at St. Bartholomew's, and with them their ill-starred colonial schemes. Colonies fostered by state aid, under the supervision of the Church, and soon under the direction of the Jesuits, supplied abundant and mutual justification for a relentless war against the tenacious heresies of colonies even more heretical than the heretical land from which they came." Now with the English colonies it was different. "Many of them had intense convictions and were exceedingly jealous of all dissenting opinion within their midst. But the notion of forcing other colonies to their own opinion does not seem to have been entertained. . . .

Whatever may be said for the French, the English did not fight these wars in the interest of religious propaganda."

The book contains no footnotes, "as the historic facts referred to are for the most part commonplaces." So the ignorant reader is not enlightened as to the dates and circumstances of the relentless war waged by the Jesuits and the Church in America for religion's sake. It is this lack of authorities, as well as the speculative nature of the greater part of the contents, that makes this book only an interesting but ephemeral interpretation.

LEO STOCK, A.M.

Life of Henry Barnard, the First United States Commissioner of Education, 1867-70, by Bernard C. Steiner. Bulletin 1919, No. 8, Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior.

For those interested in the History of Education in America few careers are more fascinating than those of Horace Mann and Henry Barnard. They were the first American apostles of democracy in education and in more than one sense martyrs in the cause. Both labored to bring the blessings of education to all that the country, as Barnard said, might have "schools good enough for the best and cheap enough for the poorest." As Mann's career forms the first chapter in the history of organized education in Massachusetts, so Barnard's makes up the beginnings of educational system in Connecticut and Rhode Island.

This life, published as a bulletin of the United States Bureau of Education, will make its strongest appeal to educational administrators, executives and those interested in the development of organized education in New England. The preparation for and the determination of Barnard's life work are well described in the account of his education, teaching experience, travel, and term as a member of the Connecticut legislature. In separate chapters on his work as Secretary of the Board of Commissioners of the Common Schools of Connecticut, State Superintendent of Schools of Rhode Island and State Superintendent of Education in Connecticut his varied experiences as an executive are succinctly told. Other chapters describe his editorship and management of the *American Journal of Education*, presidency of St. John's, Annapolis, term as the first United States Commissioner of Education,



and his last years. All this has been accomplished within 131 pages, and it must be said, in tribute to the author's fine taste and skill, with touches of sympathy for the subject that make it a most readable and satisfying book.

PATRICK J. McCORMICK, PH.D.

California: A history of Upper and Lower California from their first discovery to the present time, comprising an account of the climate, soil, natural production, agriculture, commerce, etc.; a full view of the missionary establishments and condition of the free and domesticated Indians. With an appendix relating to steam navigation in the Pacific. Illustrated with a new map, plans of the harbors, and numerous engravings. By Alexander Forbes, Esq. (London, 1839). Reprinted page for page, and approximately line for line, from the original edition. . . . to which is added a new index. San Francisco: Thomas C. Russell, 1919. Pp. 372. Price, \$7.50.

Forbes's *History* is important in the list of *Californiana* for two especial reasons. It is the first English book relating wholly to California, and it presents a foreigner's estimate of the old Spanish colony and Mexican province as it was just before the period of the American immigration. It might be added that it is of prime interest as a faithful record of the attitude of a son of England toward California in those and ensuing days when that country, as well as France and the United States, were each communing with the thought, "It is a goodly land; let us go over and possess it."

The body of the text was written, or rather completed, in Mexico and sent to England for publication in 1835. The printing was delayed for three years, and it is due to that circumstance that the author was able to send to his brother the editor additional materials bearing upon the international interest in California after the temporary separation from Mexico in 1836 and upon the projected beginnings of steam navigation as a mode of bringing the fringe of the world nearer to the seats of power in Europe. The emphasis being on those topics, the historical narrative of earlier times is not so valuable as the contemporary material, though indeed there are few better histories of California, considering the availability of the materials for historical

writing at the time, or even the use made of later materials by numerous authors in the same field.

The section relating to Lower California is taken perforce almost entirely from the Venegas *Noticia de la California*, which was written about a century before Forbes undertook his work. This necessarily sympathetic recital of the early conquest and conversion of the Peninsular Indians is followed by one of the most complete and interesting accounts in existence of the pearl fisheries of the Gulf, gathered from information given by Alexander von Humboldt and a number of later authorities, most of whom were English sea-captains.

The account of the spiritual conquest of Upper California is, of course, taken from the *Noticias de la Nueva California* by Father Palou, while the description of the topography of the country is based on the manuscript records of those staunch old Franciscan explorers, Fathers Garcés, Font, Domínguez, and Vélez de Escalante. The purpose of the author in using them is naively set forth in the following words: "The journeys of these friars are chiefly valuable in as far as they prove that there is nothing in the character of the Indian population of the country lying between the people, Mexican states and California, which can prevent its being easily colonized, or which could prevent a free communication overland; neither is the distance at all formidable. It is also proved by them that the whole of this vast country is free from any natural obstruction to its settlement and cultivation. There are no impenetrable forests, and the greater part of it is a level country, full of pasturage, and capable of being cultivated" (p. 160).

The author's opinion regarding the character and quality of the spiritual conquest is not wholly censorious. "From the feeble and mild physical and moral characters of the natives. . . . the success of the missionaries . . . is . . . very easily understood. . . . Had they been set down among . . . the fierce races . . . they never would have succeeded in . . . domesticating them, but could have been destroyed or driven from the country" (p. 199). ". . . However . . . there are few events in history more remarkable, on the whole, or more interesting, than the transformation on the great scale wrought by the Jesuits and Franciscans in Paraguay and California" (p. 200). After point-



ing out certain defects of the mission system, Forbes goes on: "And yet I have never heard that the missionaries of California have not acted with the most perfect fidelity, or that they have ever betrayed their trust or exercised inhumanity, and the testimony of all travelers who have visited this country is uniformly to the same effect. On the contrary, there are recorded instances of the most extraordinary zeal, industry, and philanthropy in the conduct of those men. . . ." [notably Father P  ryi] (p. 227 ff).

Nevertheless, since he found the savage reduced from barbarism "only to be plunged in another sort of barbarism and an aggravated sort of misery" (p. 233), "all that we can allow is, that the missionaries are honest men; that they pursue with assiduity what they believe to be their duty; that they labor in their vocation with zeal. But we entirely condemn their system, and lament its results." After bewailing in general the missionary work of civilization, he goes on: "I do not despair that the time will come when . . . prudent men will be sent among the heathens, carrying with them Bibles and tracts certainly, but also agricultural and manufacturing implements, useful mechanical inventions, furniture, and clothing, with instructions to reclaim the savage not merely by the terror of future punishments, but likewise by the fascination of a more comfortable worldly existence" (pp. 237-8). That is to say, Forbes could live for years alongside the missions and see them at work without realizing that they had always been doing just the things he advocated. His criticism is an injustice born of faulty observation. Equally beside the mark, too, is his doleful picture of the missionary work of the "spare, sour, ascetic Methodist, who takes from his followers all their pastimes and pleasures" (p. 245). The obvious fact is that the author was a merchant, a successful business man, a dispassionate thinker and fairly reasonable, but by the same mark no judge of missionary activities, which he might have become had he given a little closer attention to the results of the labors of the great missionary pioneers who have borne their honorable part in carrying the amenities of civilization and the blessings of religion whither the merchant with bundle and stick has been ever glad to penetrate in their wake.

The first foreign account of the separation of California from Mexico in 1836 is briefly used as the text for the advice that it

was not from the Russians, whom the British believed to have designs on California, but from the on-sweeping settlers from the United States, that the next political move was to be expected. Forbes, of course, hoped that California would be taken by the English to cancel the Mexican debt of over fifty million dollars, the creditors to be organized on the plan of the East India Company.

The picture of the agriculture, commerce, and navigation in the primitive state of those occupations in the old Mexican California lead quite naturally to the topic of the author's greatest interest, California as a field for foreign colonization. The natural advantages of geographical situation, topographical relations, fertile soil, superb ports, abundant rivers, equable climate, and proximity to world markets are set forth as they have been so often by the hosts of "boosters" of these latter days. The Isthmian railway and the canal are forecast with an optimism tempered by the opinion "that all attempts to make a passage between the two oceans will be abortive unless the territory through which the canal passes shall be ceded in sovereignty to some powerful European state or put under the guaranty of a convention of European states," because the Spanish-American republics lack the stability and the liberality indispensable for the success of such an undertaking (p. 317).

California was for the moment an unpromising field for colonization because of the uncertainty of its political relations and the anarchy due to separation from Mexico. However, the few foreigners who had come had always found a welcome, particularly from the missionaries. Forbes recommended a compact foreign colony which should take a strong position in the Sacramento Valley, away from the missions and the towns, so as to avoid local complications; all this presupposing a more liberal policy on the part of the Mexican government.

While the book was a very ostensible piece of propaganda, it was ably and carefully written, in dignified and thoroughly readable style unusually free from historical inaccuracies, offensive characterizations, or indefensible attitudes.

The author was one of the founders of the English house of Barron, Forbes and Company, wholesale merchants of Tepic, Mexico. Previously he had been in business in Buenos Aires



He was one of the early owners of the New Almaden quicksilver mine in the present Santa Clara County, California. He is well known in local annals as one of the few foreigners who laid the basis of their fortunes in the old California of the days before the gold rush. His book has become a rare item much sought for by collectors; a copy of the original edition recently brought \$150.00, though the current price is about one-third that figure.

The publisher, therefore, performs a valuable service to lovers of Californiana by issuing this reprint. He has also done this in the case of the scarce *Narrative of Edward McGowan*, and has in hand a like project for the reproduction of the diary of the Antonio Maurelle voyage on the California coasts.

In each of these publications Mr. Russell has made page-for-page or even line-for-line reproductions. He performs the work in all stages with his own hands, and, being an old book-publisher with definite ideas as to style and form, he has dressed the old favorites in new and more attractive garb which pleases the eye and satisfies the lover of book perfection. Typographical and editorial mistakes in the originals are corrected, and varying usages are harmonized. The principles upon which the corrections are based are shown in prefatory pages.

The illustrations of Forbes, taken from the original imprint have, in a limited number of the edition, been hand-tinted. The publisher has added a valuable index.

HERBERT I. PRIESTLEY, PH.D.

The Book of Philadelphia, by Robert Shackleton, author of *The Book of Boston*, *The Book of New York*, *Unvisited Places of Old Europe*, etc. Illustrated with photographs and drawings by R. L. Boyer and Herbert Pullinger. Philadelphia: The Penn Publishing Company, 1918. Pp. 420, 8vo.

"The typical Philadelphian," says our author (p. 195), "is likely to feel a fine sense of certainty. One of the historical writers of the city—there are several, so it may be any one of them—was telling me of a work on which he was engaged which was to cover a period which, as I knew, is notable for the conflict of authorities. I made some obvious remark regarding the difficulties he had set himself to surmount; but he only replied, calmly: 'There will be no



difficulties. I shall merely write it all just as it was'; than which the Recording Angel could say no more."

This anecdote is quoted here partly for its humor, partly for its moral. It is not to be taken as a characteristic illustration of the author's English style, for there are, of course, too many close repetitions of *which* to suit a fastidious taste; and otherwise the style of the volume is quite satisfactory, while its content is always most entertaining. The book is altogether charming, both in its letterpress and in its diversified pictorial illustrations. Better still, it is highly informative from many standpoints—literary, artistic and social, as well as historical. Perhaps best of all, it is not "just another book" with an intensely local flavor and atmosphere that would naturally appeal mostly—indeed, only—to the denizens of the city glorified in its pages. It presents to its readers all the inner charm and much of the outward phenomena of the City of Brotherly Love, it is true, but constantly bids them contemplate broader national—and even international—horizons; and the readers begin to see Philadelphia in its historical and artistic and literary setting. The volume should accordingly prove most interesting to all Americans. In furnishing for one local fact an attractive setting of a dozen national or international facts, the volume happily illustrates (if we may slightly alter a poet's line) "that pleasure in historic pains historians only know"; for the chief zest in historic research may lie in the discovery of a dozen unexpected things amid the long porings and borings for a single fact.

But to return to our sheep. The anecdote has humor "not only," but a moral as well. There are indeed many historical writers in Penn's Green Town, and not a few of them have been engaged, in recent years, upon the congenial task of writing or compiling (a real distinction is intended by the disjunction) books about Philadelphia. From their custom of not furnishing references to authorities for statements some of which are historically of a contentious character, "any one of them" (if we may repeat our author's phrase) might seem to fit into the anecdote. They might easily be conceived of as saying in substance, after their several fashions: "There will be no difficulties. I shall merely write it all just as it was." An obvious explanation of this "fine sense of certainty" is found in the popular character of their vol-



umes. Mayhap, also, there was an equally delicate sense of modesty in learning that shrank from a parading of authorities.

Howbeit, our author has a proper bone to pick with one of them. Macaulay's schoolboy would, of course, know that Philadelphia has two "Halls" most famous in American history, namely, Carpenters' Hall (where the work of Independence was begun in 1774) and "Independence Hall" (as the old State House is now commonly called, wherein the work of Independence was completed). But the notable schoolboy is a rare bird today "Before me," says our author (p. 83), "is a book containing an account of the Signing of the Declaration of Independence, published in the year 1876, the year of the Centennial, when every detail and incident and locality bearing upon Philadelphia and the Revolution was discussed and rediscussed, and was supposedly in the minds of all Philadelphians and visitors and a great mass of the population of the United States. For 1876 was a year that drew marvelous attention to Philadelphia and aroused and awakened the keenest interest of Philadelphians themselves. The book bears the name of one R. M. Devons, described on the title page as 'Member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.' And in the last paragraph of the description of the signing are the words: 'Carpenters' Hall—or Independence Hall—in Philadelphia, where the tremendous scenes transpired, is still one of the places which every American looks upon with patriotic pride'; as if the two buildings were one and the same!" To our author's criticism of the unfortunate *lapsus* that confounded two highly historic halls might be added a criticism of the word *transpired*. The deliberations of the First Continental Congress in Carpenters' Hall were secret. The "tremendous scenes" referred to occurred there, but transpired later.

In noting the *lapsus* of the Centennial historian, our author gently prepares us for a kindly judgment upon it by previously noting that, because of its nearly hidden location at present, Carpenters' Hall "has become a building overlooked, disregarded, a building almost mythical, even though it actually stands here in fascinating actuality ['actually stands . . . in . . . actuality'—the reviewer again protests that his quotations must not be taken as illustrative of the style of our author]. I should think that three-quarters, or even more, of the inhabitants of Philadelphia



do not know that such a building is honorably preserved; and the number of those who would be able to walk directly to the spot is quite negligible" (p. 83).

Apropos of our present inability (due to ignorance, not to geographical or other barriers) "to walk directly to the spot" of Carpenters' Hall, our author notes that the members of the Congress met first of all tentatively in the City Tavern—the Bellevue-Stratford of that time—and then "they all walked, by twos and threes, in general friendly companionship, along the narrow brick sidewalks, the short distance from the tavern to Carpenters' Hall. . . It was but a few minutes' walk; it was a walk of the briefest; but it was the most interesting walk in American history" (p. 86). A striking observation, and doubtless a true one, albeit involving the always dangerous superlative degree. We may compare or correlate it with a similar remark that occurs many pages further on: "As to walking on Chestnut Street—it is not likely that there will ever be anything more important, more impressive, than the march of the Continentals along this street, led by Washington, on their way to the battlefield of Brandywine; ragged, ill-shod, ill-clothed, ill-fed, they marched bravely on, with drumming and fifing, and each with a green twig in his hat" (p. 144).

Our author's inclusions are generously broadminded. The chapter on "The Hidden Churches" deals with the old and historic churches noted in every book on Philadelphia—Christ Church, with its "low spire that is hidden"; and St. Peter's with its "tall spire that is hidden"; and Old Swedes, with "no spire at all," and therefore still more hidden. "And when it comes to St. Joseph's—but that," says our author, "is still another story"; and Old St. Joseph's has a chapter devoted to it alone (with mention, however, of the old Catholic church of Holy Trinity), under the heading: "Within a Nooked Courtyard." The account is interesting. In the course of it, we are told that Longfellow's Evangeline "impressed herself locally far more deeply than have most of the actual distinguished folk of Philadelphia. She is more real than if she were really real! In fact, the story of Evangeline is taken with an amazing reality" (p. 37). The statue of Commodore Barry, too, comes in for honorable mention in the admirable description of the State House: "A vigorous statue, placed with peculiar prominence opposite the Independence Square face

of the State House is of Barry, a naval officer of the Revolution, a Philadelphian [but a native of Ireland]. He is buried in the Catholic St. Mary's, on Fourth Street" (p. 75).

One is pleasantly impressed, too, on finding some importance attached to the significant manner in which "Charles Carroll of Carrollton" affixed his name to the Declaration of Independence: "Most of the members formally signed this supposed Fourth of July document on August the second, but a few did not put down their names until still later. . . . 'Charles Carroll of Carrollton,' who signed thus lengthily so that, as he expressed it, King George should know which Charles Carroll it was, was one who, like part of the Pennsylvania delegation, was a member on August 2 but not on the momentous July 4. It meant something, too, Carroll's saying this, for it is said that he added 'of Carrollton' because of the jeer of some member that there were so many Carrolls that he might be safe! He was believed to be the wealthiest man in the Colonies. His property at the beginning of the Revolution was estimated at two million dollars. All this he risked; yet he lived until 1832, to the age of 95, the last to survive of all the Signers" (p. 66).

By way of contrast with this exaltation of Carroll, Jefferson comes in for implicit denunciation (p. 68). "Where is Jefferson?" wrote Washington from Valley Forge: "The long, slim statesman is very prominent in Trumbull's picture, and was so in reality; but during the terrible days of Valley Forge, although then only about thirty-five years old, he was not in the army! His words had got other men in! Nor was he even with Congress. He had recently resigned, when strong men were desperately needed there, and had given his private concerns as excuse! He was rich, with a huge estate. He entered the state legislature, and before the war was over became Governor of Virginia. After all, North and South were alike; Hancock and Samuel Adams galloping in mad fear away from the coming fight at Lexington, and Jefferson shrinking from Valley Forge. If one chose to be cynical, he might remark that a successful statesman is a man who gets others to fight and then keeps away from the fighting" (p. 68).

The pages of this delightful volume are made very interesting by a profusion of appropriate anecdotes and witty sayings. Benjamin Franklin looms large throughout, of course, and is made the

center of many a happy reference to other great men, native and foreign. Towards the close of his life, for instance, he housed a printing-press (in a rude building on what is now Orianna Street) partly perhaps for his own pastime, but mostly in the interest of his grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, who subsequently turned it over to Duane. And "there arrived one day, looking for work, a young man from Ireland, named James Wilson; not James Wilson, the Signer, who is buried at Christ Church, but one who through a descendant won far greater fame. And at the press that Franklin had left, in the little printing shop he had built, there went to work this young Irishman, who shortly afterward married a Scotch-Irish girl who had crossed the ocean on the same ship with him; and a grandson of these two is Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States" (p. 44). "To add smaller things to great it may be mentioned it was in this now so dingy Orianna Street that the elder James Gordon Bennett began his printing career" (p. 44). Franklin built himself "a house of individuality," fireproofed and spacious, and furnished it with elegance. During the British occupancy of the city, Major André was billeted there and (so wrote Mrs. Bache to Franklin) took away with him a portrait of Franklin himself. "Major-General Grey . . . was likewise billeted at the Franklin home, and it is said that he, too, went off with a portrait, which long afterwards was sent back to the Franklin family by one of the general's descendants" (p. 46).

Our author is to be congratulated on a successful attempt to make outsiders love the green city of Penn and to understand its prime characteristics. There is not a "dry" page in the book. Philadelphia "shows lovable aspects to strangers" (p. 404). To Thackeray, it was "grave, calm, kind, old Philadelphia." To John Adams, it was "the happy, the peaceful, the elegant, the hospitable, and polite city of Philadelphia."

H. T. HENRY, LITT.D.

The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina. By Chauncey Samuel Boucher, Ph.D. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press. Pp. 399, including maps, bibliography, and index. 1918.

This work treats of the development and culmination of Nullification in South Carolina, but it does not examine any of

the earlier disputes concerning the location of the sovereignty. The narrative, which is clear and concise, brings the story of the agitation down to 1840, when the controversy which had shaken the foundations of the Union appeared to have sunk to rest. Perhaps it would have added to the value of his book if the author had included even a brief examination of the discussion of sovereignty in Tucker's *Blackstone*, the dissenting opinion of Justice Iredell in *Chisholm versus Georgia*, the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, the Hartford Convention, and certain other kindred ordinances, works and assemblies.

The reader of this excellent volume has one more proof, if any additional evidence is needed, that American statesmen in dealing with preachers of sedition have always erred on the side of generosity. In our own troubled era the Federal Government is hardly more resolute in its treatment of disloyal citizens. The past history of our country appears to have made it plain to those inclined to treasonable acts that they may with impunity commit the gravest crimes against this Republic. All traces of this idea should be ruthlessly effaced.

Doctor Boucher accurately describes the successive steps by which agitators, vagabonds, and, if one chooses so to call them, patriots, arranged the collision of the two doctrines of constitutional interpretation. If, as Burke says, "men are qualified for civil liberty in exact proportion to their disposition to put moral chains upon their own appetites," there were in South Carolina multitudes unfit to enjoy the blessings which they possessed within the Union. This was never fully appreciated by the restless generation of agitators in the Palmetto State until the legions of Sherman left behind them the ruins of stately cities, blackened memorials of Southern defeat and disaster. Ink is still being wasted in the effort to fix the responsibility for their fate. Propagandists sufficiently adroit seldom fail, if their endeavors are prolonged, to excite a people to a pitch of frenzy. A madman takes no note of the resources of his adversary and cares to take none. Of the accuracy of this statement history is full of proofs.

Those who are familiar with the conspicuous landmarks of Nullification would do well to see in the pages of this book the progress and development of that agitation; also the extent of the patriotic and intelligent opposition within South Carolina itself.

Perhaps the general reader believes that there was in 1832 perfect unanimity in that commonwealth as there actually was in December, 1860. It is only by reading such monographs as the present that one's general opinions acquire a solid foundation.

CHARLES H. MCCARTHY, Ph. D.

A History of American Journalism. By James Melvin Lee. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1917. Price, \$3.50.

A comprehensive history of American journalism has as yet not been published that gives in detail the trials and vicissitudes, the successes and failures, the literary elegance and the idiosyncrasies of the nation's journalistic celebrities. Nor does this book present an exhaustive treatment of the subject. The purpose and scope of the work seems to be to give certain general aspects of American journalism with a particular emphasis regarding the beginnings; but no general effort has been made to determine the editorial policies in a scientific way that might be useful to the student of journalism. The author does not show that deep analytical power which would compel the attention and interest of the philosopher of history.

The introductory chapters, which relate the modes of communication of the ancients, might very reasonably be omitted, and in its place might be substituted a clear definition of what constitutes the field of American journalism. No sufficient reason is apparent for the author's failure to treat weekly, monthly and quarterly periodicals. Is not the magazine and the review as much within the sphere of the journalist as the daily newspaper?

One would expect also that some attention would be bestowed on the religious press in this country, for we know that no opportunity for expression of opinion was lost by the diurnals, when questions of grave moment, affecting church and state, engaged the public mind. For instance, the spirit of the early press in New England, at least, cannot be properly understood without a summary or panoramic view of the strong counter-acting influences, political, national and religious, always at war with that ascendancy.

In the formative period of our country's history, when immigration from almost every land was being woven into the warp and woof of this republic, there were also many disturbing elements at work, endeavoring to tear asunder the fabric from which our nation was being formed. The Puritanical Federalists early attempted to abridge the rights and liberties of certain peoples of foreign birth. The obnoxious Alien and Sedition Laws were the special instruments used to smother the freedom of the press. We have not even a mention of Matthew Lyon of Vermont, who was the first Irishman to suffer under the Sedition Law. He was later elected to Congress and had the satisfaction of casting the deciding vote which defeated Adams for re-election. This attempt of the President to muzzle the opposition press was one of the chief causes for the downfall of the Federalist party. With the rise of Jeffersonian democracy many restraints were removed, but in their place arose a propagandist press which endeavored to persecute, by every species of vituperation that human ingenuity could devise, these exiles from European tyranny and autocracy. In this propaganda English agents played no small part, especially against their traditional opponents, the United Irishmen.

To meet this virulence and invective, and to nail every violation of the truth and distortion of fact, the Irish newspapers were begun in some of the principal cities of the United States. These journals, while they waged war for the protection of their liberties, were at the same time a force and a power in the great work of Americanization of immigrants. For this reason, and on account of the influence they had in the neutralization of existing prejudices, they must claim some attention by the historian of American journalism.

The difficulty in selection of interesting, valuable and relevant facts on the history of American journalism; the inaccessibility and the dearth of original source; the inaccuracies of much of the supplementary materials, dealing chiefly with persons and circumstances, make the work of the historian a monumental task. The author has done well to express, within the contents of one volume of moderate size, the salient features of American journalistic achievement. The plan of dividing the book into periods is admirably executed, and therefore convenient for

reference. The chief regret of the critical student of history is that the text is not accompanied by authorities consulted; nor is there a bibliographical reference of any kind to encourage further research in some of the more particular aspects of journalism.

PAUL J. FOIK, C.S.C., PH.D.

A Glory of Maryland. By M. S. Pine, Philadelphia, Pa.: Salesian Press, Don Bosco Institute, 1917. Price, \$1.00.

This is really quite an interesting and attractive booklet. It is a metrical account of the life and labors of the Most Reverend Leonard Neale, D.D., the second Archbishop of Baltimore, the authoress' real name being Sister Mary Paulina. The historical notes at the end are themselves worth the price, not to mention the numerous illustrations containing some rare old prints. It is a labor of love on the part of the writer, inasmuch as Archbishop Neale was instrumental in establishing the Visitation Nuns in the United States. But anyone interested in the early history of the church in the United States will find the book well worth reading, as the notes are full of much interesting information upon that subject, especially information of a biographical character. The greater activity of Archbishop Neale's immediate predecessor in the see of Baltimore, Archbishop Carroll, has perhaps unduly relegated the memory of Neale to the obscure background. Yet the latter did leave the impress of his work upon the rising church, and it is precisely this which the author brings out with due emphasis. The book may serve a good purpose in inducing American-Catholics to read somewhat of the early history of their church, upon which at present they are unfortunately and ignorant.

LUCIEN JOHNSTON, S.T.L.

History of Illinois. Volume III; The Era of the Civil War, 1861-1870, by Arthur Charles Cole. The Illinois Centennial Commission, Springfield, Ill., 1919.

The Church was gaining steadily in the larger cities through the immigration of Irish and foreign Catholics. The Rev. James Oliver Van de Velde was installed as suc-

cessor to Bishop William Quarter as bishop of Chicago in 1848, but gave way five years later to Bishop O'Regan; neither of these, however, aroused the enthusiastic cooperation of the clergy or laity. The See of Quincy was established in 1852, followed in 1857 by the erection of the episcopate of Alton. At the close of the decade the Catholics established the *Western Banner* as their organ at Chicago" (p. 248).

"The Catholics made progress in spite of the contentions that developed under the late years of Bishop Duggan's administration. Over one-half of the population of Chicago was Catholic; yet this included almost entirely persons of foreign birth or parentage, since the increase was largely the result of immigration. One of the problems of the Church was to Americanize the congregations; the Irish, however, often objected to the assignment of a priest who was not himself an Irishman."

"The Catholics labored not only under the difficulty of internal heterogeneity but also of external criticism. In 1867, considerable anti-Catholic feeling developed in Illinois when the Reverend J. G. White of Jacksonville, a fearless champion of Protestantism, went about the state lecturing on 'Romanism'" (pp. 425-6).

This is the rather meager account of Catholic growth and progress in Illinois—except for a detailed statement of Father Chiniquy's case—as given by the author of the above volume for the two decades under consideration. Compared with the space he devotes to other religious bodies, it scarcely does justice to the numerical strength of Catholics, their unobtrusive zeal, the institutions of learning and charity they founded. Nor is it even accurate.

Bishop Van de Velde was consecrated bishop of Chicago in St. Francis Xavier's church, St. Louis, February 11, 1849, and installed in his see the first of April of the same year. His successor was Bishop O'Regan (not O'Regan). The diocese of Quincy was created July 29, 1853, but when the see was transferred to Alton, January 9, 1857, the diocese of Quincy ceased to exist. Bishop O'Regan's administration met with severe complaint on the part of some of his clergy, in consequence of which he resigned.

As for his successor, Bishop Duggan, his refinement and gentleness, his ease and grace of manner, made him socially very

popular, while his public spirit was much appreciated by the community at large. "The contentions that developed under the later years of his administration," confined as they were to the University of St. Mary of the Lake, were of very small consequence, and due to the first symptoms of that mental aberration to which the bishop fell a victim soon afterwards.

Perhaps all these are minor matters, but accuracy of dates and facts, in this case easily ascertainable, is expected even in a popular narrative of history.

For the rest, the author covers the ground quite thoroughly and succeeds in throwing some interesting sidelights on men and conditions of the times. Newspapers of the day have been very largely laid under contribution. Yet it is questionable whether every tenth rate sheet represents a current of public opinion worth chronicling. Newspapers, of course, are supposed to reflect the mind of the people. All too often they set forth only the warped and biased views of some influential individual or organization who, for reasons of their own, deem it well to keep in the background. Or they give vent to hastily conceived, ill-digested, violently expressed opinions that are unceremoniously reversed the next day. Vile and coarse epithets at the address of public men readily found their way into print towards the middle of the last century. Seldom was all this so apparent as in the case of Abraham Lincoln. Almost every refined and vulgar epithet had been hurled at him. Very few there were to credit him with any wisdom or any far-sighted vision. Suddenly—and none had greater claim to the title—he became a national hero. The turmoil of the times must explain to some extent the vitriolic attacks directed against him by the press. But their unhallowed source lay to a large extent in the press writer's psychology, who aims to startle or to strut forth as a tribune of the people, with little regard for the truth. A large class of newspapers may furnish abundant material for a study in mental pathology, but not for sober history.

In a few years the young Illinois commonwealth rose to be the second railroad state in the Union, and occupied first rank as a corn, wheat, oats and stock producing center. This rapid development was largely owing to a vast influx of immigrants. Settling in unfamiliar surroundings, they naturally became somewhat clanish, holding on to their language and their customs with un-

common persistence. And this clannishness was fostered by every political party openly courting the votes of the Irish, the Germans, the Swedes, the French and the rest. Thus was "foreignism" perpetuated by the very Americans whose primary duty should have been to bring about a complete fusion between native and immigrant stocks. If the melting pot has not functioned properly, all the blame should not be put on the foreigner.

With the superabundant production of foodstuffs that characterized Illinois during this period, and a very large cotton crop into the bargain, the cost of living kept on rising steadily. At the end of the war it had risen 300 per cent, while wages had risen only 50 to 100 per cent. In 1867, wheat sold in Springfield at \$3.50 and flour at \$18.00 a barrel. Disgraceful secret combinations of capitalists added to the burden. The "live stock ring" of Chicago was made possible because, unknown to the public, the railroads subscribed practically all the capital. Being then the largest live stock market in the world, they undertook to convert themselves into a secret exchange by suppressing the reports of sales of cattle in the daily newspapers. Thus they were able at times to buy hogs at five or six cents live weight and sell pork, ham and lard at more than double that price. In 1868, after wheat had been cornered three times, corn and barley twice, and rye and oats, once, a corner on pork forced up the price of pork products so high that the deluded farmers were aroused to defend themselves against their spoilers.

Everyone asked in dumb astonishment for the cause of this unprecedented rise. No one seemed able to supply an answer or a remedy, until within a short time a financial crisis of serious proportions brought about a general leveling.

The freedom of the press in time of war has always been a delicate question; conscientious criticism of military measures is readily turned into evidence of disloyalty and treason. Only one Illinois paper of importance, the *Chicago Times*, was suppressed by the military authorities. But the arbitrary action was followed by such a quick and overwhelming protest of citizens of both political parties that the President rescinded the order almost at once. After its ill-treatment the circulation of the paper increased materially among the common people.

Illinois has always been justly proud of the fact that the two

men who won the civil war, Lincoln and Grant, were sprung from her soil. All during the weary years of conflict the state furnished much more than its quota of troops, and there was never any need of resorting to conscription. The familiar story is retold in the present volume with justifiable pride. It is worth chronicling, however, that while the state lost 8,908 men in killed and wounded, more than twice that number (19,934) died from the ravages of disease.

The author remarks in his Preface that this particular period of Illinois history is complicated by the place taken by Illinois leaders on the roll of national heroes. And the historian finds himself torn between the demands of the common people for an interpretation of their democratic development against great odds, and the influence of the statesmen on the hustings, in the national legislature and the presidential chair, as well as that of the successful military commander. On the whole he has succeeded in balancing all the factors and in delineating the many-sided evolution of a great state with a completeness of detail that does not preclude a full grasp of the whole vivid moving panorama.

J. B. CULEMANS, Ph.D.

Studies in the Old South by the Present Day Students of a Virginia College. A Collection of Essays to which have been Awarded during the Past Ten Years the Dr. George W. Bagby Prize of Hampden-Sidney College for the Best Essay written by an Undergraduate upon Ante-Bellum Conditions in the South. 1916. Pp. 116.

A valuable addition to extant literature on conditions in the southland anterior to and during the American Civil War period and, from a southern standpoint, explaining the attitude of the seceding states, is found in the above publication.

The work appears as a striking illustration of the, perhaps, overly quoted "multum in parvo." The essays are ably treated by ten writers and turn mainly on questions of paramount interest to every student of the American pre-Civil and Civil War periods. The introduction consists of a one-page preface by George Gordon Battle. The titles of subjects treated, with authors, are as follows: The Influence of the Extensive Growth of Tobacco in Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, by W. W. Grover, 1906;

Slavery and its Influence in the Old South, by D. A. Haller, 1908; States' Rights, by L. H. Lancaster, 1909; Journalism and Authorship in the Ante-Bellum South, by Joseph M. Crockett, 1911; The Sovereignty of the State and Secession, by James M. Cecil, 1910; State Rights, by Charles Edwin Clarke, 1912; Causes of the Civil War, by John Gavack, Jr., 1913; The Secession of Virginia, by Ernest Trice Thompson, 1914; Half a Man; The Free Negro in Virginia, 1619-1865, by R. E. Warwick, 1915; Ante-Bellum Fun in Old Virginia, by Geo. H. Gilmer, Jr., 1916.

The trend of general treatment of the above subjects, so intimately bearing on the war between the states, is mainly apologetic in character, the writers being imbued with the idea of explaining many misunderstood questions as to the motives and causes of the South's stand and action in the great fratricidal struggle. The fact that the various articles are penned by students of a southern educational institution of recognized high rank and concern matters with which the writers, from their very environment, must necessarily be familiar, give to the conclusions drawn a decided air of truth and accuracy. The warmth and earnestness of the apologists win our attention and enlist our sympathies.

In what is, perhaps, the most important of all the essays treated, the "Causes of the Civil War," the writer shows conclusively that the popular notion of the "for slavery" and "against slavery" positions respectively of the South and of the North as causative factors of the mighty conflict is erroneous. The same conclusion is brought out in the other also important essays on "States' Rights," "The Sovereignty of the State and Secession," "Slavery and its Influence in the Old South," and "The Secession of Virginia."

The writers of the above articles, as do all other southern authors who touch on the subject-matters involved, give as the primary cause of the Civil War the question of "States' Rights," the South holding each state to be supreme and, therefore, not subservient to the national government, and this from the belief that, in the words of Madison, the constitution is a "compact between the states in their highest capacity."

The proximate cause of the war, however, is given as to whether slavery was to be allowed in new States. The southerners naturally took the affirmative side, in order to have additional

markets for their surplus slaves, the monetary value of which represented, in the decade ending in 1860, a value of three and one-half billions of the total five billions of dollars of estimated southern properties. The North held slavery to be against the dictates of civilization and humanity and, consequently, considered its extension into new territories naught other than crime. The occasions of the war are shown to have been remotely John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry and proximately Lincoln's election and subsequent call for troops. In the quoted words of Jefferson Davis: "No alternative remained except to seek the security out of the union which they (the seceding states) had vainly tried to obtain within it."

Virginia's reluctant part in secession is pathetically shown. Her hand was forced. Neutral she could not remain. It was a question as to her siding with the North or her sister States, the South. Contrary to the popular belief, slavery to her was, in itself, distasteful, to which institution she had, more than once, shown even strong opposition. As a matter of fact, out of a population of 1,047,299 Virginians, only 52,128 were slave-owners. Her most notable military leaders, such as Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, Joseph E. Johnston, A. P. Hill and J. E. B. Stuart, were not holders of slaves. The influence, too, of the growth of tobacco in bringing the blacks into Virginia for its cultivation is shown to be intimately connected with the question of slavery.

The earnestness of the writers, whilst adding zest to the general narrative, is productive at times of a few statements which appear to be somewhat overdrawn, as, for instance, where under the question, "Slavery and its Influence in the Old South," mention is made that the native African could not be degraded but was rather elevated by slavery in the States, a conclusion, whilst doubtless true in many cases, the general application of which may be seriously questioned.

We may conclude with the statement that the reader, in search of historic truth concerning the attitude of the South in the Civil War, will scarcely find in any other small work more tending to explain better and clarify the difficult and, in many cases, disputed questions than is found in the able and interesting essays of the little volume. The writers have succeeded admirably in their

principal purpose of giving to the public concisely and graphically a pen picture of southern conditions and motives of action during and preceding the momentous Civil War period. It is to be hoped that there may be forthcoming other larger works embracing the same or similar subject-matter and of the same standard of thought and diction as is manifested in the attractive publication, "Studies in the Old South."

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NOTES AND COMMENT

That there is a design in the bibliographical studies which have appeared in each number of the REVIEW since its beginning is evident to all who have at heart the desire to see the study of American Catholic history raised to a more critical plane.

That purpose has received encouragement from all who have a sincere interest in saving our historiography from being buried under the dead weight of mediocrity and of panegyric so characteristic of its past.

There would be little value to ourselves or to the students who follow us in listing sources upon sources for the study of our Church in this country unless we were free at the same time to judge without fear or favor their intrinsic historical merit: there would also be little advance in discriminating between the negligible and the valuable in Catholic historical works that have already been written unless at the same time our critical appraisal were to serve as a guide and likewise as a warning to those who seek entrance into the difficult field of American Church history.

In carrying out this design, in listing the sources which go to make up a *Biographical Dictionary of the American Hierarchy*, we have been proceeding on the assumption that, as far as our own country is in question, the biographical approach to its Church history is the most natural one the student can take. The personal element in church movements in America is so emphatic that we would fail to understand any period or any diocese adequately if due proportion were not given to biographical studies.

Biography it is which gives to history vitality and concreteness; and in the biographies of our ecclesiastical leaders, we can best find a natural and obvious continuity in the Church history of the past. "Biography when distinctly urged as a bridge to history," writes Johnson, in the *Teaching of History*, p. 171 (New York, 1916), "commonly emphasizes the former." In American history, as in American Church history, biography still proves to be the best introduction. We have but a faint background of tradition to our institutional life, and few phases of our national culture have reached that completion of development which in European countries necessarily subordinates the individual to the group.

Certain questions arise quite naturally from this fact:

What precisely is biography?

In what does it differ from history?

What is the purpose of biography?

What are the principles of historical criticism upon which the biographer should base the choice of his subject and the treatment thereof?

What are the biographer's obligations to truth, to justice, and to charity?

Should everything in the life of the subject be told?

Is suppression of fact in the biographical narrative ever ethical?

Should the life of the ecclesiastic be approached with the same candor and frankness as that of the layman?

Where should ecclesiastical biography branch off from ordinary biography and from hagiography?

Is there not an accepted canon that in the life of the churchman only that which is edifying may be told?

These are questions of theoretical import, it is true; but unless they are answered in all honesty, it will be impossible for the student to find an answer for the more important practical question; namely, *of what value historically are the lives of the members of the American Hierarchy written thus far?* From Brent's *Biographical Sketch of the Most Rev. John Carroll*, published in Baltimore in 1843, down to the late Cardinal Farley's *Life of John Cardinal McCloskey, First Prince of the Church in America*, published in 1918, the number of episcopal biographies has already reached the proportions of a respectable library. If it be true, therefore, that the history of the Catholic Church in the United States is best understood in the lives of its leaders, then the episcopal biographies we possess must be subjected to rigid critical tests before they can be accepted by the historian as materials for his account of Catholicism in America. Certainly no episcopal biography yet written seems to be deserving of a permanent place in American literature. Why is this? Is it because these sketches fall short of the ideals of biographical technique, or is it because of the confusion between history and biography? Or is it because their day has been too near our own?

Biography has always presented a complex problem to the student of literature and of history. All are not agreed upon its definition, though all are agreed that the province of biography is distinct from that of history. In his *English Biography* (London, 1916), Waldo H. Dunn tells us that although it has been generally taken for granted that every one knows what biography is, no one seems to have given us a definition that is adequate. "To say that biography is the history of one man's life, is, at least," he writes, "to be clear and succinct, but the definition is no more than a beginning of the expository process. It is easy enough to say that the history of a man's life constitutes his biography; it is not so easy to declare what should go to make up the history, still less easy to say just what is meant by the life of which the history is to treat. What do we mean when we speak of *the life* of a man? The expression is common, and every one knows, or thinks he knows, what the term means." Edmund Gosse, in his article on *Biography* in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, in considering what biography in its pure sense ought to be, states that we can best reach a standard of evaluation by deciding what biography should not be.

It is not a philosophical treatise nor a polemical pamphlet. It is not even a portion of the human contemporary chronicle. Broad views are entirely out of place in biography, and there is perhaps no greater literary mistake than to attempt what is called the *Life and Times* of a man . . . *History* deals with fragments of the vast roll of events; it must always begin abruptly and close in the middle of affairs; it must always deal impartially with a vast number of persons. *Biography* is a study sharply defined by two definite events—birth and death. It fills its canvas with one figure, and other personages, however great in themselves, must always be subsidiary to the central hero.

We may, then, accept as a provisional definition of biography that it is the story, from birth to death, of one man's life in its external manifestations and in its inward development. But the acceptance of this definition leaves still another—perhaps a more important—problem to be settled: *Whose is the life that deserves the narration thereof?* All who have written on the subject tell us that biography is the result of an overpowering desire in the heart of man to perpetuate the deeds of one of his fellows. In his *Principles of Biography*, England's greatest master in the art, Sidney Lee, holds that "biography exists to satisfy a natural instinct in man—the commemorative instinct—the universal desire to keep alive the memories of those who by character and exploits have distinguished themselves from the mass of mankind" (p. 9). Lee would have us, therefore, write only the *Lives* of those whose *character and exploits* have warranted their tradition to posterity.

This distinction is not very helpful *post factum*, for ecclesiastical *Lives* lie as thick as autumn leaves on ecclesiastical reading tables. It must be confessed that Church history faces a difficulty here; if the test of *character and exploits* were to be rigidly applied to Church leaders, there would be a rather shadowy justification for the numerous ecclesiastical *Lives* written thus far. The problem becomes more complicated when we consider that to allow the biographer to apply his own self-made canon of exclusion to any member of the hierarchy in a given country would rob the Church historian of a later day of much of his best material. If Ciacconius had applied the rule of character and exploits in his *Vitae et res gestae Pontificum Romanorum et S. R. E. Cardinalium ab initio nascentis Ecclesiae usque ad Clementem IX*, his work could not be listed by Pastor in his *History of the Popes* as a source of first value.

On the principle: *qui facit per alium, facit per se*, one would be obliged to admit that at least every bishop should have his biography, since around him and through his *haute direction*, all work of the diocese centers and develops. To respect the memory of a prelate whose episcopate has left its impress, however faint, on the diocese over which he rules, is by most ecclesiastics considered sufficient warrant for writing his biography. The ordinary belief is that as a Governor in the Church, a Chief Shepherd of the Flock, a Husbandman in the Vineyard, an Alter Christus to his priests, the bishop of a diocese has had opportunities of strengthening Catholic life and action within his jurisdiction and

of placing the progress of his diocese abreast of the universal Church. His character may be comparable to the best men of his time; his exploits may be of such a kind that the nation itself feels that he is as large a factor in national progress as in church affairs. On the other hand, his character and his exploits may be the opposite. His life may have been spent, *in dir Stille*, in building up the broken walls of a diocese, the shattered bonds of unity among his people, the weakened spirit of concord with those of other faiths. But the question whether he should have the narrative of his labors written for posterity cannot be judged by the same rule as one applies to men in the world. In reality, owing to the close dependence of American Church history upon biographical narrative, each diocese should have an accurate, complete, and official biographical series of the bishops who have ruled it in the past.

Passing to the question of biographical technique, what should be said about the rule so strongly emphasized by the editors of the *Dictionary of National Biography*: namely, biographical independence of ethics, history, and science? Should ecclesiastical biography be autonomous in design and in treatment? "Biography," Lee writes, "must resolutely preserve its independence of three imposing themes of study, which are often seen to compete for its control. True biography is no handmaid of ethical instruction. Its purpose is not that of history. It does not serve biological or anthropological science. Any assistance that biography renders these three great interests—ethical, historical and scientific—should be accidental; such aid is neither essential nor obligatory. Biography rules a domain of its own; it is autonomous" (*Principles of Biography* p. 6). The ecclesiastical biographer can scarcely accept exclusion from the field of ethics and of history. The student of Church History welcomed the day when what is called genetic history or history based upon the scientific method of modern criticism began to dawn; but he realizes also that the process of systematic arrangement and examination of facts of history does not constitute a satisfying ideal. Whether or no modern criticism welcome the truth that man instinctively desires to learn lessons for the present from the past, that truth is too evident for denial. To adapt a passage from Devas' *Key to the World's Progress*: can we not suffer the biographer, cleric or lay, without this prejudgment of the moral value of his subject, to pursue his narrative in peace and to allow the facts to speak for themselves? But facts themselves are dumb, and a biographer is no purveyor of an indiscriminate collection of facts; he is no scientific chronicler, but precisely one whose narrative is the fruit of a process of reasoning. For out of the vast mass of recorded facts, oftentimes a confused and unintelligent heap, he must select what is pertinent, relevant, important, and characteristic. No gazing at facts will provide the biographer with what may be called a theoretical anticipation of the lesson his Life will produce upon the reader. Before he enters the labyrinth of a man's life, he must have a lamp to guide him.

That lamp should be lighted by the steady flame of edification. This must be admitted at the outset; unless the ecclesiastical biographer accept this *a priori*

standard, his work will be useless. That he will, thereby, cut himself off from his fellows in the field of critical history does not always follow, for everything will depend upon his treatment of his subject. There are two problems in the manner of edification—*how much can be told and how should it be told*. The Church has always been jealous of panegyric, and no biography of an ecclesiastic will receive her *Imprimatur* unless the author preface his work with the now familiar disavowal:

It only remains to submit all that is here written to the judgment of the Church, and to declare in conformity with the decrees of Urban VIII, and of other Popes, that only human authority is here ascribed to the facts related and to the appellations indicating sanctity used in regard to the subject, etc.

How much can be told? Platzhoff in his *Theorie der Biographie* says rather succinctly: "Das Ideal des Biographen sei jene heitere Weise . . . der Gutes sieht, wo er kann, Böses, wo er muss, der als Mensch von Menschen zu Menschen redet." The classic example of *suppression* in modern Catholic biography is that which occurred in the publication of Purcell's *Manning*. An equally classic example of *inclusion* is Snead-Cox's *Life of Cardinal Vaughan*. The biographer saw his difficulty and met it nobly:

Then the question came: Was it right to put out in print the private outpourings of these intimate and spiritual diaries? It may be said at once there are things given in these volumes which I know the Cardinal, in his life-time, would—well, have cut off his hand rather than allow to be published. But ought that certainty to have been decisive against publication now? Or, rather, should not the question shape itself in this fashion—Would Cardinal Vaughan now wish withheld from the world anything he had done, or thought, or suffered, the knowledge of which could make for good, or serve for a help, or an example, or an inspiration, to anyone? That question seemed to me to answer itself.

Snead-Cox could add in all truthfulness: "If I have not been candid, I am without excuse"; on the same principle Baronius states in his *Annales*: *Nihil veritas erubescit, nisi solummodo abscondi!*

The problem of truthfulness is undoubtedly not to be solved apart from that of opportuneness. Frederick Denison Maurice had said somewhere that no man's life ought to be published till twenty years after his death. Time softens many things, if not all, in human life, and its passage brings a better and clearer perspective. "A contemporary can never judge as the historian a hundred years after the fact judges, but the contemporary view has also its place, and it may be really nearer to the living truth than is the conclusion formed when the past is cold and remote and the actors are dead long ago" (Thayer, *Theodore Roosevelt*, p. xi, New York, 1920).

Manning had a horror of seeing his own *Life* in print before his death. "To write my life, while I am still alive," he said, "is like putting me into my coffin before I am dead." How long an interested public should wait is a much debated question; but certainly it must be admitted that once the biographer begins his work, he should be dominated by the determination to tell the truth.

Not that he needs to enter the sacred tabernacle of a man's heart, as the jaunty Purcell has done, with an irresponsible wish to suppress nothing, as he tells us in the *Life of Manning* (Vol. i, p. vii). Discrimination is as much a part of truth-telling as truth itself, for it is always more easy to deal with the dead and buried past than with the events and actors of our own days. Some *Lives* should be left to the care of posterity, which can see them with clearer eyes and judge them more fairly. The sanctities of life are not to be violated, the living are not to be wounded, the dead are not to be wronged—in the interests of truth, for truth in that case becomes selfish and domineering.

Faber says somewhere in his letters that every man has many biographies running in parallel lines in his life. To tell the story of the whole man requires a profound appreciation of the task in hand and a religious respect for the dead. We have indeed departed from the biographical canon laid down by Wordsworth that we should shield a man by shrinking from the truth:

Silence is a privilege of the grave, a right to the departed; let him, therefore, who infringes that right, by speaking publicly of, for, or against, those who cannot speak for themselves, take heed that he opens not his mouth without a sufficient sanction. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*, is a rule in which these sentiments have been pushed to an extreme that proves how deeply humanity is interested in maintaining them.

But once begun—once this sufficient sanction is present—the biographer must reveal to us the man himself—the whole man. This Capececiaturo holds to be the chief defect of the earlier ecclesiastical biographers, in that they are wanting in the proper order of development and in historical description of the whole inner life of their subjects (*Life of St. Philip Neri*, Vol. i, p. xiii). In a little known treatise on historical method, the Preface to the *Acta Sanctorum* (t. i, p. xxxii), the rule of biographical candidness is given as follows: *Profiteor me quae de Sanctis tradita litteris repererim dare, nihil assuere, nihil mutare, nihil meopte ingenio emendare, nihil praecidere, integra omnia et inviolata afferre, quoad possum.*

We have a right indeed to expect that the ecclesiastical biographer will give us—by a judicious choice and detail of particular actions and episodes in the life of his subject—a living image of his hero. The truth must not be deformed to meet the unreasonable wish of those who hold it in fear. At best, life presents a tangled skein, good and ill juxtaposed, and a truthful picture of a life lived in *dem Strom der Welt* can alone satisfy the canons of modern historical criticism. To bury our subject under a load of platitudes is part of that idealized biography which has long since passed out. We desiderate a living image of the subject, walking, talking, breathing, sighing, weeping, laughing, as was his wont in life. “Se l’Evangelista non ha celato il peccato e la caduta del Guida”—Purcell quotes this rather gleefully as one of Leo XIII’s statements to Manning—“perché dobbiamo noi celare il peccato di vescovi ed altri personaggi?” (Vol. ii, p. 755).

The biographer's work falls into two departments, we are told by Wilfrid Ward, the biographer of four eminent Englishmen—his own father, Cardinal Wiseman, Aubrey de Vere, and Cardinal Newman. In his *Last Lectures* (New York, 1918), the distinguished essayist enters into the problem of the *Nature and Limits of Character Study*, and emphasizes the fact that the biographer must first study *all available material* in order to make his own idea of his subject quite complete. He must then attempt as an artist to present the picture which has been formed in his own mind from the whole material, by choosing for publication a *convincing selection* from that material. "This," he says, "is the only true method of biography . . . the biographer must study all and use at his discretion whatever serves best for a convincing picture. That must be his sole principle in selection" (p. 158). Mr. Ward defines the principal kinds of material at the disposal of the biographer as: (1) Letters, (2) recorded conversation, (3) diaries and autobiographies, (4) the reminiscences of friends, (5) incidental self-revelations in works already published (p. 175).

Wilfrid Ward's brief article, *Candour in Biography*, begins with the admission that "the careful student who wishes to form an accurate judgment of a given character should see the whole available evidence. The suppression of the 'astute' or the 'timid' are so far prejudicial to perfect truth and accuracy. I go a step further, and do not care to dispute that, apart from letters unintelligible or misleading, without explanation of their circumstances, the public may, in the long run, form the truer impression of a man from a very liberal publication of his letters."

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GUIDE TO THE BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES OF THE AMERICAN HIERARCHY¹

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¹ Cf. CHR., Vol. v, pp. 120-128 (A-B), Vol. v, pp. 290-296 (C). ABBREVIATIONS: ACHS (*American Catholic Historical Society*); ACQR (*American Catholic Quarterly Review*); AHR (*American Historical Review*); CE (*Catholic Encyclopedia*); CHR (*Catholic Historical Review*); CUB (*Catholic University Bulletin*); CW (*Catholic World*); ICHR (*Illinois Catholic Historical Review*); USCHS (*United States Catholic Historical Society*).

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PETER GUILDAY.

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The Catholic Historical Review

VOLUME VI

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FRANCISCAN EXPLORATION OF CALIFORNIA

INTRODUCTORY

Never-ending interest attaches to the temporal and spiritual conquest of California by the eighteenth century Spaniards whose sword and cross gave the Pacific coastline into the power of Church and State. The story has been told and re-told by writers whose number and points of view are almost legion. There yet remains to be told, in a single consecutive narrative, the story of the part played by the missionaries of the Order of St. Francis in the pioneer work of exploration which made known the lands that were held and the peoples that were brought under the banner of the Church. Always efficient coadjutors, and in many cases initiators, of the work undertaken, the members of this Order have made for themselves a large place in the history of California in particular, and of the Pacific Coast in general.

The limitations set for this paper are in a degree artificial. To confine attention to the exploration of a single state would be perhaps in no other case save that of Texas, as feasible anywhere else as in that of California. The lands sought by the Franciscan explorers within our present confines are a geographical unit. To the east of California, exploration concerned an area still distinct in many essentials. The great land of New Mexico had a separate history and administration, and was never closely assimilated with California under either Spain or Mexico. To the west, the great coastal sea-voyages, reaching far beyond the northern boundaries of the United States, were directed chiefly toward adding to the Spanish crown a territory which was never "California" after the occupation of San Diego and Monterey, was held only for a very brief span of years, and was not so distinctively the field of Franciscan interest as was the coast

as far as San Francisco. The present narrative is, therefore, limited to the briefest possible account of the background of history which made possible the occupation of California in 1769, with a more ample relation of the actual explorations which resulted in the establishment of the notable chain of missions, from their inception down to the final unsuccessful attempts to spread from the coast into the interior during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. A continuous story of this exploration has never been told, and its later phases have had especially scant attention. This narrative will, perhaps then, render a service to charity and continuity, and will make evident the durable side-products of Franciscan evangelical activities, especially their contribution to early geographical knowledge of the State, its nomenclature and ethnology.

THE FIRST STEPS

The progress of the Spaniards to the "famous port of San Francisco" was from Mexico City as a base, and was made by slow and painful stages through a period of nearly two hundred and fifty years from the time when Cortés razed the city of Tenochtitlán. He advanced the colors of Spain along the western coast from Zacatula (founded 1522) to Colima. Nuño de Guzmán swept northwestward, between 1529 and 1531, into Sinaloa with a large force, adding a great territory which, though never occupied in absolute peace for many years at a time, nevertheless remained in the power of the king. In 1536, the romantic story of Cabeza de Vaca, confirmed by the Franciscan Niza, brought about the stupendous undertaking of Coronado in 1540 by which New Mexico was reached by way of Sonora. Cooperating with Coronado was Alarcón, who ascended the Gulf of California to the mouth of the Colorado River, and Melchior Díaz, who, marching through Sonora, reached that stream over the path later trod by Father Kino, the Jesuit, and Fray Francisco Garcés, the Franciscan. Spanish continental exploration into the northwest had thus early met the great life barrier of the Colorado Desert, but for the interposition of which progress into California would have been as easy and as rapid as the extension of the king's domain throughout the present cornucopia-shaped land of Mexico.

To recount how the steps of this advance to the *Primería*

were made by the patient toil of religious and miner and settler would be tedious, sketched in barest outline. Over the northern lands, whither mines and grazing lands enticed the secular Spaniards in growingly significant numbers, the shadow of the Cross was carried by the labors of Franciscans, Jesuits, and Dominicans. The Kingdom of Nueva Galicia, created by 1531 and embracing the early conquests of Cortés, Guzmán, and their successors, was gathered spiritually under the mitre of the bishop of Michoacán as early as 1537. A new bishopric and audiencia were formed in this kingdom in 1544 and 1548 respectively. Outside the pale of reduced Christendom lay the present territory of Sinaloa, which was entered by Jesuit missionaries in 1591, and reduced in the main by 1678. This Order extended its labors into Sonora during the seventeenth century along the Sonora River valley, thence pushing into Pimería Alta proper, between the Altar and Gila rivers, in 1687. In the northernmost of these missions was Father Francisco Eusebio Kino, at Dolores, on an upper branch of the Sonora. In 1700, he founded San Xavier del Bac, across the divide, in the Santa Cruz River valley of Arizona. This affluent of the Gila River afforded an easier avenue of progress northward than the desert lands to the west. Exploration from this point by the Jesuits, though notable, bore no actual fruit in temporal conquests until after the Franciscans had taken over the field in 1769.

LOWER CALIFORNIA AND THE EARLY COAST VOYAGES

Meantime, knowledge of the Pacific Coast had been growing. The early voyages under the auspices of Cortés, by Hurtado de Mendoza to 27° by his reckoning, that of his second ship as far as Culiacán, by Diego Becerro and Fortún Ximénez to the tip of Lower California, by Cortés himself over much the same waters as his lieutenants, and by Francisco de Ulloa to 30°, had given a general knowledge of the Gulf of California and the coasts of the peninsula, as had the Alarcón voyage already referred to.

Following on the heels of these pioneers came the Cabrillo-Ferrello discoveries in 1542, of the coast beyond the fortieth parallel, leaving at least a tradition which was to be rendered more certain by the voyages of Sebastian Vizcaíno in 1600 and

1602. His explorations bore fruit in a chart of the coast which was for a long time outside the knowledge of writers on the Pacific voyages.¹ The Vizcaíno voyages gave to the coast the names San Diego (Cabrillo's San Miguel), Monterey, San Francisco, and a number of names of headlands, which were recorded in the *Navigación especulativa* of Cabrera Bueno, and preserved thus to the interest of the eighteenth century conquerors. Iterated insistently in their plans for the actual occupation of the early discoveries when impetus thereto had been given from without by the proximate arrival of foreign competitors, these names were practically all that remained as common knowledge concerning California. They served, however, to beckon the desire of the statesmen who desired the northern lands.

The leaders possessed knowledge, no doubt, of the difficult terrain to be crossed between Sonora and California; they assuredly had information concerning the explorations of Father Garcés in the basin of the Colorado; hence it is not strange that Lower California instead of Sonora was used as a base for the first land expeditions to Vizcaíno's San Diego and Monterey. It was nearer by many leagues, and had the advantage of no great rivers to cross, with no Apaches to hang on the flanks of the marchers.

Since the days of Cortés, the peninsula had been the objective of numerous pearl-fishing enterprises from across the Gulf. The exploiters included Casanate, Atondo, Iturbe, Cardona, and Ortega. The latter made a third attempt at permanent settlement, but Lower California became the field of Jesuit missionary work in 1697 only, following interest inspired by Kino in Salvatierra, Ugarte, and their companions from the mainland missions. During the brief Jesuit tenure, until 1767, there were founded some nineteen missions extending northward to Santa María, which was one of the fifteen existing missions taken over by the Franciscans upon the Jesuit expulsion in the year just mentioned. These establishments were made the base for the first expedition to the north. They were so used only temporarily, because they were practically denuded for the first effort, and

¹ The chart was faithfully reproduced by Enrico Martínez, cosmographer of the expedition, for the archives in Spain. Facsimile reproductions of the Martínez sketches are in the Bancroft Library.

movement therefrom depended upon the perilous Gulf voyage from the Sonora coast.

THE PENINSULA AS A POINT OF DEPARTURE

In the year following the installation of the Fernandine Franciscans in the missions of the peninsula, the somnolent interest of Spain was aroused in the permanent occupation of the northern coast to forestall Russian advances southward from the fur-trading posts which had been established following the discoveries by Behring and Tcherikov between 1741 and 1765. This interest resulted in the occupation of San Diego and Monterey by the Gálvez expeditions of 1769.

For this purpose two land and two sea expeditions were sent. The first sea expedition left San Blas on the west Mexican coast in the *San Carlos* on January 19, 1769, under command of Vicente Vila. The vessel bore also Miguel Costansó as cosmographer, Fray Hernando Parrón, and Pedro Fages, lieutenant of Catalanian volunteers. She entered the port of San Diego on April 29, having added nothing to knowledge of the coast. The second sea expedition left San Lucas, Lower California, on February 15, in the *San Antonio*, under Juan Pérez, and reached San Diego April 11. On this vessel went Fathers Juan Vizcáano and Francisco Gómez. She had made a landing on and had named Santa Cruz Island, but had added no other knowledge of the new coast.

The two land expeditions went up the peninsula. The first, under Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada, left San Fernando Velicatá on March 24, numbering among its members Father Juan Crespi and José Cañizares. It arrived at San Diego May 14, having traveled one hundred and twenty-one leagues.²

The second land expedition, under Gaspar de Portolá, following the track of Rivera on May 15, reached San Diego in small detachments, the last of which arrived on July 1, Father Junípero Serra among its members. Almost six months had been consumed in transporting four groups of men a distance of not over four hundred and fifty miles. Of the original expeditionaries many had died of scurvy and exposure, and many more were to succumb. An entire year had elapsed since the beginning of

² CRESPI, FR. JUAN, *Primera expedición de tierra al descubrimiento del puerto de San Diego*, in PALÓU, *Noticias de la Nueva California* (1874), Vol. ii, pp. 93-149.

preparations in Lower California, and more than two since the inception of the project by Gálvez and Croix in Mexico City.

THE FIRST JOURNEY TO MONTEREY

At San Diego it was found that lack of sailors from losses impeded further sea progress. The *San Antonio* was therefore sent back for new supplies and men, while about forty persons, including the physically unfit, some soldiers, and Father Serra, remained at San Diego and founded the mission there on July 16, at a spot called by the natives Cosoy, later called Old Town. On July 14, Portolá set out upon his search for Monterey, one hundred and fifty-nine leagues distant, where he was to found a presidio and mission to be called San Carlos.³

³ CRESPI, FR. JUAN, *Viage de la espedicion de tierra a Monterey*. In PALÓU, *Noticias de la Nueva California*, Vol. ii, pp. 100-208.

PORTOLÁ, GASPER, *Diario del viage que haze por tierra Don Gaspar de Portolá, capitan de dragones del Regimiento de España, Gobernador de Californias, á los puertos de San Francisco y Monterey* . . . MS., 1770. Printed with translation by the Academy of Pacific Coast History in its *Publications*, Vol. i, No. 3, Berkeley, 1909.

COSTANSÓ, MIGUEL, *Diario historico de los viages de mar y tierra, hechos al norte de la California de orden del Excelentísimo Señor Marqués de Croix, virrey, governador, y capitan general de la Nueva España* . . . Mexico, 1770. An English translation by William Reveley with the title, *An historical journal of the expeditions by sea and land to the north of California* . . . appeared in London, 1790. Both Spanish and English versions were printed by the Academy of Pacific Coast History in its *Publications*, Vol. i, No. 4, 1910.

COSTANSÓ, MIGUEL, *Diario del viage de tierra hecho al norte de la California* . . . 1770. Printed with translation by the Academy of Pacific Coast History in its *Publications*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1911.

Estracto de noticias del puerto de Monterey, de la mision y presidio que se han establecido en el con la denominacion de San Carlos, y del suceso de las dos expediciones de mar y tierra que a este fin se despacharon en el año proximo anterior de 1769. Mexico, 1770. Two editions published with same place and date. Reprinted in PALÓU, *Relacion historica de la vida* . . . del Venerable Padre . . . Serra (1787), pp. 108-12, and with translation in the Academy of Pacific Coast History *Publications*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1909.

FAGES, PEDRO, *Continuacion y suplemento a los dos impresos que de orden de este superior gobierno han corrido: el uno con el título de "Extracto de noticias del puerto de Monterey," su fecha 16 de Agosto de 1770; y el otro titulado "Diario histórico de los viajes de mar y tierra hechos al norte de California," su fecha 24 Octubre del mismo año. Hase y presenta esta relacion por superior mandato de su Excelencia el Señor Virrey actual de estos reynos, Don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa, el capitan de infantería de la Compañía Franca de Voluntarios de Cataluña, y comandante militar que ha sido de los nuevos establecimientos en aquellas provincias, Don Pedro Fages.* Mexico, November 20, 1775. Mexico, Museo Nacional, *Documentos relativos á las misiones de Californias*, folio series, Vol. 4. Listed in BOLTON, *Guide*, p. 201.

Portolá's party traversed the route later designated the Camino Real or main highway. The journey was made practically by following the course of the coast northward.⁴ The first point of interest was that christened San Juan Capistrano, the future site of San Luis Rey Mission. On July 28, the explorers crossed the Santa Ana River, naming it Jesús de los Temblores to commemorate earthquakes there experienced. The San Gabriel Valley they named San Miguel; through it they passed northwest to the Los Angeles River, on which they camped near the site of the modern city on the day of the Grand Pardon of Assisi. Going then through the pass into San Fernando Valley, they traversed it in five days until, passing through the Santa Susana Mountains, perhaps by way of Tapo Pass, they reached and named the Santa Clara River. This stream they marched down for five days to a place they named Asunción, later the location of San Buenaventura Mission.⁵

On August 18, the party was at Laguna de la Concepción, where Santa Barbara Mission was later founded. Passing along the Channel, the Spaniards were struck by the culture of the Indians there, and wrote into their diaries some of the most valuable accounts extant of those vanished peoples. A name which Portolá gave to an island in a lagoon some ten miles west of Santa Barbara, Mescaltitan, still survives.

On August 28, a camp above Point Concepción was named Los Pedernales, from the flints there picked up. Crossing the Santa Inez River dry-shod over a sand-bank at its mouth, they reached Point Sal, turned inland to avoid the sand-dunes of the beach, and reached Oso Flaco, the name of which yet preserves the memory of their meeting here a lean bear. Passing through the village of a chief who had a huge tumor on his neck, the soldiers named it the Ranchería del Buchón from that circumstance. The name still lingers to designate several local points.

Printed in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, Vol. ci, pp. 143-82, 311-47 (1844), as *Voyage en Californie*.

⁴ H. H. BANCROFT, *History of California*, Vol. i, pp. 142-6, prints a list of places mentioned in Crespi's *Diary*, with distances, bearings, and latitudes. There are also notes from the return trip from FAGES' *Continuacion*, and comments by BANCROFT. See Z. S. ELDRIDGE, *The march of Portolá and the log of the San Carlos*, 1909.

⁵ The diaries of the first expedition are for the most part silent as to native place-names, a feature in which they contrast to a degree with the diaries of the nineteenth century explorations.

Now going up San Luis Creek and camping on the present site of San Luis Obispo, they went on into the canyon still called the Cañada de los Osos, in which the soldiers had one of their first experiences fighting California bears on horseback. The difficulties of canyon traveling were now exchanged for those of swampy lands about Morro Bay, and again, the way was cut off by the Santa Lucía Mountains, in which the Spaniards wandered, seventeen of them sick with scurvy, until they emerged by way of the Arroyo Seco near Paso Robles on September 26. They named the glen the Cañada del Palo Caído because they found here Indians living in the open air under a fallen tree. They camped at a river which many thought was the famed Carmelo. It has borne in turn the names San Elizario, Santa Delfina, Rio de Monterey, and Salinas, by the last of which it is now known.

It proved their best course to the sea, near which, from the sound, they knew themselves to be on September 30, and felt sure they had passed the Sierra de Santa Lucía and must be near the longed-for port of Monterey. Exploration for it was now in order. Portolá sent Rivera south to search, while he, Crespi, and Costansó from a hill saw Año Nuevo and Pinos points, which from their landfalls should have inclosed Monterey Bay, but the waters there seen did not answer the description. Perplexed, the leaders decided to go on, after some farther exploration. On October 8, they crossed the Pájaro River, and on the seventeenth, the San Lorenzo, near the present site of Santa Cruz. On the twentieth, they had reached Point Año Nuevo, where they rested two days, Portolá and Rivera now being among the sick.

Passing northwestward, the explorers camped on Gazos Creek; then, passing Point Año Nuevo, they crossed San Gregorio and Purísima creeks, coming to the Ranchería de las Pulgas, where the fleas in some deserted huts caused such diversion that the name has clung to a well-known land grant in the region. On October 28, the party was at Halfmoon Bay. The Montara Mountains, ending in sharp cliffs, impeded further progress up the peninsula, though the waters beyond had been identified as Vizcaíno's San Francisco Bay, beyond which was Point Reyes, which, with Point Año Nuevo, incloses the Gulf of the Farallones.

The application of the name San Francisco to these waters, combined with the interposition of the bay now so named, was responsible for much of the ensuing exploration which was made during the next few years.

While the troop rested, Ortega was sent out to find a path to Point Reyes. He returned, reporting his progress cut off by the mouth of an inlet which had been seen from the ridge of the peninsula by members of the party left behind.

Now the expeditionaries left the ocean side, turned into the mountains in sight of the bay, and went southeast for two days, the bay at their left hidden by intervening hills. Emerging from the Cañada de San Andrés, which they had followed, they came out upon the Santa Clara Valley, spreading away from the head of the bay. Then they went east to a swift arroyo now called San Francisquito Creek.

Ortega was now sent out again to see whether he could make his way to Point Reyes by the east bay shore. Going on November seventh, and returning on the tenth, Ortega reported the country impassable for the expedition. He had seen an estuary, but it could hardly have been Carquines Strait, as Eldredge thought, as will presently appear.*

After consultation, the explorers now determined to return to Point Pinos and renew the search for Monterey from there. Doing so, they camped at Carmelo Bay on November 28. Having failed to identify the port, they set their cross on a little roadstead with a writing in a bottle at its foot. Another cross was planted on Monterey Bay itself, and then, on December 11, the disappointed discoverers re-ascended the Salinas River on their way to San Diego. The return route was much the same as the one over which they had come except through the Santa Susana Mountains, where they left the Santa Clara, went over into San Fernando Valley, and made their way down the Los Angeles River. They reached San Diego January 24, 1770.

There the *San Antonio* had arrived; Captain Vila, hearing the details of their search, said that Monterey was surely at the spot where the second cross had been erected. On April 16, the *San Antonio* sailed for Monterey with Fray Junípero, Costansó,

* *The March of Portolá and the Log of the San Carlos*, pp. 29 and 41, notes.

Prat, and a store of supplies. On the next day Portolá, Fages, Crespi, and their soldiers set out anew for the unfound port.

This second party followed the previous route back, and arrived at the roadstead under Point Pinos May 24. On going to visit the cross, the leaders of the expedition could now see clearly that they were on the bay they had previously visited but had not recognized. The land party was joined by the *San Antonio* in the bay on June 2.

June 3, the pioneers assembled under an oak, where Vizcaíno's Carmelites had celebrated Mass in 1602, and founded the new presidio and mission of San Carlos. On July 9, Portolá left California forever on the *San Antonio*, placing the new establishments in charge of Pedro Fages as military commander.

Left to himself in California, Lieutenant Fages in November of the same year explored northwestward from Monterey to La Cañada del Puerto de San Francisco—the Santa Clara Valley—continuing two days along the east bay shore nearly to Alameda. The route was followed later in an exploration by Fages and Crespi in 1772. Fages, in transmitting his diary of 1770 to the viceroy, says that he went about seven leagues farther than the *exploradores*—Ortega and his companions—had gone in the year previous. Since we know that the 1770 expedition did not pass the Estuary at Alameda, it is clear that the limits of Ortega's 1769 trip were much short of Mr. Eldredge's estimate.

THE FIRST RECORDED EASY BAY EXPEDITION

The 1770 expedition, consisting of Fages, six soldiers, and a muleteer, must have been with the consent, if not the urging, of Serra, though no friar went with it. The party left Monterey November 21, crossing a river after going three leagues, which Fages called the Carmelo and said that it had been erroneously called the Monterey. It was, of course, the Salinas.

On November 22, after going five leagues, they ascended a hill from which they saw a spacious valley which they entered the day following. It was the valley of the Pájaro River. Their camp was named the Parage de los Berrendos, from the antelope there.

Passing on through the Santa Clara Valley along the present route of the Coast Line of the Southern Pacific Railroad, they

camped on the twenty-sixth at the head of the bay beside a stream which may have been either the Guadalupe or Coyote Creek.

Going northeast two leagues around many branch estuaries, they passed through the present Irvington to the Lagoon, then three leagues on, to what was doubtless Alameda Creek. On November 28, four soldiers sent ahead to explore returned saying that they had gone seven leagues and had climbed a hill from which they could not see the end of an estuary before them. They had crossed two arroyos, probably San Lorenzo and San Leandro creeks. They had also seen the Golden Gate, "which entered through the bay of the port of San Francisco."⁷ This party could not have explored the east bay shore farther north than the present town of San Leandro. The return to Monterey was by the route of the outward journey.

THE SECOND EAST BAY EXPLORATION

An expedition inspired by Father Serra, who was disappointed at the delay in founding San Buenaventura because of lack of soldiers, was led to the bay in 1772 by Fages and Father Crespi. The purpose was to choose a site for the second northern mission. Fages had received in May, 1771, the viceroy's order to make such an exploration. Crespi and Fages both kept dairies of the survey.⁸

Leaving Monterey March 20, the party passed the Salinas, and, on the twenty-first, crossed and named the Arroyo de San Benito, which is still so designated. On the twenty-second, they crossed San Pascual plain and emerged into San Bernardino

⁷ FAGES, PEDRO, *Salida que hizo el theniente de Voluntarios de Cataluña Don Pedro Fages con seis soldados y un arriero*. MS., 1770, Mexico, Archivo General, Californias, Vol. 66. Printed by the Academy of Pacific Coast History in its *Publications*, Vol. 2, No. 3, H. E. Bolton, ed. This expedition was first brought to light by Bolton.

⁸ CRESPI, FR. JUAN, *Diario que se formo en el registro que se hizo del puerto de Nuestro Padre San Francisco*, in Palóu, *Noticias de la Nueva California*, Vol. iii, pp. 3-24.

FAGES, PEDRO, *Diario que se hizo desde la mission y real presidio de Señor San Carlos del puerto de Monterrey en busca del puerto de San Francisco*. . . MS., 1772, Mexico, Archivo General, Californias, Vol. 66.

Valley, as Font in 1776 called the lower Santa Clara.⁹ Their camp was to the north of Gilroy. Thence on the next day, March 23, they went northwest into the plain of "Los Robles del Puerto de San Francisco," or the Santa Clara Valley, in which Portolá's party had rested on November 7, 1769, and in which Fages had been at least twice before. On the twenty-fourth they camped near the mouth of Penitencia Creek, on the boundary between Alameda and Santa Clara counties, near the head of the bay. On the twenty-fifth they camped near Alameda Creek.

On Thursday, March 26, they crossed two large arroyos, the San Lorenzo and San Leandro creeks, after which they explored the Arroyo del Bosque, which, with another one, forms the peninsula upon which Alameda now stands. Here Crespi's latitude "about three leagues from the parallel of the mouth to the bay of the Farallones," was $37^{\circ} 54'$ north. They were actually at about $37^{\circ} 50'$. The line of $55'$ runs through Stege.

Next day the party turned east to round San Antonio Creek and went one and one half leagues over low hills now settled as East Oakland. Then passing east and north of Lake Merritt, they came out into the great plain of Oakland and Berkeley, from which they could see the Golden Gate, opposite which they stopped to study its bearings. Going on a league, they camped on Cerrito Creek, just beyond Albany. During Saturday and Sunday, they went around the shore of San Pablo Bay, through Pinole Valley, and, finally, being cut off from their march to Point Reyes by Carquines Strait, camped on the twenty-ninth on the Arroyo del Hambre near Martínez. Next day they were on Walnut Creek near Pacheco. Passing then to the left of Mount Diablo eastward through the hills, perhaps at Willow Pass, they went four or five leagues to a little stream near the San Joaquin River. This was near Antioch.

Now sure that they could not reach Point Reyes, the explorers returned to Monterey, selecting a shorter route. Cross-

⁹ *Plan o mapa del viage que hicimos desde Monterey al puerto de San Francisco 1776*. Published by John Carter Brown Library, 1911, with a description of *San Francisco Bay and California in 1776*, by IRVING BERDINE RICHMAN. The Font map of 1777, showing also the Garcés journey to Moqui and greater detail in northern Sonora, was reproduced from the California archives by the Bureau of Topographical Engineers for Elliott Coues, and printed by him as a frontispiece to *On the Trail of a Spanish pioneer*, 1900.

ing the Santa Angela Plain, they turned southeast by way of San Ramón and Amador valleys into Sunol (they called it Santa Coleta) Valley. Thence, by way of Mission Creek perhaps, they emerged in the vicinity of Mission San José, finding the track of their outward journey. They camped on a stream which Crespi called San Francisco de Paula, presumably Milpitas or Penitencia Creek, in the vicinity of Milpitas. On April 5, they reached San Carlos Mission.

THE "PROCESSION OF MISSIONS"

Although foundation of San Gabriel and San Buenaventura had been deemed impossible due to lack of soldiers, the Franciscans were able to render their tenure of the country more firm by beginning San Antonio de Padua July 14, 1771, in the Santa Lucía region, near where the Portolá expedition camped on Wednesday, September 20, 1769. Its establishment entailed no new exploration. San Gabriel Arcángel was made possible by the coming in July of twenty more soldiers. The site originally chosen for this mission was at or near the point where Portolá first crossed the Santa Ana River, but the Indians there proved hostile and the situation was unfavorable, hence the present site was chosen, and the mission erected September 8. The ground has often been visited, and the new establishment was but an added link in the chain of missions. Such also was San Luis Obispo de Tolosa, added September 1, 1772. There were now five missions. Three years were to elapse before there could be another.

THE PROBLEM OF MAINTENANCE

The expansion into California, a project received with doubtful enthusiasm by the Fernandines at first, was indeed proving difficult to maintain.¹⁰ Self-support was yet out of the question; supplies from Mexico had to hazard a long sea voyage or the difficult gulf and peninsula route. Hence permanency had to be assured by some improvement of connection. The number of missionaries must also be increased. The latter was effected in 1772, by giving the peninsular missions to the Dominicans, releasing several new men for the north. The problem of connection was studied in a practical manner, by Captain Juan Bautista de Anza.

¹⁰ Correspondence of Father Verger, guardian of the College of San Fernando. British Museum, MS. Vol. 13, p. 974, Section G.

THE OVERLAND ROUTE FROM SONORA

This man had gained his knowledge of the frontier in fighting Indians from his eighteenth year. His father and grandfather had been presidio captains; he himself had taken part in the Sonora wars of 1768-71, and was, at the time of the 1769 expeditions, lieutenant of the presidio of Tubac. Like his father, he had long wanted to make conquests on the Gila and Colorado. In 1769, he had asked Gálvez to permit him to lead a party to Monterey to meet Portolá by going across the desert. He believed this practicable from information he had obtained from the Pima Indians and from the great Franciscan explorer, Father Garcés.

This missionary took charge of San Xavier del Bac at the time of the Jesuit expulsion, and became both spiritual and geographical legatee of Kino, Keller, and Sedelmayr. Father Kino had reached the Gila River in 1694, 1697, and 1698. In 1694, he passed over the route used by Anza in 1775-76. Again in 1699, Kino went to the Gila over the route Anza followed in 1774, between Sonoitac and the Gila Range. Anza no doubt had a map by Kino, whose travels he mentioned. Between the two men were the Jesuits Ignacio Keller and Jacobo Sedelmayr, followed by the Franciscan Garcés, all interested in the plan for spiritual conquests in the Gila-Colorado region.

THE DISCOVERIES OF FATHER GARCÉS

When it was seen how precarious was the supply of the new establishments by the inadequate ship service, Anza renewed his request to make the overland expedition from Sonora. It was supported by Serra, consented to by the king, and approved by the viceroy. Anza was ordered to open a road to Monterey, and to take with him Fathers Garcés and Juan Diaz. To explain the order sending Garcés, it is only necessary to revert to his activities on the desert frontier from the time of his assignment to San Xavier del Bac in 1768. The journeys of 1768 and 1770, were of minor importance; those of 1771 and 1774, were by way of prelude to the important one of 1775-76.¹¹

¹¹ GARCÉS, FR. FRANCISCO, *Diario que se ha formado por el viage hecho á el Rio Gila quando los Yndios Pimas Gileños me llamaron á fin de que baptisase sus hijos*

The first *entrada*, beginning August 29, 1768, was from San Xavier del Bac to the Gila and to the Pima village of Pitiaque, just below the Casa Grande. The second one, beginning October 18, 1770, was to the Pápago villages of Cuitcoat, Oapars, and Tubasa. Going west through Aquitún, he reached the Gila at Pitiaque, and continued down to Napcut, Sutaquisón and to Uparsoitac on Gila Bend. A report of this journey was sent to José de Gálvez; this resulted in deliberations concerning new establishments on the Gila, and another *entrada* was planned. This third journey was to the Gila and Colorado in 1771, to search for mission sites. The pioneer left Bac August 8, and traveled west, baptizing the moribund, through the Papaguería to Sonoitac, and thence over the Camino del Diablo to the Yumas on the Gila. From that point he traveled, during September, nearly to the mouth of the Colorado. Then he went northwestward parallel with the Cócopa Mountains, to San Jacome near New River and the Cerro Prieto. Then northward, he went on until he sighted the San Jacinto Mountains in Southern California, and the San Felipe Pass which Anza was to follow. Garcés was the first known white man to cross the Yuma and Colorado Deserts.

It was very natural, then, that this Father should accompany Anza on his road-opening expedition as far as San Gabriel. His companion religious, Fray Juan Díaz, kept a diary of the expe-

que estaban enfermos del sarampión (1770). Mexico, Archivo General, *Californias*. Vol. 36.

—, *Diario que se ha formado con la ocasion de la entrada que hize a los vecinos gentiles*, 1771. *Idem*.

—, *Diario de la entrada que se practica de orden del excelentísimo Señor Virrey Don Antonio Maria Bucareli y Ursua producida en junta de guerra i real hacienda á fin de abrir camino por los rios Gila y Colorado para los nuevos establecimientos de San Diego y Monterey* . . . 1775. Mexico, Archivo General, *Historia*, Vol. 24.

Prior to Elliott Coues, the authority on the explorations of Garcés was ARRICIVITA, in his *Crónica seráfica y apostolica del Colegio de Propaganda Fide de la Santa Cruz de Quételaro en la Nueva España* . . . 1792. Coues abstracted Arricivita's accounts of the Garcés *entradas* between 1768 and 1774 as a preliminary to the translation and annotation of the fifth, in *On the trail of a Spanish pioneer*. The confusion of Garcés as to his whereabouts during his third *entrada*, which misled Arricivita and Coues, is cleared up by BOLTON, "The early explorations of Father Garcés on the Pacific Slope," in *The Pacific Ocean in history*, H. M. Stephens and H. E. Bolton, eds., 1917.

dition, in addition to the one by Garcés cited above, and that of Anza himself.¹²

THE FIRST ANZA EXPEDITION

Anza, Garcés, Díaz, an Indian guide named Sebastián Tarabal, who had been with Garcés before and had escaped across the desert from San Gabriel, set out with soldiers, from Tubac presidio January 8, 1774. Their route lay through San Ignacio, the valley of Arivca, Agua Escondida, Saric on the Altar River, Oquitoa, Pitic, Caborca, San Ildefonso, Aribaipa, Quitobac, and Sonóitac. Thence they followed the Sonóitac River to its sink, and on northwest over the Camino del Diablo and the Yuma Desert to the Gila and Colorado, which they crossed on February 9.

In three or four days the party had reached the Cajuenche town of Santa Olalla—Anza's wife's name was Eulalia, and the name was applied to the town at this time—nine and one half leagues about southwest. Delayed here until March 2, Anza left much of his equipment and some animals and set out through the Cajuenche villages which Garcés had visited in 1771. Finding water scant, they attempted to reach San Jacome, which Garcés had visited two years before. Missing it, they returned to Santa Olalla. Again setting forth with lighter equipment and fewer men, they went down the Colorado valley and turned west northwest toward the Cócopa Mountains, in which they spent the night of March 6, at some springs about ten miles below the international line. Next day they reached Yuha Springs, four miles north of the line. Now they knew they were to succeed in crossing the desert. Going north along the ancient beach line, they reached the sink of the San Felipe River at the base of the San Jacinto Mountains. Going up the river, they came, after threading some smaller canyons, upon the summit of San Jacinto Mountain at a flat which they named San Carlos Pass. From there the party passed into Hemet Valley, naming the lake La

¹² DÍAZ, FR. JUAN MARCELO, *Diario que forma el Padre Juan Diaz, misionero apostolico del Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Queretaro, en el viage que hace en compaño del R. P. Fray Francisco Garcés para abrir camino desde la Provincia de la Sonora á la California Septentrional y puerto de Monterrey por los Rios Gila y Colorado* . . . 1774. Mexico, Archivo General, Historia, Vol. 396.

ANZA, JUAN BAUTISTA, *Diario del viage del Capitan Anza a Monterrey, con copia de sus cartas y de una declaracion relativa a sucesos del mismo viage*. Seville, Archivo General de Indias, Estante 104, cajón 3, legajo 4.

Laguna del Príncipe. Going on to the San Jacinto River, they named its Lake La Laguna de San Antonio de Bucareli.

On March 21, Anza reached the Santa Ana River, and marched along it for a league and a half looking for a ford, but had finally to construct a bridge to pass it. On the next night they camped on San Antonio Creek northeast of the present Pomona, and in another day reached San Gabriel. The remainder of the road to Monterey was practically the same as Portolá had taken.

The successful pathfinder returned southward from Monterey on April 22, taking six of Fages' soldiers to teach them the route to the Gila and Colorado. On March 4, he saw what was possibly the opening of San Timoteo Canyon and San Gorgonio Pass, and thought that through it might lie a good route to Sonora. Following the Gila and the Santa Cruz, he reached Tubac, from which he had started. He had conquered the desert, uniting the far-flung points of the Spanish occupation. He had made possible the establishment of the northernmost outpost, the presidio and mission of San Francisco, where Church and State were to clasp hands to hold half a continent against Russia for God and the King.

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(To be continued)

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CHURCH IN LITTLE ROCK

Printed books throw very little light on the beginnings of Catholicity in the city of Little Rock. From letters and other documents which lay hidden in the archives of the chancery office at St. Louis, we have collected some information which is new, at least in part. We shall not go far beyond these documents, since it is not our intention to write a complete history of these beginnings, but only to furnish material hitherto inaccessible.

Nor do we purpose to enter into the early history of Catholicity in the Territory which attaches itself to the Fort of Arkansas Post, and to the valiant missionaries from the Society of Jesus and the Seminary of Quebec who, since the last decade of the seventeenth century, sailed down the Mississippi to minister to the Canadian trappers and hunters, and to the Indian tribes. We begin our story with the period following the Louisiana Purchase (1803).

The first priest who, after the cessation of the Spanish regime, came to the forlorn mission of the flood-beaten Post of Arkansas, was a certain Father Chauderat, who is often mentioned in the letters of the later missionaries. He confined his activities to the Post and Pine Bluff. Without any canonical mission he had come over from Kentucky, and remained from the spring of 1820 to the spring of 1821.

The next missionary, sent by Bishop Rosati, coadjutor of Bishop Du Bourg of Louisiana, was the Lazarist Father Odin.¹ In his letter to the Propagation of the Faith he states that he and the subdeacon Timon, C. M.,² reached the Arkansas River near Little Rock, in the fall of 1824:

Having spent a few days with five French families, 18 miles from Davidsonville, Ark., we directed our steps to Bate (*Batesville*) on the White River and towards Petit Rocher (*Little Rock*), a small town built on the bank of the Arkansas River and seat of the government. We were favorably received by the Catholics of the neighborhood, who never had been visited by a priest.

Having spent some time in missionary work with the Qapwa

¹In 1842, FATHER ODIN was appointed Vicar-Apostolic of Texas; in 1861, Archbishop of New Orleans; died May 25, 1870.

²Bishop of Buffalo, 1847-1867.

(Kappa) Indians near the Post of Arkansas, they returned to the diocesan Seminary at the Barrens, in Perry Co., Mo.³

Whilst Bishop Rosati of St. Louis was still Administrator of the Diocese of New Orleans, he sent Father John Martin from Avoyelles, La., to the deserted and disorderly mission on the Arkansas. The distinguished botanist, Thomas Nuttall, who visited Arkansas in 1819, comments unfavorably upon the generality of those who inhabited the bank of the Arkansas; he found that every reasonable and rational amusement appeared to be swallowed up in dram-drinking, jockeying, and gambling; the more industrious and honest suffered from the dishonest practices of their indolent neighbors, renegadoes from justice, who had fled from honest society.⁴ Father Martin, commissioned by Rosati, June 13, 1829,⁵ spent some months amongst the neglected Creoles, and also visited the Catholic colonists near the State Capital, but he was a man of a scrupulous and stubborn disposition, absolutely unfit to gain the confidence of the ignorant settlers. When he left, they showed their aversion by slandering him outrageously.⁶

In November, 1831, Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, to whose diocese Arkansas belonged, sent two priests who were to fix their residence somewhere on the Arkansas River and stay there: the Gascon, Edinund Saulnier, formerly (1819) professor at St. Louis Academy and pro-rector of the Cathedral, and the young Fleming, Peter F. Beauprez. They arrived at the Post of Arkansas on December 16, 1831. The same winter Father Saulnier in his letters to the bishop mentions Little Rock repeatedly:

It would be good to have a priest at Little Rock; there are many ignorant Protestants there and very few Catholics; but a priest would have to know English well and be a good controversialist. Three priests, I believe, would for the moment be sufficient in the Territory; one at the Post, one at Pine Bluff, and one at Little Rock.⁷

"I wrote to the Governor, who answers as follows:

³ *Annales de la Prop. de la Foi*, II, p. 374.

⁴ *Cath. Encycl.*, I, p. 725.

⁵ Ephemerides of Bishop Rosati.

⁶ Letter of Dupuy, January 7, 1833.

⁷ Letter of Saulnier, December 24, 1831. The letters of Saulnier, Dupuy and Richard-Bole are all written in French and were translated in English for this sketch.

Little Rock, Jan. 12th, 1832.

Dear Sir:

I have this moment received yours of the 29th of this month & hasten to answer you that I will make some enquiry about the land described in your memorandum. I am gratified to learn that you are about to establish a church in this remote region. Many of my Catholic friends in Nelson and Washington Counties in Kentucky, would remove here immediately, if a church was established at this place. Permit me to say that you may expect from me kindness and liberality, for you know that the *Pope* and the Priests have ever worked in harmony. I have the honor to be Most Rev. Sir,

Your obdt. Servant,

JOHN POPE.

Mark the allusion which he makes of his name with the Pope. I wrote to him again, telling him that I would communicate to you his desire and to learn, if you wish to send another priest or send me. I do not think that it would be well for me to go, because I do not speak English well enough. . . . Since Little Rock is a place where all are English, where there are several lawyers, where the Legislature always meets, and where there are several Protestant ministers, an Englishman or Irishman is needed, *e. g.*, Mr. McMahon, perhaps also Mr. Lutz would do.*

Three priests would not be too many; one at the Post, another at Pine Bluff, and an "Anglais" at Little Rock.⁹

Census of Catholics in Arkansas, taken by Father Martin, in January, 1830:

	<i>Whites</i>	<i>Negroes</i>
Post of Arkansas.....	247	108
Jefferson Co.....	204	60
Petit Rocher.....	38	3
Fort Smith.....	33	3
Total.....	522	174

His census to me does not seem to be very exact; there may be one thousand and more.¹⁰

Father Saulnier never left the Post of Arkansas to visit the colonists further up the river. Father Beauprez, in January,

* Father John McMahon was the first Irish priest ordained for St. Louis, November 20, 1831. He died at Galena, Ill., June 19, 1833. Father Jos. Ant. Lutz, b. at Odenheim, Baden, Germany, since 1828 had attended Indian Missions in Kansas, Wisconsin and Iowa. Since 1832 he was stationed at the Cathedral of St. Louis; he spoke English tolerably well and, in summer 1831, had been selected for the Arkansas Mission, but never went there. He died at New York in 1861.

⁹ Letter of Saulnier, February 27, 1833.

¹⁰ Letter of Saulnier, April 9, 1832.

1832, opened a mission a few miles below Pine Bluff, but never went as far as Little Rock. Utterly disgusted, before the end of the year, both left Arkansas, "this suburb of hell," as Beauprez called it, Saulnier July 14, to return to his beloved St. Louis, Beauprez October 25, to descend to Donaldson, La.¹¹

In October, 1832, Bishop Rosati appointed Father Annemond Dupuy, from Lyon, France, to Arkansas.¹² The Catholics of the Post made such an unfavorable impression upon him that he left them and fixed his residence below Pine Bluff, where Father Beauprez had opened his mission. From there he wrote to Rosati, January 7, 1833:

I did not go to Little Rock, but I received all possible information about the place. It seems, after all they tell me, that I cannot make an establishment there with the means I have. Therefore I came to the conclusion to stay at Pine Bluff.

It seems Rosati advised him to establish himself at the capital of the Territory, Little Rock. There somebody had donated land to the Bishop of St. Louis to found a Catholic center, but no one knew in what section the land was situated. Father Dupuy, after the great flood of 1833, had made a futile attempt at collecting at St. Louis. Descending to New Orleans on board the steamer *St. Louis*, August 23, 1833, he wrote a letter to his bishop in which he again mentioned the land at Little Rock:

We have forgotten several things: (1) You did not give me the deed of your land at Little Rock. What shall I do to get it? I thought you might send it to me by the *Missourian*. Perhaps I shall yet be at New Orleans when it arrives. Hence you must send it to Mr. Blanc and ask him to transmit it to me if I am gone.

He again speaks of Little Rock in a number of letters dated from Pine Bluff:

When I arrived here, I found my hut nearly destroyed by the overflow. . . I was determined to go straight to Little Rock and settle there, but because I have not the deed to your land in the place, and since I see, just now, better dispositions than ever in the divers hamlets along the Arkansas, I resolved, with your kind permission, to work principally here, this year. I cannot see, however, without an ardent desire to rush into battle, that the Capital of this Territory which soon

¹¹ Various letters of Saulnier and Beauprez.

¹² Ephemerides of Bishop Rosati.

will be a State, be without a *House of God*, whilst two caverns of (? , illegible) are erected there.¹³

Little Rock grows from day to day. Catholics, they say, some French, some Dutch, have arrived in this Territory and settle in the neighborhood of Little Rock.¹³

Your land in this Territory is 36 miles from Little Rock. The soil is poor, and only a few settlers live near it. I doubt, whether for a long time there will be enough people there to build a chapel. It is not far from the road from Little Rock to Batesville. It would be best, in my opinion, to found the establishment in the town of Little Rock; it grows daily; it is the Capital of the Territory. Otherwise the preachers will take possession of it. The Catholics who are there, about 200 "Dutch" [meaning "*German*"] go to their "preaching," because there is no priest. Many have urged me to go there, but I would need at least six hundred dollars to build a chapel of wood. It would be a great pity to leave the place where I am now, because there are many people in this neighborhood; besides, up to this day, it is the center of Catholicity. The Post isn't anything; it is depopulating fast; besides, they are a lot of libertines. The heat oppresses me; I cannot work at anything; still, by the help of God, I have not been sick as yet.

Yesterday I had a wedding, the first since I am in this mission. When I came here, the people believed that the marriages contracted before a priest were no good.¹⁴

At last, in the summer, of 1834, Father Dupuy undertook the journey to Little Rock, two years and a half after the reestablishment of the Arkansas Mission by Bishop Rosati. He writes about this trip, August 7, 1834:

I have just returned from a journey to Petit Rocher (Little Rock), satisfied in every respect. I found about twenty Catholic families in the neighborhood, separated some 20 miles from each other. They earnestly ask for a priest and complain that You desert them; and, feeling the necessity of serving a *Supreme Being* and not being able to have the instruction required, they are compelled to receive it from the mouth of a false minister. Most of these Catholics have subscribed for two Presbyterian churches at Little Rock; one, of wood, is finished; the other, of brick, is not completed. In the city itself no Catholic could be shown to me, but there are said to be three families, who, seeing they were abandoned, did not declare themselves Catholics. About twenty German families had settled here, but about a month or two ago, they went 12 miles higher up the river. The city of Little Rock is superbly situated. Placed on a small hill on the right bank of the river Arkansas,

¹³ Letter of Dupuy, December 26, 1833.

¹³ Letter of Dupuy, April 29, 1834.

¹⁴ Letter of Dupuy, July 9, 1834.

the city dominates an immense plain on both sides of the river. Most of the land is laid in very rich cotton fields. All the bottoms bristle with cypress forests, of which boards are made in large quantities; these are transported to New Orleans. The people here are very gentle, but the prejudice against the true religion is deeply rooted. Numbers of these circuit riding preachers pass here; all they do is spread calumnies against the Church. It is incredible, Monseigneur, in what perplexity these poor people are. The Protestants are mostly Deists, and the Catholics are not very far from the same condition, so much so, that several of them neglect to have their children baptized. Amongst those whom I visited, and who have not seen a priest since the coming of Father Martin, I baptized only one infant. But I am sure, that, if a priest came here, he would soon overcome the prejudices and refute the calumnies. But he will have to go through sufferings of every kind. A person must have been here to understand. . . In my third letter I asked you, if You want me to go to New Orleans this year or to St. Louis, or rather, if you shall send a priest on a tour of inspection through Arkansas. This, Monseigneur, I would wish to know, if You would be kind enough to answer. I cannot help to be restless in a country filled with scandals as this is. Before I started for Little Rock, I rose from a sickness which kept me in bed a week. A great many thought that I was dead. I was somewhat afraid myself, being such a distance from another priest.

Father Dupuy did not say Mass during his short stay in and near Little Rock. In the spring of 1835, Bishop Rosati sent an assistant to Father Dupuy, Rev. Charles Rolle, a native of Lorraine, who had recently been ordained in St. Louis. But the young priest, not being acclimated, died after a short illness, July 22, 1835. In August, Father Dupuy himself suffered an attack of bilious fever and was again so ill that his recovery was despaired of. On August 11, 1835, he sent the following letter to the bishop:

It is only a few days since I wrote to you, but I have to write again the subject of this letter being so important. It is to remind you, Monseigneur, of what I had already told you, that at Little Rock several Protestants desire to have a Catholic Church. I heard people talk of it several times, but I never have been accosted directly. . . They used a roundabout way to let me know of it, but when they saw that I paid no attention to the talk and learned that I was preparing to build a chapel at Pine Bluff, the wealthiest man, as they say, of the Territory, Mr. Chester Ashley, having inquired about me from my neighbors, makes to me, through one of his friends, Sam Roane, a rich, respectable and prudent man, the following proposition:

If I desire to go to Little Rock, or if you wish to send another talented

Catholic priest, he gives¹⁵ twelve lots of land in the city of Little Rock, optionally, where I would think the location was best, either all together in the same location, or in different parts of the city (I wish to remark that nearly half of the city belongs to him). Besides, for five years he will give fifty dollars in cash, and all this without putting any restraint on the liberty of the Catholic cult. On the contrary, he will do me the favor to let me have the lots at the price at which they are sold at present in Little Rock. I estimate the cost to be about two thousand dollars.

The condition he makes is, that a permanent school be erected for both sexes; from an explanation given me of his idea I conclude that it would be sufficient if I could get Sisters for the girls, and I myself would teach the boys.

Now, Monseigneur, what answer shall I give him? In the meantime I wrote that I would place his proposition before you, and that I would send him your answer. If I am permitted, Monseigneur, to give you my own idea, I would say that I really believe that Divine Providence by this offer relieves our poverty, which at this hour is our only obstacle, it seems, in Arkansas.

If, therefore, Monseigneur, you could send us two or three Sisters from the convent of Mr. Timon—I suppose it would take three of them because there are many to instruct, three who are well trained, for the people here are very much stuck up. Then, send me an assistant whose mother tongue is English. Nothing else is required in him to succeed, but to speak English well, to have sound logic, unshaken courage, invincible constancy and great prudence; with these qualities and the help of God we could accomplish all the good I hope for. . . .

Having received no answer to this letter, Father Dupuy, in October, 1835, personally went to St. Louis, to find that the Bishop could not enter upon the plans of Mr. Chester Ashley. To establish a school in a town so remote and at such an expense when the religious orders at St. Louis were short of teachers, was too perilous a venture. Father Dupuy returned to Pine Bluff sick in body and soul. His people, however, insisted that by all means they must have a school. On January 19, Dupuy wrote to his Bishop:

They have repeatedly asked to know, if they cannot have a school here. If you cannot establish one here, they insist on having one at Little Rock. Since you refused the offers which they made to me,

¹⁵ "Donnera," "he will give." It seems, however, this was by no means an absolute donation, as appears from the following passage of the letter which we give in the original French: "Il me favorisera à prendre les terres comme elles se vendent à présent au Petit Rocher. J'estime cela à plus de deux milles piastres."

they now, at Little Rock, build a college which will be governed, "dogmatized" and "moralized" by Protestants alone.

November 24, 1836, whilst Dupuy was at St. Louis to urge his claim for an assistant, Bishop Rosati appointed Rev. Peter Donnelly to aid him in the missionary field on the Arkansas River. Father Donnelly¹⁶ at once saw, that Dupuy's missionary system was ineffective and that radical changes were required. Wherefore, August 15, 1837, he abruptly took a boat to St. Louis. The result of this journey was, that Bishop Rosati, being "very much displeased" with Father Dupuy, on September 2, appointed Father Donnelly pastor of the missions on the Arkansas, and permitted Dupuy to leave the diocese and repair to New Orleans. The latter, deeply wounded by Donnelly's action, left for St. John the Baptist's, La., at the end of October 1837.¹⁷

Father Donnelly, no doubt, was a good collector and was also otherwise, at least in the beginning, successful in his labors. He saw, however, that the barren missionary field was too extensive for one man. He wrote to Bishop Rosati February 19, 1838:

I cannot go on as I would wish without someone to assist me. If I had one that would attend to New Gascony and the Post, I would commence another subscription at Little Rock for a church. I spoke to some on the subject. I hope we will prosper. It is true, the number of Catholics are few, but one must not be discouraged at that.

On March 23, 1838, Father Donnelly undertook his first journey to Little Rock. He writes about it from Little Rock, March 26:

Most Reverend and Dear Father in Jesus Christ:

With what pleasure and gratification do I look forward to that approaching day, when I hope to have the consolation of seeing Your

¹⁶ Having been educated on the Continent of Europe, Father Donnelly spoke French, but since he had never received any training in the English language, the spelling in his letters is very faulty and follows the sounds of the Irish brogue.

¹⁷ Father Dupuy's unexpected departure split the Catholics of Jefferson Co. into two camps: Antoine Barraqué of New Gascony was the leader of the friends of Father Donnelly, John Dodge and others favored Father Dupuy. From that period there are four petitions in the chancery archives of St. Louis, ranging from August to November, 1837. Also the Catholics and other citizens of Little Rock, hearing that an Irish priest had arrived in Arkansas, sent two petitions to Bishop Rosati, December 16, 1837, and November 22, 1838, asking for a priest and the erection of a Catholic church in their town.

Lordship visit me, so far distant from You! I hope you will feel satisfied with what is done and the prospects that offer.

I arrived at Little Rock on the 23d, in the morning, and after visiting some of the citizens on the 24th, I commenced my subscription, which runs thus:

We, the subscribers, whose names are affixed hereunto promise, bind and oblige ourselves to pay the sums annexed to our names for the purpose of purchasing a lot of ground and building a church in or at the City of Little Rock, under the superintendence of the Bishop of St. Louis or his agent, for the use and benefit of the Catholics of Little Rock and adjoining country.

Witness our hands, etc.

<i>Subscribers' names, Protestants</i>	<i>Subscribers' names, Catholics</i>
Charles Ashley..... \$100.00	Hewes Scull..... \$50.00
Judge Cross..... 50.00	D. W. Carroll..... 50.00
Captain Collins..... 50.00	Jacob Rider..... 100.00
J. H. Tucker..... 50.00	S. Marchong..... 50.00
L. M. Lincoln..... 25.00	
J. C. De Bauer..... 50.00	
W. Woodruff..... 25.00	
Jud. Johnson..... 50.00	

Thus far the encouragement that we have at Little Rock and the fruit of our day's labor! If I could but spend twelve or fifteen days in this city, that I might have an opportunity to make acquaintances, I would get a good subscription. It is my opinion that this place offers the best prospect of any other place of the description in America. The Catholics are but few, still I am discovering Catholics every day and persons that were considered heretofore to be Protestants.

Mr. Dugan, in whose house I stop, requests me to give you his best respects and hopes that he will have the pleasure of seeing you in Little Rock. It was in his house I said the first Mass. Mr. George Taafe of Rocky Comfort requests and hopes you will send him a few lines, letting him know when you expect to be at St. Mary's, Jefferson Co., and he and Mr. Foran expect to meet you there.

I close these few lines by requesting Your Grace's blessing.

I remain Your humble and obedient son in Jesus Christ,

PETER DONNELLY.

This letter proves that the first Mass celebrated at Little Rock was said by Rev. Peter Donnelly, in Mr. Dugan's house at the end of March, 1838.¹² But the progress of the work was slow, owing principally to the illness of Father Donnelly. On November 28, 1838, he writes again:

¹² Perhaps this first Mass was celebrated on the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

I hasten to give you some idea of my labor since my return, which is very trivial, owing to the delicate state of my health which at this moment is very indifferent and has been so since I returned, so much so that I was not able to preach more than twice during the last six weeks. . . . This month has been unusually cold, which causes me to feel much worse.

I visited Little Rock twice since my return. On my second visit I commenced to collect part of the subscription to pay for the lots, but was obliged to abandon it on account of my indisposition. What I collected, I left in the hands of Mr. Dugan, from whom I bought the lots, except "a trifle that I spent" in going up and down and during my stay there. I had no money left after returning home; what I had I was obliged to advance on the Sisters' passage and other expenses contracted by them. . . .¹⁹

Another letter is dated December 12, 1838:

. . . if my health continues to decline as it has, since I saw you, I think my hour is not far distant. Thanks be to God for all things! If I do not get better in spring or when the warm weather comes, I will be obliged to quit the mission and return to St. Louis. When I was at Little Rock the last time, the Legislature was then sitting. I had a bill presented for the incorporation of church property. I have not yet heard what the result was or if it passed. . . .

In the spring of 1839, he writes:

I was at Little Rock in the fore part of the week, collecting some money to pay for the lots which I bought. I collected and paid 450 dollars; there remain 254 dollars to be paid as yet. I was so ill that I could not remain to collect the entire amount. I got home on the 23d and had to keep my bed on the 24th, but feel somewhat better today. Necessity compels me to depart for the Post tomorrow. . . . I was in expectation that by this time the other priests²⁰ would be here, as you mention in your last letter. . . . The number of Catholics is increasing daily at Little Rock. There are several families that came within the last month. It is said there are many more coming from Vicksburg; they have heard it said that there was a church to be built at Little Rock shortly. A good opportunity offers if it be only attended to. I hope and pray that Almighty God may enable you in making a good

¹⁹ From Ste. Genevieve in 1838, Sister Agnes Hart, with two other Sisters went to Pine Bluff, where St. Mary's Convent School was opened, October 11, 1838. A year later, August 20, 1839, she passed from the scenes of her earthly labors to find eternal rest. The school was continued until 1842, when the Sisters moved to St. Ambrose, Post of Arkansas. (ANNA C. MINOGUE, *Loretto, Annals of the Century*, New York, 1812.)

²⁰ Fathers I. Richard-Bole and A. S. Paris.

selection or appointment for that city, who will complete St. Peter's church in the Rock and on the Rock, which I may say is now begun. . .²¹

Father Donnelly's health was so precarious that he asked Bishop Rosati for permission to go to Ireland. The bishop notes down in his official Ephemerides, that May 21, 1839, he permitted Rev. Peter Donnelly to return to Ireland and that the same day, he appointed Father Joseph Richard-Bole pastor of the Arkansas missions, and Father Aug. Simon Paris his assistant. These two priests, with Rev. Franc. Jos. Renaud, had arrived in St. Louis from France, November 16, 1838; all three had been parish priests in the diocese of Besançon. As soon as Richard-Bole arrived at Pine Bluff, he took an inventory in which he also mentions the mission at Little Rock (June 13, 1839):

Mr. Donnelly has opened a subscription at Little Rock. Twenty-nine subscribers gave their names for a sum of 1,030 dollars. Mr. Donnelly has received 505 dollars; of them he remitted 455 dollars to Mr. Diogen²² (this Mr. Diogen is that Irishman who built a house at St. Mary's on the church land), for two lots of land situated in the city of Little Rock which he bought to build a church. This Mr. Diogen sold these two lots to Mr. Donnelly for one thousand dollars and at the same time subscribed 250 dollars for the church, so that the real price of the land bought from Mr. Diogen is 750 dollars. When the land is paid for, there will remain 300 dollars for the building of the church which he promised to commence very soon.

Mr. Donnelly has remitted to us an act by which Mr. Crosse gives ten acres of land a mile and a quarter from Little Rock. This land is to be used for the construction of a church subject to the will of his Lordship, the Bishop of St. Louis.

It had been Father Donnelly's intention to return to Ireland, but he changed his mind. Probably he had not expected that his rash resignation would be acted upon by the bishop so promptly. He stayed about the mission for some time to the great chagrin of Father Richard-Bole. Then he went to St. Louis and was appointed pastor of Gravois (Kirkwood), January 31, 1840. Father Richard-Bole, the new pastor, did not go to Little Rock before October, four months after his arrival in Arkansas. He writes, October 29, 1839:

²¹ Letter of Donnelly, May 26, 1839.

²² Mr. A. G. Dugan, in whose house the first Mass was celebrated at Little Rock.

I have been at Little Rock last week. I am convinced that Mr. Donnelly has spoiled everything there by his wild promises, which he could not realize and which are difficult to carry out. He has received 505 dollars; he bought a plot of land for one thousand dollars and with this asset he wanted to build church, school, etc. Wherewith? With the money he expects from Your Lordship and with the collections he intended to take up at New York, St. Louis, New Orleans, etc. At first, when we came, he was glad to see us. But when we spoke to him of his promises, impossible to realize with empty wishes, where there are no means to accomplish them, he changed his behavior. I told him that great things will be wrought here, because man in them, it seems, shall be nothing; God will do it all.

Visiting the Catholics, I found several families with a dozen of unbaptized children of every age. It will be necessary to pass several days with such Catholics to work amongst them with a good will. I have heard them say: I don't want to be Catholic anymore; so totally have they been neglected. I speak here of Catholics who live on the farms in the vicinity of Little Rock. I believe that in and around Little Rock there are at least a hundred and fifty of them. A priest who labors here cannot count on the people for several years, but must rely on the aid of the Propaganda. I say, if there is any mission who needs such aid, it is this one.

In spite of our poverty we need someone to share it with us. The work grows too abundant, two are not sufficient for it. I want to tell you, however, that I have induced the faithful of St. Mary's to give 250 dollars a year; they shall try to make it 300 dollars and 250 bushel of corn; at New Gascony they shall give 200 dollars and about 100 bushels of corn; both will build a house.

There was some trouble between Mr. Dugan and the people at the Pine Bluff Mission on account of a house which Dugan, following the advice of his friend, Father Donnelly, had built on the church property and which they threatened to take away from him.²³ It seems, Father Richard-Bole was in contention

²³ A. G. Dugan (not Duggan) came from Zanesville, Ohio, to Little Rock in 1837. His wife was a daughter of Richard Noble, "a convert Catholic near Brownsville, Pa., whose house, heart and purse was always open to priests and religious as they passed, and was made a general resting place on their journey east and west." At Little Rock he became acquainted with Father Donnelly who, when at Little Rock, enjoyed Dugan's hospitality. He was induced to move his family and store to St. Mary's, Pine Bluff, by Father Donnelly, Creed Taylor (a convert of Father Dupuy), F. N. Vangine and others. Upon consultation with Father Donnelly he built a house on an unenclosed corner of the church land. Father Donnelly said: "that there must be a house built for the priest at all events and that if Dugan found that the place would not suit him, the house would answer the purpose and the congregation would take it at what it cost Dugan." (Letter of A. G. Dugan to Bishop Rosati, September 12, 1839). Dugan at the time was not aware that the

with Dugan also about the church property at Little Rock. In his letter of November 19, 1839, he says:

But there exists another difficulty with Dugan on account of the two lots which Mr. Donnelly bought from him. The two lots cost Mr. Dugan 700 dollars; Mr. Donnelly bought them for a thousand dollars. I was told that Dugan still held a deed of trust on them. When I found this to be true and when I spoke to Mr. Dugan about it, he demanded immediate payment. I told him, he should give me a quit claim deed or some security, that he should let us have the land at the price he paid for it, or return the money he had already received, but he would not consent to either demand.

I was astonished to see on the land at Little Rock a worthless house, rented at five dollars a month. Mr. Dugan and Donnelly never mentioned this to me. Donnelly drew the rent.

Monseigneur, the conduct of Mr. Donnelly appears inexplicable to me. It shows duplicity, absolutely no delicacy. Regarding the affair with Mr. Dugan, I do not know how to settle it. He wants what he wants. He does not show to me the same face as to Mr. Donnelly with whom he has done good business—nor is he as religious a man as you were told. I can prove this assertion as everything else I said before.

Permit me, Monseigneur, to say that Mr. Dugan wrote to you, only because we could not grant him all he wanted.²⁴ Therefore he saw fit to make a false statement of the case; and this statement was confirmed by the testimony of a priest²⁵ who puts himself in contradiction with himself and in opposition to trustworthy witnesses and places our administration in conflict with that of Your Lordship.

It is hard for us to find ourselves in such a position, especially in a country where so many things have happened which disparage the priests and rob them of the people's confidence. Mr. Donnelly is not one of the least guilty ones in this respect.

I retain the letter of Mr. Dugan; he does not know that I have it; he has the one which is destined for me. . . .²⁶

laws of Arkansas gave the owner of land a title to all improvements made on it, without a written contract to the contrary. Depending on this state law the congregation, or rather Taylor and Vangine who controlled the affairs of St. Mary's Mission, tried to take the house from Dugan without any compensation. They would not allow him to move the house to a small piece of land he had purchased a quarter of a mile below the church grounds. Father "Bowl" (Richard-Bole) refused to interfere. This is Dugan's statement of the case. Father Richard-Bole, however, in his letter of November 19, says that this statement is false. The Dugan family was well acquainted with Bishops Flaget and Purcell, with Revs. Montgomery, Young and Badin. Dugan's well-written letter is preserved in the archives of the chancery office of St. Louis.

²⁴ Father Richard-Bole is referring to Dugan's letter to Rosati, mentioned before.

²⁵ Father Donnelly.

²⁶ It seems, Bishop Rosati, in sending the letters by error, sent Dugan's letter to Father Richard-Bole and Richard-Bole's letter to Dugan.

We have a great demand to make to Your Lordship: if it happens that complaints are sent against our administration, would you be kind enough to convey to us the knowledge of them? It would be painful for us to see our administration disowned and condemned without a chance to defend ourselves. You may rest assured that we shall tell Your Lordship in all sincerity the truth on every topic. We do not pretend to believe that all we do is correct, but we can assure you that our intentions are straight and upright.

In another letter of January 29, 1840, Father Richard-Bole writes:

Concerning Little Rock I wish to say that it is important to establish a school there. I do not know how to go about it, but to leave Little Rock without a school, means a great loss to our religion.

With Mr. Dugan I cannot settle. I cannot tell you what he wants; he does not know it himself, I believe. The land which Mr. Donnelly bought from Mr. Dugan at Little Rock has apparently no value (*vaut rien*). If we do not want to abandon everything to him, we have to bring him into court. This affair has caused me a great deal of trouble.

I intend to go to Little Rock next week. If I can settle with Mr. Dugan, I shall sell the land or take the money which he has received and commence to build a church elsewhere. . . . I have good prospects for help. I shall build the church of brick. Have the kindness to give me all the information about the laying of the cornerstone. You know that here everybody is Protestant—there are some Catholics, but in the case of a great number of them, I would wish they were Protestants.²⁷

I passed the last week at Little Rock. I sold the two lots which Mr. Donnelly had bought. I could not sell them, however, for what they cost, except by waiting for the money more than a year. I have bought twelve lots of ground which form an entire block, on an elevation which dominates the whole city. In this vicinity building is going on now; they say that a thousand houses will be built there. The lots cost 200 dollars each, payable within five years. I shall have another five years to pay, but after the first five I would have to pay 10 per cent interest on the principal; the interest does not accumulate. I took twelve lots to have room for an establishment if it be possible to have one later on, as also to be able to sell part, if I could not meet my obligation.

I have also furnished a plan for a church, 55 by 35; but 15 ft. will be taken off for a sacristy and a living room for the priest. If I stay here, I hope to raise enough money for the foundation and for the brick. I do not intend to go further at present; we shall see what can be done later on. We expect Mr. Timon, and we shall make use of his presence for the blessing of the foundation, for I shall not dare to undertake a solemn blessing alone. I am expecting Mr. Timon or your instructions on this

²⁷ Letter of Richard-Bole of February 15, 1840.

point. If anything is to be accomplished at Little Rock, there must be a resident priest here. One for the Post, one for St. Mary's; both shall have several stations and more work than they can do. How I would wish to see you for a few moments about these missions, to get your advice and your instructions, if it were possible to get some subscriptions at St. Louis for Little Rock!

After Mr. Dugan had covered me with his reproaches, he threw himself at my feet. As far as Little Rock is concerned, the affair with him is settled; regarding the house he built at Pine Bluff, Mr. Timon may settle that when he comes.²⁸

On April 21, 1840, Father Richard-Bole sent his last letter to the Bishop:

I shall leave St. Mary's for some weeks and take the next steamboat to Little Rock to labor there. The people have been very negligent, and we need the assistance of your prayers. I shall now start to build the church of which I wrote to you in my preceding letter.

I hear from Mr. Renaud that you are preparing to go to Rome. We shall pray daily that the Angel of the Lord may accompany you and lead you back safely like the son of Tobias. I shall not have the pleasure of receiving your benediction before you start, but I hope to have it when you return. You will visit the tombs of the Apostles. You know what this mission is; would Your Lordship ask for me for some of that apostolic spirit, needed to carry on the work of God? . . .²⁹

It seems, after Rosati was gone, Father Richard-Bole did not venture to erect a church at Little Rock. There was certainly not even the beginning of a church at the place, when Bishop Byrne, in 1844, arrived there. But the Loretine Sisters, in 1841, opened a school at Little Rock. The Superior of the four Sisters was Sister Alodia Vessels.

²⁸ Letter of March 14, 1840.

²⁹ There is considerable confusion in the St. Louis documents regarding the titulars of the various chapels and missions. According to a document, written by Saulnier c. 1850, the church below Pine Bluff, in 1839, was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, the church at New Gascony to St. Irenaeus, the mission at Little Rock to St. Ambrose, at Napoleon to St. Lucy and at the Post to St. Dennis. The statistics of 1843 and 1844 call the mission of Little Rock St. Irenaeus, the church of the Post St. Ambrose. The Almanac (Directory) of 1838-1842, calls the church of Pine Bluff after St. Irenaeus, and in 1843 and 1844 the Almanacs give St. Mary as the titular of the church at New Gascony. It is certain, however, that the church at New Gascony up to the coming of Bishop Byrne was dedicated to St. Irenaeus, that of Pine Bluff to St. Mary, that of the Post before 1842, to St. Dennis, after 1842, to St. Ambrose. It was Father Richard-Bole who elected St. Irenaeus (not St. Ambrose) patron of the Little Rock Mission. The chapel built a. 1845, was dedicated to the Annunciation of Mary, the later cathedral to St. Andrew.

When it became known that a diocese had been erected with the episcopal See at Little Rock, and that a perfect stranger, Rev. Andrew Byrne, of St. Andrew's Church, New York, was to be its first bishop, Father Richard-Bole left Arkansas, to return to St. Louis.³⁰ The Loretine Sisters, by poverty, were compelled to give up their schools, both at the Post and at Little Rock (the academy at Pine Bluff had been closed in 1842), and to return to Ste. Genevieve and to Kentucky. The old French and Creole regime was buried for ever. All the St. Louis priests had withdrawn, but, in 1845, Bishop Byrne, with the Irish Fathers John Corry, Peter Walsh, P. Canavan, John Monaghan, Thomas McKeone and others, ushered in a new era.

REV. F. G. HOLWECK,
St. Louis, Mo.

³⁰ He went to Louisiana later, and on his way to France was lost at sea, a. 1847.

THE MOST REVEREND JOHN BAPTIST PURCELL, D.D., ARCHBISHOP OF CINCINNATI

(1800-1883)

A writer of the Church history of the United States during the nineteenth century must become intimately acquainted with the life and labors of Archbishop Purcell, the Patriarch of the West and the creator of the great Archdiocese of Cincinnati, if he would present to posterity a full account of the founding of the Church in our country and reveal the fascinating story of the American Hierarchy.

Born with the century in February, 1800, at Mallow, Ireland, John Baptist Purcell early felt the call to the ministry of God's altar, and, like Samuel of old, cried, "Lord, here am I." At the age of eighteen he realized that he could not fulfil his heart's desire in his native land on account of English laws preventing higher education for Catholics; therefore, a century ago he bade adieu to home and friends, crossed the ocean and reached Baltimore in the spring of 1818.¹ With a certificate from Asbury College, Baltimore, he obtained a position as tutor in the family of Doctor Wilson on the eastern shore of Maryland. He remained there about two years until he was invited to Emmitsburg by the Rev. John Dubois, President of Mt. St. Mary's College, to become pupil and professor. Events proved that Father Dubois was inspired when he sent forth a call for the young John Baptist to place his name on Mt. St. Mary's scroll.²

He could sit with ease in the company of brilliant students and professors gathered at the old Mountain College, and it was not long until his personal charm, rare mental endowments and

¹ Archives Mount St. Mary's of the West, Bishop Purcell's *Journal*; Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio, Marianne Reilly's *Journal*; Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio, *Community Records*.

² "Asbury College (Methodist) was established in Baltimore in 1816, and named in honor of Bishop Asbury, fifty years a preacher, who died that year. Its first President was Rev. Samuel K. Jennings. It was located at the corner of Park Avenue and Franklin Streets, was chartered February 10, 1818, for the benefit of youth of every religious denomination with literary honors according to merit. It conferred degrees in 1818." *Letter of John Parker, Librarian of Peabody Institute, Baltimore, November 26, 1917. Circular of Information, No. 2, 1894. Bureau of Education. History of Education in Maryland. Herbert B. Adams, pp. 247-254.*

attractive qualities of heart, together with his burning zeal and vigorous faith, marked him as a leader of men.

He received tonsure and minor orders from Archbishop Maréchal on May 4, 1823, and on March 1, 1824, accompanied the Reverend Doctor Bruté to the Seminary of St. Sulpice in Paris, where he continued his course in theology.³ He was raised to the priesthood by the Archbishop of Paris, the Most Reverend Hyacinthe Louis de Quelen, in the historic church of Notre Dame, on May 21, 1826.⁴ After his ordination he remained in Paris for eighteen months longer, pursuing the higher courses in philosophy and theology. He returned to the United States in 1827, accompanied by the Reverend Samuel Eccleston, the future fifth Archbishop of Baltimore.⁵ Father John Baptist Purcell found his American Alma Mater steadily growing into the hearts and minds of its students, the future great men in Church and State. He gave to his work there the fulness of his powers, and in two years was elected to the Presidency. This appointment was contemporaneous with the First Provincial Council of the Church in the United States.⁶ The following year, 1830, through the efforts of its President, Mt. St. Mary's College was incorporated by the Legislature of Maryland.⁷

The then far-off Western city of Cincinnati lost its first bishop, the Right Rev. Edward Dominic Fenwick, O.P., on September 26, 1832,⁸ and Father John Baptist Purcell was chosen to succeed him. A letter from Bishop England to the Reverend James Ignatius Mullan, editor of the *Catholic Telegraph*, announced the news to his episcopal city. In this letter Bishop England asked Father Mullan to urge Father Purcell to accept the appointment,

³ McSWEENEY, *The Story of the Mountain*, Vol. i, p. 115.

⁴ Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese.

⁵ *Centennial History of Baltimore Cathedral*. Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio.

⁶ Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese. *Centennial History of the Baltimore Cathedral*. *Truth Teller*, Vol. v, pp. 343, 350. *The Metropolitan*, Baltimore, 1830, p. 34. SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. iii, pp. 408-419. HAMMER, *Der Apostel von Ohio*, pp. 52-92.

⁷ McSWEENEY, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 232. Archives Mount St. Mary's of the West, Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio. *Letters*. Cf. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. x, p. 605.

⁸ Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio. *Journals*. Cf. *Catholic Telegraph*. Letter of Eliza Rose Powell, Vol. i, p. 406. Cf. *The Truth Teller*, Vol. viii, p. 340. HAMMER, *Der Apostel von Ohio*, p. 142.

stating that he knew efforts would be made to have him resign and retain his charge at Emmitsburg. The Bishop stated that there had been a "series of delays," and tradition asserts that the Cardinals, hesitating in their choice between Father John Purcell and Father John Hughes, asked Bishop England for a helpful suggestion. The Bishop could think of nothing to sway the Cardinals unless the fact that Father John Hughes was a self-made man might make him more acceptable than Father Purcell, a college president.⁹

The Cardinals in good faith conveyed to the Sacred College the message that Bishop England thought "a self-made man like Father John Purcell would be more agreeable to the people of the West" and told the Bishop later that their Eminences were highly gratified and had sent the document to the Holy Father for his signature. The Apostolic Brief reached the Archbishop of Baltimore in August, and Father Arthur Wainwright took it to Father Purcell at Emmitsburg. Doctor Bruté was opening a retreat for the students of the Seminary, and Father Purcell joined them in the holy exercises. He spent the month of September in settling his affairs at the College, and early in October sought the hospitable roof of Fathers Matthew Lekeu, S.J., and Paul Kohlmann, S.J., in Conewago, Adams Co., Pa. (now Edgegrove, in the Diocese of Harrisburg). Father John Francis Hickey, S.S., went there to assist him, and remained with him until the day of consecration.¹⁰ This took place on Sunday, October 13, 1833, in the Baltimore Cathedral. The consecrator was the Most Reverend James Whitfield, D.D., Bishops Dubois and Kenrick assisting him. The sermon for the occasion was preached by Reverend Samuel Eccleston, S.S., and Bishop Frederick Rese, of Detroit, Mich., was present in the sanctuary. The following Sunday, October 20, the Second Provincial Council of Baltimore was opened, and lasted a week. Bishop Purcell attended all the sessions of the Council, and while in Baltimore was the guest of the brother of his successor, a half-century later, Archbishop William Henry Elder.¹¹ After the Council he has-

⁹ Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio. *Bishop England's Letter.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ SHEA, *Hist. Cath. Church*, vol. iii, p. 432.

tened to pay his farewell visits to his mountain home and St. Joseph's Valley.

He sang Pontifical Mass and preached at the College on Sunday, November 3, and was entertained by the pupils of St. Joseph's Academy on Monday, November 4. On Thursday, he left Emmitsburg, paying for his journey out of two hundred dollars borrowed from Father Hickey, S.S. He traveled by stage from Frederick, Md., to Wheeling, W. Va., reaching the latter place on Sunday morning, November 10. Here he began the busy missionary life which was his spirit's meat and drink for many decades. He heard confessions, preached, said Mass, and by special request, preached again in the evening. On Monday afternoon he and his party, two Sisters of Charity, Miss Ann Marr and a little boy, William Ryan, left Wheeling in the steamboat *Emigrant*. They reached the public landing in Cincinnati at 10 a. m. Thursday, November 14.¹² He was escorted to the house of Mr. Santiago, on Sycamore Street, opposite the Cathedral, from which, dressed in pontificals, he was led by a procession of the clergy and laity to the main altar of the Cathedral. He knelt at the foot of the altar until Bishop David conducted him to his episcopal throne. Bishop Flaget of Bardstown then addressed him, recalling the episcopal consecration of his predecessor, whose body lay beneath the sanctuary. He congratulated the widowed Church of Cincinnati that her mourning garb might be laid aside and her children's voices be raised in notes of thanksgiving to God for the presence of a Father in the midst of them.¹³

Scarcely was the day of ceremony over when the eager young Bishop began a serious study of the charge committed to his keeping. The College and Seminary claimed his first care, and he took part in the great work of education by filling the office of President of the Athenaeum. In his first Pastoral, published shortly after his arrival, he showed his zeal for the furtherance of Christian education, urging the people to depend on their own exertions rather than upon European aid in building churches and schools. In it, too, he extolled the life and labors of his saintly predecessor,

¹² Archives Mount St. Mary's of the West, *Journal*. Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio, *Journal*.

¹³ Archives Mount St. Mary's of the West. *Catholic Telegraph*, Vol. iii, p. 5.

Bishop Fenwick, who had died a martyr to duty in Canton, Ohio, a year previous, on September 26, 1832.¹⁴ His first Charity Sermon for the benefit of the Orphan Asylum led to the foundation of the St. Peter's Benevolent Association, which together with the St. Joseph Society, formed twenty years later, has provided for the homeless little ones of the Cincinnati Archdiocese from the time of its institution until the present day.¹⁵ A visitation of his extensive diocese was his next work. Bad roads, swollen creeks, lumbering stage-coaches, prejudiced people, few Catholics, sparsely settled districts, might have daunted a less heroic soul; but these obstacles did not even change the gladness of spirit with which he set forth and continued his journeys in the cause of truth. He found the work of the earlier missionaries and the Dominican Fathers, and blessed their footprints, encouraging to germination the seed they had sown, and nourishing to fructification the plants still showing life.¹⁶

He saw himself established in a State already noted for its private schools and colleges, and in his own city he found intellectual activity to which he gave generous and enthusiastic support. He was recognized by the literary people of his new home as one who could speak authoritatively on scientific, classical, or literary subjects, as well as on matters of doctrine. He used his gift of oratory to overcome prejudice, to keep in touch with the educational system around him, and to have the opportunity of removing ignorance of Catholic belief, he accepted membership in the College of Teachers.¹⁷ In a few years, after his arrival in Cincinnati, the tide of immigration turned to Ohio, and as his episcopal city had but one Catholic church, the Cathedral, he decided to build Holy Trinity Church, to be devoted to the use of the German-speaking Catholics. Cincinnati had then for its limits Northern Row, now Liberty Street; Eastern Row, now Broadway; Western Row, now Central Avenue, and the river frontage at the south. Beyond Western Row was a commanding eminence, the "Old Mound," the center of the plan of the Mound Builders who orig-

¹⁴ Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio. *Catholic Telegraph*, Vol. iii, p. 11.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. iii, p. 55. Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio.

¹⁶ Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio. *SHEA, op. cit.*, p. 620.

¹⁷ Archives Mount St. Mary's of the West; Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio.

inally and most artistically laid out Cincinnati. This spot the Bishop chose for the site of Holy Trinity Church, for he saw that the city must spread westwardly and occupy the beautiful natural parks between the river and the hills.¹⁸ The immigration which affected Cincinnati had a corresponding influence on hamlets, villages and towns. Everywhere was the activity of growth and the Bishop following up each natural development labored to place side by side with material progress opportunities for the mental, moral and spiritual upbuilding of his flock. Holy Trinity Church was blessed on October 5, 1834, the first German parish of the diocese, and the first west of the Alleghenies.¹⁹

Although so occupied at home with planning churches and schools, teaching and preaching, he heard and answered promptly the call of his brother Bishops, and there are records of his preaching and lecturing in the north, south, east and west.²⁰

As a member of the College of Teachers, he met Mr. Alexander Campbell, who, contrary to the laws of the College, attacked the Catholic Church. Bishop Purcell expressed his disapprobation of Mr. Campbell's language and the latter announced in the public forum that he would preach on the subject in the Baptist Church the following Monday. The Bishop, who attended, was invited to reply, which he did from the same pulpit the next evening, with the enthusiastic applause of the whole audience. Mr. Campbell demanded an oral controversy in systematic form with moderators and limited time. The Bishop declined, but Mr. Campbell insisted, and the Purcell-Campbell controversy took place in the Sycamore Street Meeting House, beginning Friday, January 13, 1837, and closing on Friday, January 20. Its sessions were from 9.30 a. m. until 12.30 and from 3 p. m. until 5 p. m. each day except Sunday. At the close of the debate the secular press announced that Alexander Campbell's defense "in nowise tortured Catholicism." Although the Bishop was averse to these debates he thought it necessary to answer such attacks, and many conversions were the result, among them Judge Burnet, former

¹⁸ Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese, *Catholic Almanac*, 1834; Howe, *Historical Collections*, Cincinnati, 1848, p. 9.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Cf. *Catholic Telegraph*, Vol. iii, p. 349.

²⁰ *Catholic Telegraph*, Vol. iii, pp. 81, 246-365; *Ibid.*, Vol. iv, pp. 316-375.

Governor of California, author of *The Path which Led a Protestant Lawyer to the Catholic Church*.²¹

Priests' retreats followed by a synod of the clergy were held yearly, each occupying a week. Later, retreats for the laity followed for another week. Anniversary Orations, like the Charity Sermons, were the chief means of helping the Asylums. They served two purposes. Persons of marked ability and reputation were invited for the purpose, and the congregation had the advantage of listening to renowned speakers while performing their duty to the poor.²² Fairs were begun later, and a society called "The Mary and Martha Society" for the temporal and spiritual relief of the sick and indigent.²³ The needs of the diocese at this time, 1838, impelled the Bishop to visit Europe as "a beggar and a pilgrim" for the sake of his flock. The Leopoldine Association, founded through the earnest solicitations of a Cincinnati priest, Father Rese, had helped the Church in Ohio during Bishop Fenwick's time, but during the first three years of Bishop Purcell's administration nothing had been sent from Vienna.²⁴ In 1837, a gift of four thousand florins came, and the same amount in 1838. The Bishop left Cincinnati in May, 1838, and reached Liverpool in July. He visited his mother in Mallow, and received public honor in his native place. He was received in Belgium as an Apostle of the New World. Some Belgian clergy after listening to his words of burning zeal cried out, "We are nothing! We have seen John the Baptist. We have seen Paul the Apostle of Nations—the Apostle of the New World!"²⁵ During the winter he journeyed to Munich and Vienna, laid before the Leopoldine Association the needs of his struggling diocese and succeeded in arousing the interest of the Society. Very Reverend Hercules Brassac, who had recently and through the influence of Bishop Purcell opened the "Agence Ecclésiastique du Clergé Catholique des États Unis d'Amérique," accompanied him.²⁶ From Vienna the Bishop went to Rome

²¹ *Catholic Telegraph*, Vol. vi, p. 100; Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio.

²² Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese; Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio.

²³ *Catholic Telegraph*, Vol. vii, p. 38; Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio.

²⁴ Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese, *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. iii, pp. 773-776.

Cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. ii, pp. 51-53.

²⁵ *Dublin Register*, October 20, 1838.

²⁶ Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio. Cf. Brassac Letters, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. iii, pp. 392-416.

where he spent much time and had frequent audiences with Gregory XVI.²⁷ Writing from the Sulpician Seminary of St. Irenaeus at Lyons, May 2, 1839, he says:

When asked if the divine service begins to be performed *with a certain solemnity* chez nous, my answer to such questions is something of a swell, and a "Ça Commence" gives the enquirer a hint that we have a little pride mixed with other bad qualities and defects which makes us resent with proper dignity such insinuations. However, I should be very wrong to take offense at anything that is said by our Catholic brethren in Europe concerning our Church in the United States. They all take the most sincere interest in our welfare, they are generous in their contributions, fervent in their prayers, sanguine in their hopes for the American Church. When kings have, in some measure, ceased to endow the Church, the poor have taken it under their munificent protection and bid fair to afford it more effectual support—without stifling, or squeezing it almost to death, as kings have done but too often, in their embrace. I cannot describe to you all the joy which this admirable association of the poor to sustain the foreign missions affords the common Father of the faithful. His heart is truly like that of his divine Master, the Heavenly Shepherd and Great Bishop of our souls. He received me with the most cordial and paternal affection, took me in his venerable arms, made me sit by his side, kept my hand in his and said to me such kind and encouraging words as I should not dare allow myself to repeat. The repeated benedictions which he gave to all who are so justly dear to our Lord in Cincinnati inspire the hope that you . . . will be ever happy, good, and fervent, that earthly happiness, as I pray God, may be to you a pledge of everlasting bliss. . . . I reserve for conversation anecdotes of the courts and kings that I have visited in Europe. These visits have convinced me more than ever that there is nothing great or grand, or amiable, or bright, but Heaven—and that kings can deserve it as well as beggars. The month of April was a terribly capricious one in the south of Europe—and it was no pleasant affair to be there with sharp and 'reezing North-easters in Florence, Marseilles and Lyons at a time of the year when we think at home that there is nothing but sunshine and flowers in these reputed happier climes. I am an invalid here in the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Lyons with sore throat and sore bones after my journey through the "Eden of the World." Alas! there was something to regret in that other! I am not quite sure whether I can be at home for the 1th of August, although with the divine blessing it is probable. Will you . . . have as many rooms as possible prepared for our expected visitors at my return? It is likely that I shall be accompanied by at least six priests, perhaps by ten. . . .

I offered up the Holy Sacrifice in the Cathedral dedicated to St. John Baptist, and Bishop Flaget preached for the members of the Prop-

²⁷ *Ami de la Religion*, June 13, 1838, *Catholic Telegraph*, Vol. viii, p. 294.

agation of the Faith. There were 4,000 communions in the city today, and to 300 of the number I had the happiness to break the Bread of Life and Immortality. How much happier they than the young man who has shot himself in despair of correcting the bad habits of a gambler, or the four foolish virgins drowned yesterday morning by the swamping of a pleasure boat in the rapid Rhone! . . .

There is a purgatory, and mine consists in this life's interruptions. At home or abroad, it is nothing but tap, tap, tap at my door. I try to resign myself to it as one of the ways to get to Heaven—but it makes me leave undone many things which I should do to reach that bright abode. Yesterday I visited the Hospital General. There are in it 1,100 sick, attended by 160 Sisters, who wear a religious habit, a large silver cross, give edification, but belong to no religious order, obey no particular superior, but the Administration of the Hospital. There are 40 lay-brothers also in the Hospital. Oh, what a discount on the joys of life is that large mass of human misery!—O God! what is man that thou art mindful of him! . . . A circumstance occurred at a dying bedside which greatly consoled me. I'll tell it you, please God, in Cincinnati.²⁸

As a result of his earnest appeals during his journey through Europe and the influence of Father Brassac, the Bishop returned to Cincinnati with several clergymen. They sailed from Havre on July 8, in the ship *Silvie de Grasse* and arrived in New York on August 22, 1839. His formal welcome home occurred on September 19. In a reply to an address of the St. Peter's Benevolent Society, he told his people:

That his absence from them for so long a time was occasioned by their spiritual and temporal necessities, and that to relieve them he had despised shame and knocked with the pilgrim and beggar at the gate of the rich and the cottage door of the poor in Europe.²⁹

The Catholics of Ohio and Kentucky learned at this time that the *Catholic Telegraph*, because financial support was wanting, must discontinue its publication. They held a mass meeting, and devised not only means for its maintenance, but established likewise "The Roman Catholic Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge." This Society attracted attention in other large cities, and Rev. Dr. J. White wrote Bishop Purcell that they were following his example and establishing a similar association at Calvert Hall, Baltimore.³⁰

²⁸ Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio.

²⁹ Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese; cf. *Catholic Telegraph*, Vol. viii, p. 351.

³⁰ *Catholic Telegraph*, Vol. viii, pp. 380-382.

The year 1840, being the fiftieth anniversary of the consecration of Right Reverend John Carroll, first Bishop of Baltimore and of the whole United States, was a year of Jubilee and the Fourth Provincial Council was opened on May 16, in the Baltimore Cathedral.³¹ It was the largest ever assembled in the new world, the number of Bishops being thirteen. Archbishop Eccleston and his eleven suffragans had invited Bishop Forbin-Janson of Nancy and Toul and Primate of Lorraine, France, to attend the meeting. This illustrious prelate of noble family had a great desire for missionary life and Pope Gregory XVI, at the request of Bishop Purcell, had sanctioned his coming to the United States. The decrees of the Council, eleven in number, were confirmed by the Pope on November 22.

At the Third Provincial Council held in April, 1837, the bishops had asked that sees be created at Pittsburgh, Nashville, Natchez and Dubuque.

In 1840, the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur arrived in Cincinnati and the Jesuit Fathers of the Missouri Province opened a college in the Athenaeum.³² The Seminary was moved to the Lytle Farm in Brown County. It was under the direction of the Vincentian Fathers for several years, but as the Bishop desired personal supervision of his ecclesiastical students, the Seminary was restored to its old place and the Jesuit Fathers conducted it for a short time until the Bishop's dream of a Mount St. Mary's of the West began to be a reality.

The Cincinnati Cathedral described, in 1828, as "a neat and elegant building finished in the Gothic order," had become too small for its congregation and the Bishop purchased a site opposite the City Building for a new Cathedral. The corner-stone was laid on May 20, 1841.³³ At this time there were fifty-five churches in the diocese and others in prospect. The Redemptorist Fathers on account of discouraging experiences with the people of St. Alphonsus Church in northern Ohio had left the diocese in 1839, much to the regret of the Bishop.³⁴

³¹ *Catholic Telegraph*, Vol. ix, p. 150; SHEA, *op. cit.*, p. 452.

³² *American Catholic Historical Society Records*, Vol. xi, p. 325 *et seq.* Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio; BRASSAC *Letters*.

³³ Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese, *Catholic Telegraph*, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-183.

³⁴ Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese; SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. iii, pp. 31, 620-621.

The Dominican and Jesuit Fathers were assisting the secular clergy in all parts of the diocese and the progress of Catholicity was so apparent that the prejudice of Lyman Beecher found vent in his "Plea for the West," an argument against foreign immigration to the Mississippi Valley.³⁵ The Bishop not only saw the spread of religion through his diocese but he realized that Cincinnati proper was mounting the beautiful hills surrounding it and with his extraordinary foresight and good taste selected the most promising sites for churches and institutions. The cross-crowned hills of the Queen City of the West are a perpetual monument to his zeal for God's glory. Many bishops on their way to the Fifth Provincial Council of Baltimore, which opened on May 14, 1843, stopped in Cincinnati and congratulated Bishop Purcell on the progress of religion in Ohio. Sixteen bishops attended the Council, which opened with very imposing ceremonies. Bishop Purcell occupied the pulpit on the evenings of Monday and Friday, and on the following Sunday at High Mass. He delivered a discourse in Calvert Hall on Monday, gave Confirmation on Ascension Thursday, Minor Orders to some Jesuit novices in Frederick on Friday, Confirmation on Saturday in St. Joseph's Chapel "in the happy Valley of the Sisters of Charity," and on Sunday sang High Mass and administered Confirmation in the home of his early days, Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg.³⁶ He and Bishop Hughes sailed from Boston early in June and spent the summer in France. Bishop Purcell returned in the late fall enriched by many gifts for the institutions of his diocese. He left Havre on the ship *Vesta*.³⁷ He expected the Fathers of the Precious Blood to accompany him, but they sailed later and arrived at New Orleans on December 21, 1843.³⁸ They arrived in Cincinnati on New Year's Day, 1844, by way of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers and were members of the second European community brought to the New World by Bishop Purcell. They took charge of the field of labor resigned by the Redemptorist Fathers who went to Pittsburgh. On St. Joseph's Day of this year, 1844, Bishop Purcell began his long list of Consecrations in St. Peter's

³⁵ VENABLE, *Literary Culture*, p. 379; *Catholic Telegraph*, Vol. xii, p. 86.

³⁶ *Catholic Telegraph*, *op. cit.*, p. 166-174.

³⁷ Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio.

³⁸ *Ibid.*; SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. iv, p. 173.

Cathedral, Cincinnati. Bishop Henni was made Ordinary of Milwaukee and Bishop Reynolds of Charleston. Bishop Henni was Vicar-General and had founded, in 1837, the first German Catholic paper published in the United States—*Der Wahrheitsfreund*.³⁹ It continued its existence, a companion to the *Catholic Telegraph* for eighty years. The year 1845 was remarkable for the number of churches begun or blessed and for the advent of the Ursuline Sisters from France, with Mother Julia Chatfield as Superior. They took possession of the old Seminary, the Lytle Farm, in Brown County and opened their Academy of St. Martin.⁴⁰ On September 29, the Bishop issued a pastoral letter, informing his flock that the Cathedral would be consecrated on All Saints Day. For eight days previous to the ceremony the clergy were engaged in the exercises of a spiritual retreat. On the day of consecration the English-speaking Catholics of Cincinnati received Holy Communion in the old Cathedral to prepare their souls for a joyous and worthy entrance into their new and magnificent church. Archbishop Eccleston of Baltimore was the consecrating prelate and the ample sanctuary was filled with bishops and priests who came to rejoice with Bishop Purcell, who saw "the places of his Tents enlarged and their cords lengthened on every side."⁴¹ Then it occurred to him that another See in the northern part of Ohio would be an advantage to religion and this thought he revealed to Archbishop Eccleston and placed before the Fathers of the Sixth Plenary Council of Baltimore in May, 1846. The Holy See created the Diocese of Cleveland, making the line of division 40° 41', but this proved unsatisfactory and county limits were adopted.⁴²

The years 1847 and 1848 were noted for the many churches erected in Ohio and for the visitation of all of them by the zealous Bishop.⁴³ After the solemn removal of Bishop Fenwick's body from St. Xavier Church to the Cathedral, the Bishop began the arduous task of visiting every church in his diocese. In Gallipolis, where the French, in 1790, had established a Prefecture-Apostolic to include southern Ohio, the Bishop had the happiness

³⁹ Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese.

⁴⁰ SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. iv, p. 177.

⁴¹ *Catholic Telegraph*, Vol. xiv, p. 319.

⁴² Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese.

⁴³ Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese; *United States Catholic Magazine*, Vol. viii, p. 10.

of bringing back to the Church a granddaughter of Mr. Vincent, M.C., one of the colonists who came with Dom Didier, Benedictine Procurator of the Abbey of St. Denis near Paris. Dom Didier built a church at Gallipolis, and labored for a few years among his disheartened people who, finding themselves deceived by wealthy speculators of France, abandoned the dream of a rich colony in the Scioto valley and returned to their own homes. Their pastor went to St. Louis and engaged in parochial work.⁴⁴

The Bishop's letters are filled with graphic descriptions of his travels, but the most noticeable features are the cheerfulness of a missionary and the zeal of an apostle.

In 1848, the Father General of the Jesuits in Rome sent through Very Reverend Father Van de Velde, S.J., a document declaring "Bishop Purcell Founder of the St. Xavier College." By the terms of the paper the Bishop became a participant in all the prayers, good works and suffrages of all the members of the Society of Jesus *in perpetuum*, during life and after death.⁴⁵

On July 19, Feast of St. Vincent de Paul, the Bishop laid the corner-stone of Mount St. Mary's of the West, his Theological Seminary.⁴⁶ The Seventh Provincial Council of Baltimore opened on May 6, and closed on May 13, the following Sunday.⁴⁷ Two Archbishops and twenty-three Bishops attended. Archbishop Kenrick made the opening address, Bishop Purcell preached at the requiem for deceased prelates, and Bishop Hughes closed the Council. It was to this Council that His Holiness, Pope Pius IX, had been invited. On account of conditions in Italy it was believed the Holy Father might go into France and the American Hierarchy hoped to have the privilege of receiving him in Baltimore. His answer was, "Nothing could be more grateful to my heart than to enjoy the presence and conversation of the Fathers of the Council but existing times and circumstances make it impossible."⁴⁸

⁴⁴ SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. iii, pp. 333-334; Cf. CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. ii, pp. 195-204 (*A Vanished Bishopric*); The story of Scioto has been charmingly told by Father Lawrence Kenny, S. J., in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. iv, pp. 415-451.

⁴⁵ Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio. *Letters*.

⁴⁶ ALZOG (Pabisch and Byrne), *History of the Church*, Vol. iii, p. 786; *Catholic Telegraph*, Vol. xviii, pp. 106, 114-115.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

In this Seventh Council, the erection of Cincinnati into a Metropolitan See, with Louisville, Detroit, Vincennes and Cleveland as suffragans, was petitioned.⁴⁹ Bishop Purcell returned from the Council to find his diocese visited by a scourge of cholera as disastrous as that of 1832. He wrote a touching pastoral to his people warning them of the danger and urging them to prepare for death, which might come suddenly. This step would aid the priests, likewise, in their exhausting and constant duties during the epidemic.

Even in this time of distress, when priests and sisters were stricken and the Asylums were being filled with orphans, he did not forget the wants of the Holy Father, but sent \$1,000 as Peter's Pence. He dedicated two churches and towards the close of the year 1849, he formed The Young Men's Catholic Association.⁵⁰

The Dean of the American Hierarchy, the Right Reverend Benedict Joseph Flaget, died on January 11, 1850. Bishop Purcell preached his funeral oration, and Father Badin, the protopriest of the American Church, performed the last absolution.⁵¹

A recommendation for taxing churches was introduced into the State Convention, and drew from the Bishop a strong protest. To his own people he said: "Our Catholic forefathers believed, and we believe, that the House of God ought to be the noblest House in every city and town." Non-Catholics joined the Catholics in preventing the obnoxious levy.⁵² The Bishop continued selecting sites for new churches. St. Patrick's, St. Francis de Sales, St. Paul's and St. Boniface, Cumminsville, were soon in course of erection. This year, 1850, the golden year of his life, was celebrated by a reception of all the children attending the Catholic Free Schools.⁵³ On August 6, Cardinal Frasoni announced the forwarding of Bulls making Cincinnati a Metropolitan See, with Louisville, Detroit, Vincennes and Cleveland as suffragans. Bishop Purcell received the Apostolic Brief on October 8.⁵⁴ It

⁴⁹ Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese; Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ WEBB, *Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, pp. 374-402. Louisville, 1882.

⁵² *Catholic Telegraph*, June 8, 1850.

⁵³ *Catholic Telegraph*, June 8, 1850.

⁵⁴ *Concilia Provincialia Baltimori habita, 1929-1849*, Baltimore, 1851. Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese; *Catholic Telegraph*, October 12, 1850. *Ibid.*, October 26, 1850.

was in the same consistory in which Pope Pius IX proclaimed Bishop Wiseman Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, thus restoring the Catholic Hierarchy to England, that the Pope was asked to send the pallium to the Archbishops, John B. Purcell of Cincinnati, Antoine Blanc of New Orleans and John Hughes of New York. This was the fourth time an Archbishop had been created in the United States: Baltimore in 1810, Oregon Territory in 1846, St. Louis in 1847, and in 1850, Cincinnati, New York, and New Orleans. The Right Reverend John B. Lamy was consecrated in the Cincinnati Cathedral on November 24, 1850.⁵⁵

May 21, 1851, was the Silver Jubilee of Archbishop Purcell's ordination. He spent it in Europe, whither he had gone to receive the pallium at the hands of Pope Pius IX. Before giving him the emblem of his archiepiscopal power, the Holy Father in recognition of his services made him assistant at the papal throne.⁵⁶ The Archbishop returned to Cincinnati in August and found a very important subject awaiting his decision. The affiliation of the Sisters at Emmitsburg to the Daughters of Charity in France was being accomplished through the instrumentality of Father Deluol, a Sulpician. A full account of the transaction may be found in *The History of Mother Seton's Daughters*.⁵⁷

The little colony established in Cincinnati in 1829, had conducted schools and orphanage there, and clung tenaciously to Mother Seton's plans, dress, ideals. A notification of the impending change caused the Sisters to seek the advice of the Archbishop and to express their opposition to the movement. After serious deliberation he announced that it was God's will for them to remain Mother Seton's Daughters and that he would open a novitiate and be their Father and Ecclesiastical Superior.⁵⁸ His last hour, July 4, 1883, found him filling both offices.

The community was incorporated as The Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati, Ohio, and the Academy was chartered according to the laws of Ohio.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio.

⁵⁶ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. xxii, pp. 570-572.

⁵⁷ McCANN, *History of Mother Seton's Daughters*, Vol. ii, pp. 98-118, New York, 1917.

⁵⁸ Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese.

⁵⁹ Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio.

Through the little community which he took as his own, he saw many of his plans realized, and many of his hopes fulfilled. Hospitals and diocesan institutions were placed under their care, and are still conducted by them.

On April 19, 1853, the great missionary, Very Reverend Theodore Stephen Badin, who had been a member of the Cathedral household for three years, died, assisted by the prayers of Archbishop Purcell, the clergy of the Cathedral, and the Sisters of Charity. His body was placed beside Bishop Fenwick in the crypt of the Cincinnati Cathedral.⁶⁰

Father Baraga, an associate of Father Badin in early missionary life, and Father Carrell, S.J., were consecrated in Cincinnati on the Feast of All Saints. The Church was gaining in influence as well as members. The Catholic marriages of this year were twelve hundred and sixty-one and the baptisms three thousand seven hundred and fifty-five.⁶¹

In December, the Most Reverend Cajetan Bedini, Archbishop of Thebes and Nuncio to Brazil, paid a visit to Archbishop Purcell. Previous to his coming to Cincinnati he had presented himself to the administration at Washington but had not received all the courtesies due to him as a member of the diplomatic corps. Italian and German revolutionists had spread calumnies about him and secular papers printed them so that by the time he reached Cincinnati plots against his life had been formed. Archbishop Purcell's vigilance and influence prevented or quelled any serious uprising against him, although a mob marched to the cathedral residence with evil intentions.⁶²

The Feast of the Immaculate Conception, December 8, 1854, was one of special exultation. The Archbishop had issued a pastoral expressing his wish to unite his diocese with the faithful in Rome and throughout the whole Catholic world in proclaiming the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God.⁶³

The first Provincial Council of Cincinnati opened on May 13, 1855.⁶⁴ Letters had been sent to the Bishops of the Province, to

⁶⁰ Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese; SHEA, *op. cit.*, p. 537.

⁶¹ SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. iii, p. 634.

⁶² *Catholic Telegraph*, Vol. xviii, February 4, 1911.

⁶³ Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese.

⁶⁴ *Catholic Telegraph*, May 19, 20, 1855.

the Superiors of the Dominican, Jesuit, Franciscan, Precious Blood and Holy Cross Orders, stating the object of the Council, the subjects to be discussed and inviting their presence and help. The Council lasted one week and passed nineteen decrees, one of which was to make Mount St. Mary's of the West a Provincial Seminary for Holy Scripture, Theology, Church History, Patrology and the cognate branches of clerical learning, and St. Thomas in Kentucky, a Seminary for preparatory studies. A decree was passed, likewise, asking the Holy See to make Mount St. Mary's a Pontifical College and requesting the faculty of conferring degrees in Philosophy and Theology.⁶⁵

The Fathers of the Council urged the erection of Sees at Sault Sainte Marie and Fort Wayne, forbade the borrowing or receiving money on deposit without episcopal permission, encouraged the erection of parochial schools, hospitals and asylums, and recommended the establishment of definite support for infirm clergymen. The Council closed on May 20, with great dignity and ceremony.⁶⁶

Mrs. Sarah Peter, a convert, daughter of Governor Thomas Worthington of Ohio and sister of General Worthington, became at this time a valuable co-worker with Archbishop Purcell. Through her influence the Good Shepherd Sisters began work in Cincinnati in 1857, the Sisters of Mercy from Kinsale, Ireland, in 1858, and

⁶⁵ Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese, VI, "Cum innotuisset Patribus deesse in plerisque Seminariis Diocesanis tum copiam quae decet magistrorum, tum numerum alumnorum ad alendam aemulationem in studiis scientiae et pietatis necessarium, placuit omnibus Seminarium commune pro universa Provincia instituere, Seminariis Diocesanis tamen minime sublati; aeternaeque Seminarii Sanctae Mariae ad Montem prope urbem Cincinnati sem, munificentissime a Reverendissimo ac Illustrissimo DD. Archiepiscopo Cincinnati oblata, eligere in situm novi instituti." VII. "Perpensis quoque incrementis, quae exinde sacrarum rerum scientia, atque decore quem Catholica Religio in his regionibus caperet, censuerunt omnes supplicandam esse Sanctam Sedem ut ex sua dignatione hoc Seminarium Provinciale aliquo modo Collegium Pontificium fieret, quatenus per auctoritatem Apostolicam facultatem conferendi gradus Philosophiae et Theologiae, atque exigendi ab alumnis, post sex mensium probationem iuramentum manendi in propria Missione in ejusmodi Collegiis consuetum, decoraretur." The sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, through its Prefect, Cardinal Barnabo, rendered the following decision regarding the seventh decree: "Differi voluerunt responsum quoad petitionem ut Provinciale Seminarium declaretur Pontificium, eidemque conferatur tradendi gradus academicos."

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

the Sisters of St. Francis from Cologne. In 1868, nine years before her death, she brought the Little Sisters of the Poor.⁶⁷

On April 26, Archbishop Purcell consecrated the Right Reverend James F. Wood for Philadelphia, and the Right Reverend H. D. Juncker for Alton. The beautiful Gothic Chapel of Mount St. Mary's of the West was consecrated on June 24, 1857. Towards the close of the year, the Archbishop was appealed to in the controversy which arose in the Congregation of the Holy Redeemer and which led to the foundation of the Paulist Congregation.⁶⁸

At the end of the year 1857, the Catholic population of the Cincinnati Diocese was estimated at two hundred and seventy-seven thousand six hundred and eighty. The year 1858 was marked by two important events, the consecration of the Right Reverend J. H. Luers as first Bishop of Fort Wayne on January 10, and the meeting of the Second Provincial Council of Cincinnati on May 2. The decrees of the First Provincial Council of Cincinnati and those of Baltimore were renewed and twelve others adopted.⁶⁹

The Feast of St. Edward of England, October 13, 1858, was the Silver Jubilee of Archbishop Purcell's episcopate. The whole Archdiocese united in showing its great Metropolitan the appreciation of his works and sacrifices in accomplishing them. Bulls arrived appointing Very Reverend Edward Purcell, Coadjutor to the Bishop of Pittsburgh, but he declined the honor.⁷⁰

The Catholic Institute was organized early in the year 1859.⁷¹ The Society issued stock, which sold very rapidly, and a hall in the Roman style of architecture was built in which Catholic Societies could hold their deliberations, hear lectures, or transact business. Chief Justice Taney had been invited to lay the

⁶⁷ *Catholic Telegraph*, May 12, 1855; Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese; SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. iv, pp. 544-545.

⁶⁸ Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio.

⁶⁹ Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese, *Concilium Cincinnatiense II, habitum anno 1858*. Cincinnati, Pastoral Letter, May, 1858, *Catholic Telegraph*, May 8-15, 1858; McCORMICK, Rev. P. J., Ph.D., *History of Education*, The Catholic Education Press, Washington, D. C., 1915.

⁷⁰ Anniversary Address of the Priests and People of the Diocese of Cincinnati, presented at the Silver Jubilee, 1858.

⁷¹ *History and Organization of the Catholic Institute*, Cincinnati, 1860.

corner-stone of the edifice, but the letter miscarried and reached the venerable gentleman only the day before the ceremony.

At this time the baptism registrations for the year were almost nine thousand, marriages about two thousand, and deaths nearly twenty-seven hundred. The increase, together with immigration, required the building and enlarging of churches in all parts of the diocese and the Archbishop encouraged the people by his own zeal and activity.

He extended a helping hand likewise to his brother bishops, as in the case of Bishop Bayley of Newark, N. J. Bishop Bayley, wishing to have Mother Seton's Daughters in his diocese, applied to New York and Cincinnati in vain, for neither community felt able to establish a mission in his See. Correspondence with Archbishop Purcell and Mother Margaret resulted in the sending of the Newark postulants for training in the Cincinnati Novitiate.⁷² The five young ladies returned to New Jersey at the end of September, 1859, when the Daughters of Mother Seton began their remarkable career in Bishop Bayley's diocese. The corner-stone of the Immaculata on Mt. Adams was laid this year. The Honorable John Quincy Adams was invited by the Astronomical Society of Cincinnati, in 1843, to lay the corner-stone of the Observatory on Mt. Ida, changed then to Mt. Adams. On account of bigoted remarks made by the "Old Man Eloquent," Bishop Purcell resolved to have a church spire point to the clouds from the hill near the Observatory. The Immaculata fulfilled his vow, and later he had the satisfaction of seeing the Observatory itself, the Passionist Monastery, and the Holy Cross Church on neighboring sites.⁷³

On September 11, he addressed an audience of eight thousand people on Bunker Hill, Boston, when the corner-stone of St. Francis de Sales Church was laid on this historic ground. On his return home he learned that the President of his Seminary, Right Reverend John Quinlan, had been appointed Bishop of Mobile.⁷⁴

At the opening of the Civil War, Archbishop Purcell announced to his people: "The President has spoken and it is our duty to obey him as head of the nation. Moreover, Ohio, the State in

⁷² Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio. *Letters*.

⁷³ Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese, *Catholic Telegraph*, August 27, 1859.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, September 24, 1859. Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio.

which we are, has also spoken on the subject. It is then our solemn duty as good and loyal citizens to walk shoulder to shoulder with all our fellow-citizens in support of the national honor."⁷⁵

In the Third Provincial Council of Cincinnati, which began its session on Sunday, April 27, 1861, the Archbishop in his opening speech called attention to the sad spectacle never before witnessed in our glorious republic and prayed God that hostilities might cease and wiser and better counsels prevail.⁷⁶ At the beginning of the war he was very cautious in his political views, but after studying the question he became an earnest supporter of the United States Government, although he knew that many of his people adhered to the party in the North against the war. He gave willingly some of his professors from the Seminary at the call for troops, and blessed the Army Chaplains and Sisters whose summons came almost simultaneously with the cry—to arms!

Feeling the weight of cares and responsibilities, the Archbishop asked the Holy See for an Auxiliary.⁷⁷ Right Reverend Sylvester H. Rosecrans was consecrated Bishop of Pompeiopolis on March 25, 1862, in the Cathedral of Cincinnati, and at once assumed the care of the diocese, as the Archbishop accepted the Pope's invitation to go to Rome for the canonization of the Japanese Martyrs. This was his second trip within a year. At his decennial visit the preceding year, the Holy Father had made him a member of the Noble Society of Rome, and created his mother the Countess Joanna. The Reverend Doctor Francis Joseph Pabisch, who came to Cincinnati with the Archbishop in 1862, succeeded to the Presidency of Mount St. Mary's of the West on the death of the Very Reverend William J. Barry, April 20, 1863.

On the vigil of Pentecost the Archbishop published a Pastoral Letter explaining the scope of his proposed Normal School and asked the cooperation of clergy and people.⁷⁸

The summer of 1865 deprived the archdiocese of two remarkable clergymen, the Reverend Donald Xavier MacLeod, a writer of note and distinguished convert, and the Very Reverend

⁷⁵ *Catholic Telegraph*, April 20, 1861.

⁷⁶ Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese.

⁷⁷ KELLY and KIRWIN, *History of St. Mary's Seminary*, pp. 234-240. Cincinnati, 1894.

⁷⁸ *Catholic Telegraph*, June 22, 1861, December 16, 1863.

Edward T. Collins, V.G., a man of rare literary taste, a model citizen and zealous priest.⁷⁹

Bishop Lamy, of Santa Fe, N. Mex., a pioneer missionary of Ohio, wrote to Archbishop Purcell at this time, to ask help for his far-off needy diocese. The answer to his appeal was that a band of Sisters of Charity in a few weeks began their first journey to the Indian hunting ground. Arrived at the "City of Holy Faith" they took up their abode in the Bishop's adobe palace, which was used as Seminary and orphanage.⁸⁰

All during the Civil War the activities of the diocese were remarkable, but at the close of hostilities churches were built in many places, schools opened, and academies were filled with pupils from the South. Mount St. Mary's of the West was in a flourishing condition, and the Colleges conducted by the Jesuit, Holy Cross, and Franciscan, Fathers in Cincinnati, and by the Brothers of Mary in Dayton, as well as the Novitiates of the Dominicans and of the Precious Blood Fathers and the charitable institutions, were all showing the vigor of Catholicity in southern Ohio. Statistics obtained for the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore placed on record the See of Cincinnati with an Archbishop, an auxiliary Bishop, one hundred and fifty priests, one hundred and eighty-one churches, and a proportionate number of parochial schools.⁸¹

The Council met on October 7, 1866, and was presided over by Most Reverend Martin John Spalding, Apostolic Delegate. Six other Archbishops and thirty-nine Bishops were present.⁸² The question of establishing a Catholic University like that of Dublin was discussed, also the manner of reaching the colored people made free by the late war. The eloquent sermons of Archbishops Purcell, Spalding, McCloskey, and Kenrick, and those of several of the Bishops were printed in this country and reprinted in Europe. President Johnson attended the closing session of the Council.⁸³

⁷⁹ Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese. KELLY and KIRWIN, *op. cit.*, p. 213; *Catholic Telegraph*, June, August, 1865.

⁸⁰ Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio.

⁸¹ SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. iv, pp. 715-720. BROTHER JOHN E. GARVIN, S.M., *The Centenary of the Society of Mary*, Dayton, Ohio, 1917.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*

The anniversary of St. Peter's martyrdom was celebrated in Rome, in June, 1867. The Archbishop journeyed to the Eternal City for the memorable occasion, and was received with especial honor by Pope Pius IX, who told his Master of Ceremonies to place him immediately at his right hand at the throne when he said Mass in St. Peter's on the great feast.⁸⁴

On his return from Rome he found it necessary to add a wing to his Seminary, and to build a church nearby for the Catholics of Price Hill.

Columbus, Ohio, was made a See, with Bishop Rosecrans as its first Ordinary, so that the Archbishop's original diocese was now divided into several parts, each governed by one of his own spiritual sons consecrated by him.⁸⁵

The Church in the West had not only struck its roots firmly into the ground but had also sent forth enlivening shoots to other sections of the country, and it was the hand of Archbishop Purcell which had moulded her destiny and his foresightedness that had directed her movements.

In his seventieth year, still fresh and active and with unabated zeal, he sent forth a Pastoral asking for the prayers of his people to direct the great Council of the Church to which all the Bishops of the Catholic World had been invited by the Sovereign Pontiff, Pope Pius IX.⁸⁶

A Jubilee for this purpose began June 2, to continue until the close of the Council. The Archbishop left Cincinnati on October 14, to attend the Ecumenical Council of the Vatican, which began on December 8, 1869, and adjourned on July 18, 1870.⁸⁷ As a representation of the entire world, it far exceeded all previous councils, and in importance it ranks as one of the most remarkable events of the nineteenth century.

The Archbishop's birthday, February 26, 1870, was celebrated by the Cincinnati students at the American College, Rome, by an address and presentation of a handsome set of breviaries. He received, also, a handsome mitre from the Countess Pourtalis. It was embroidered in arabesques with nine

⁸⁴ Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio.

⁸⁵ Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese.

⁸⁶ Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese.

⁸⁷ Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese.

of the purest amethysts, large as plums, on each side, and the inscription "In Fide Vivo" on a scroll.⁸⁸ The great question settled in the Vatican Council was the Papal Infallibility. There were three classes of dissentients to the promulgation of the dogma:

1. The Gallicans teaching the opposite of the proposed dogma.
2. Those who believed the doctrine, but did not think it capable of definition because the tradition of the Church was not sufficiently clear on that point.
3. Those who believed the doctrine and thought it capable of definition, but who considered that the definition would be perilous to the Church and who for the sake of peace and the good of souls, would have it postponed.

This third class was called "The Inopportunist," and Archbishop Purcell was one of the leaders. It embraced about one-fifth of the bishops. Archbishop Purcell and others obtained permission to leave Rome before the final vote was taken. Four hundred and thirty-five Fathers of the Council assembled on July 18, under the Presidency of Pope Pius IX, and all voted *placet* excepting two, one of whom was Bishop Edward Fitzgerald, of Little Rock.⁸⁹ The world at large, especially the press, felt great interest and curiosity as to the utterances of Archbishop Purcell on the subject, since he was known as a strong member of the minority. He was invited to give a lecture in the Catholic Institute Hall on his return to Cincinnati, and his clergy felt it would be an occasion of great importance. Reporters from five of the largest newspapers in New York had been sent to take his speech, and the telegraph wires between Cincinnati and New York had been chartered for five hours, the night of the lecture, to transmit his expressions for the next morning's papers. One of his priests advised him of this and said, "This is your chance to

⁸⁸ Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese.

⁸⁹ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. xv, pp. 303-309. MACCAFFREY, Rev. Jas., *History of the Catholic Church in Nineteenth Century*, Vol. i, pp. 438-469, St. Louis, 1909; *Catholic Telegraph*, August, 1870.

GIBBONS, JAMES CARDINAL, *Retrospect of Fifty Years*, Vol. ii, p. 129, Baltimore, 1916.

FARLEY, JOHN CARDINAL, *The Life of John Cardinal McCloskey*, pp. 284-289, New York, 1918.

tell the world your views on Papal Infallibility." His opening words at the Catholic Institute were, "I am here to proclaim my belief in the Infallibility of the Pope, in the words of the Holy Father defining the doctrine." One of the Cincinnati papers expressed disappointment that Archbishop Purcell yielded so readily.⁹⁰

At this time a diocesan community of Mother Seton's Daughters was established in Pennsylvania by the aid of the Cincinnati Sisters and through the cooperation of Archbishop Purcell with Bishop Domenec's wishes.⁹¹

The first Bishop of Michigan, a pioneer priest of Cincinnati, Bishop Rese, died at Hildesheim on December 29, 1871. Archbishop Purcell celebrated a Solemn Requiem Mass in the Cathedral for the repose of his soul. A few months later he consecrated two of his priests, the Right Reverend Richard Gilmour, Bishop of Cleveland, and the Right Reverend Joseph Dwenger, Bishop of Fort Wayne.⁹²

In the years which passed between the Vatican Council and the Golden Jubilee of Archbishop Purcell in 1876, his activity seemed as vigorous as in the earlier days when he was laying the structure of his great Archdiocese. Churches were increasing in number and smaller ones were being replaced by imposing edifices, educational establishments were reaching forth to the highest point of efficiency, the Seminary registered one hundred and thirty students, and had a splendid faculty, while the religious communities were growing apace, supplying the wants of the people. Not only at home was the Archbishop busy and interested, but a glance at his correspondence shows calls from many quarters of the world, for help, advice, encouragement or protection. Accustomed to the best society of the Old and New World, a linguist, a delightful speaker, he had the faculty given to very few of selecting from a thousand words the very simplest to convey his meaning. Children delighted his soul, and festivals for them on the Cathedral grounds were of frequent occurrence. His humility was as noticeable as his simplicity, hospitality and charity.⁹³

⁹⁰ Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese.

The fiftieth anniversary of his ordination occurred on May 21, 1876.⁹⁴ It was the first celebration of the kind in the American Church and therefore an event of great importance not only in the annals of the Cincinnati diocese but likewise in the history of the Catholic Church in the United States. It was made noteworthy by all the religious pomp and ceremony such an occasion would call forth on account of the prelate's own eminence, and also by the grandeur his many spiritual sons in the episcopacy furnished. The religious orders which owed him their place in the country and in his diocese, the institutions of learning of which he had been the inspiration, the hundreds of churches whose congregations he had encouraged, the people of the city and state who felt themselves honored to claim him—all presented rich testimonials of love and congratulation. The Chalice which he used on his Jubilee Day was of purest gold set with gems—a gift from his own priests and a true love-offering. The Bishops of the Province gave him a pectoral cross set with fifty half-carat diamonds and a full carat diamond in the center. An account of the week's festivities would fill a volume. It was apparent that the secular and religious celebrations, the various institutions of his own Province and those governed by prelates of his own training, vied with one another in paying him honor; but the rivalry was not discordant—it was rather the outburst of overflowing gratitude and reverential love.

For every joy there seems an attendant sorrow. News came to the Archbishop of the death of his old friend, Father McElroy, in September, and that of Archbishop Bayley in October. In February, 1878, Pope Pius IX closed his eventful career,⁹⁵ and shortly afterwards there was a disturbance in the financial markets and banks which held diocesan funds either as loans or deposits closed their doors. During the financial crisis of 1837, the sterling honesty of the Archbishop and his brother, Father Edward, had induced their fellow-citizens to urge them to receive deposits and use them for the needs of the diocese. In the days of the Civil War other sums were added, and Father Purcell's notes promised the legal interest, six per cent in Ohio. In the

⁹⁴ *Catholic Telegraph*, February 19, 1875; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. iii, pp. 773-776, Vol. xii, pp. 570-572.

⁹⁵ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. iii, pp. 773-776.

period of reconstruction after the war, Father Purcell ceased taking loans and tried to free himself from the burden of the earlier deposits, but the people insisted on leaving the money in his hands. Previous to the collapse of 1878-1879, there had been several financial crises. Property had depreciated and securities had lessened in value so that a crisis was imminent. It came when smaller banks like those of Adae, Hemann, and Bussing, in which Father Purcell had deposits, became insolvent. In the hope of doing justice to all creditors, the Archbishop made an assignment. John B. Mannix was the assignee. He invested the money paid to him, advantageously, as he thought, but the securities proved worthless, making the obligations heavier.⁹⁶

The Court then appointed Judge Tafel and Attorney Miller, non-Catholics. Many complications followed, but no better results in the liquidation of the debt. By the persistent efforts of the clergy and the Archbishop's Counsel, order was brought out of chaos, true notes were separated from false, the Court came to a decision on the amount due, and it was paid in a reasonable time but not until it had cost the diocese the lives of three great men: Archbishop Purcell, Father Edward Purcell, and Doctor Francis Joseph Pabisch, the President of Mount St. Mary's of the West. Archbishop Purcell, overwhelmed by the disaster, and hoping some younger person might be appointed who could cope with the trouble, sent his resignation to Rome in January, 1879. The Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII, through Cardinal Simeoni, announced, on March 21, that he would not accept the resignation, but would give a coadjutor. The Right Reverend William Henry Elder, Bishop of Natchez, was appointed Coadjutor Bishop of Avara, and reached Cincinnati on March 3, 1880.⁹⁷

In the light of the revelations of the late world war it seems possible that it might have been the aim of some silent force to bring about the destruction of Archbishop Purcell's great influence. This conviction grows stronger as the documents are studied. He wielded a power granted to few; he reached an eminence in Church and State not attained by many. Future years and unpublished documents may dissipate the cloud and remove the words "financial failure."

⁹⁶ KELLY and KIRWIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-234.

⁹⁷ Archives Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio; Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese.

The last public act of Archbishop Purcell was to confer the degree Doctor of Sacred Theology on Father Callaghan, his secretary, in the Cathedral on February 8, 1879. The honor was conferred by the Pope in recognition of Father Callaghan's able elucidation of the Dogma of Infallibility, as published by him in the *Catholic Telegraph*.⁹⁸

The Archbishop died on July 4, 1883, mourned as only a beloved Father could be mourned. What a burden of sorrow he would have escaped had Pope Pius IX, in 1862, approved of his wish to retire to a monastery. The Pope's answer was: *Nemo salvabitur nisi perseveraverit*. He persevered to the end. The cloud which appeared at the sunset of his life had almost passed, leaving his memory and his works the more brilliant and attractive.

His Golden Jubilee as Bishop would have been celebrated three months later, on October 13, 1883.⁹⁹

His solemn obsequies in the Cathedral of Cincinnati were attended by archbishops and bishops from almost every diocese in the country. The sermon, powerful in its eloquence and touching in its tenderness, was delivered by the Bishop of Cleveland, the Right Reverend Richard Gilmour, D.D. The funeral train which had borne the Archbishop's body from St. Martin's returned with it to the little mound near the resting places of his mother and that brother whose whole-hearted trust of humankind had brought to both an insurmountable sorrow.

The impetus given to the Archdiocese of Cincinnati by its Patriarch, the Most Reverend John Baptist Purcell, D.D., of itself would have carried forward for many years the religious and intellectual activity, but fortunately Archbishop Elder, as Coadjutor and successor, kept before his mind the ideals of his predecessor, likewise his preceptor, and with his own devotion to the cause of virtue and learning kept the light of each burning brilliantly. He had for powerful allies many of his clergy, several of whom were called to wear the purple, notably the present Archbishop of Cincinnati, the Bishop of Nashville, and the late Bishop of Grand Rapids.

In the minds of people at a distance, the name of Archbishop

⁹⁸ Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese.

⁹⁹ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. xii, pp. 570-572; Archives Cincinnati Archdiocese.

Purcell may be associated with the so-called "Failure." Failure means death, but Archbishop Purcell lives today, in his episcopal city and province, and in the history of the Church in America. Like his Master whom he served for fourscore years, he walked about doing good and his works remain. *Si monumentum quaeris, circumspice.* What can be said of the material, may be affirmed still more strongly of the moral, intellectual, and spiritual. He created a diocese with a history and traditions unsurpassed in the Church of God.

SISTER MARY AGNES McCANN, PH.D.,
Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio.

MISCELLANY

II

LIST OF PRELATES PRESENT AT THE FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF
THE HIERARCHY, AT THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA,
WASHINGTON, D. C., SEPTEMBER 24 AND 25, 1919.

(Contributed by Rt. Rev. Owen B. Corrigan, D.D.)

His Eminence, James, Cardinal Gibbons, Abp. Baltimore.

His Eminence, William, Cardinal O'Connell, Abp. Boston.

THIRTEEN ARCHBISHOPS:

The Most Rev. Alexander Christie, Oregon City.

Jeremiah J. Harty, Omaha.

John J. Glennon, St. Louis.

Sebastian G. Messmer, Milwaukee.

Henry Moeller, Cincinnati.

James J. Keane, Dubuque.

Edward J. Hanna, San Francisco.

George W. Mundelein, Chicago.

John W. Shaw, New Orleans.

Dennis J. Dougherty, Philadelphia.

Austin Dowling, St. Paul.

Patrick J. Hayes, New York.

Albert A. Daeger, O. F. M., Santa Fe.

SEVENTY-EIGHT BISHOPS.

Province of Baltimore:

The Rt. Rev. Patrick J. Donahue, Wheeling.

John J. Monaghan, Wilmington.

Denis J. O'Connell, Richmond.

Michael J. Curley, St. Augustine.

William T. Russell, Charleston.

Leo Haid, V. Apost. of N. Carolina.

Owen B. Corrigan, Auxiliary of Baltimore.

Province of Boston:

The Rt. Rev. Thomas D. Beaven, Springfield.

Louis S. Walsh, Portland.

George A. Guertin, Manchester.

Daniel F. Feehan, Fall River.

Joseph J. Rice, Burlington.

John J. Nilan, Hartford.

Joseph G. Anderson, Auxiliary of Boston.

William A. Hickey, Coadjutor of Providence.

Province of Chicago:

The Rt. Rev. Peter J. Muldoon, Rockford.
 Edmund M. Dunne, Peoria.
 Henry Althoff, Belleville.

Province of Cincinnati:

The Rt. Rev. Herman Alerding, Ft. Wayne.
 James J. Hartley, Columbus.
 Joseph Chartrand, Indianapolis.
 Edward D. Kelly, Grand Rapids.
 Joseph Schrembs, Toledo.
 Michael J. Gallagher, Detroit.
 Ferdinand Brossart, Covington.

Province of Dubuque:

The Rt. Rev. Charles J. O'Reilly, Lincoln.
 James Davis, Davenport.
 Patrick A. McGovern, Cheyenne.
 James A. Duffy, Grand Island.
 Thomas W. Drumm, Des Moines.
 Edmond Heelan, Auxiliary of Sioux City.

Province of Milwaukee:

The Rt. Rev. James Schwebach, La Crosse.
 Frederick Eis, Marquette.
 Joseph M. Koudelka, Superior.
 Paul P. Rhode, Green Bay.

Province of New Orleans:

The Rt. Rev. Edward P. Allen, Mobile.
 Cornelius Van De Ven, Alexandria.
 John B. Morris, Little Rock.
 Joseph P. Lynch, Dallas.
 John E. Gunn, S. M., Natchez.
 Paul J. Nussbaum, C. P., Corpus Christi.
 Christopher E. Byrne, Galveston.
 Arthur J. Drossaerts, San Antonio.
 Jules B. Jeanmard, Lafayette.

Province of Philadelphia:

The Rt. Rev. Michael J. Hoban, Scranton.
 Eugene A. Garvey, Altoona.
 J. F. Regis Canevin, Pittsburgh.
 Philip R. McDevitt, Harrisburg.
 John J. McCort, Auxiliary of Philadelphia.¹
 John M. Gannon, Auxiliary of Erie.

¹ Now Coadjutor of Altoona.

Province of St. Louis:

The Rt. Rev. Maurice F. Burke, St. Joseph.
John J. Hennessy, Wichita.
Thomas F. Lillis, Kansas City.
John Ward, Leavenworth.

Province of New York:

The Rt. Rev. Charles E. McDonnell, Brooklyn.
John J. O'Connor, Newark.
Thomas F. Hickey, Rochester.
John Grimes, Syracuse.
Thomas J. Walsh, Trenton.
Edmund F. Gibbons, Albany.
William Turner, Buffalo.
Joseph H. Conroy, Auxiliary of Ogdensburg.

Province of Oregon City:

The Rt. Rev. Edward J. O'Dea, Seattle.
Mathias C. Lenihan, Great Falls.
John P. Carroll, Helena.
Joseph F. McGrath, Baker City.

Province of St. Paul:

The Rt. Rev. Joseph F. Busch, St. Cloud.
Patrick F. Heffron, Winona.
Jeremiah J. Lawler, Lead.
James O'Reilly, Fargo.
Vincent Wehrle, O. S. B., Bismarck.
John T. McNicholas, O. P., Duluth.

Province of San Francisco:

The Rt. Rev. Joseph S. Glass, C. M., Salt Lake.
John J. Cantwell, Los Angeles.

Province of Santa Fe:

The Rt. Rev. J. Henry Tihen, Denver.
Anthony J. Schuler, S. J., El Paso.

The Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, Rector of the Catholic University of America, Rt. Rev. William A. Jones, O. S. A., Porto Rico, and Right Rev. Joseph R. Crimont, V. Ap., Alaska.

The following were not present:

The Most Rev. John B. Pitaval, Titular, Abp. of Amida.
The Rt. Rev. Benjamin J. Keiley, Savannah.
Matthew Harkins, Providence.
Philip A. Garrigan, Sioux City.
Theophile Meerschaert, Oklahoma.
J. M. Laval, Auxiliary of New Orleans.

Henry Gabriels, Ogdensburg.
Augustin F. Schinner, Spokane.
Daniel M. Gorman, Boise.
John E. FitzMaurice, Erie.
John F. Cunningham, Concordia.
Thomas O'Gorman, Sioux Falls.
Timothy Corbett, Crookston.
Thomas Grace, Sacramento.
Henry Granjon, Tucson.
James Trobec, Titular Bp. of Lycopolis.
James Ryan, Alton.
Alexander J. McGavick, Auxiliary of Chicago.
Peter J. O'Reilly, Auxiliary of Peoria.
Thomas Byrne, Nashville.
John P. Farrelly, Cleveland.
Denis O'Donaghue, Louisville.

DOCUMENTS

THE APPOINTMENT OF FATHER JOHN CARROLL AS PREFECT- APOSTOLIC OF THE CHURCH IN THE NEW REPUBLIC

(1783-1785)

When the Revolutionary War broke out between the Thirteen Colonies and England in 1775, ecclesiastical intercourse between London and the Catholic clergy in the future republic came to an end. There is no record in Bishop Challoner's correspondence of any reference to the Church in America at this time.¹ From 1743, down to the beginning of the Revolution, Bishop Petre of the London District (1734-1758), and his coadjutor and successor, Bishop Challoner (1741-1781), used every available argument with the ecclesiastical authorities at Rome to rid themselves of the burden of ruling the Church "on the mainland and in the islands of North America," by creating a separate Vicariate-Apostolic in English America.² Bishop Challoner did not succeed in freeing himself of the unwelcome task of caring for the Catholics in the English colonies. The Holy See was not certain that the Catholics there could support their own Chief Shepherd, and the problem of erecting the colonial Church into a separate jurisdiction was further complicated by two factors: the evident antagonism on the part of the colonial Catholics to the appointment of a bishop over them (1765),³ and the suppression of the Jesuits in America (1773).⁴ It was not until a decade later, when Challoner's successor, Bishop James Talbot, refused to exercise jurisdiction in the matter of giving faculties to two American priests then in England (1783), that the Holy See decided to take action. So far as the English Catholic Church was concerned, there was no evidence of any interest on the part of the London Vicar-Apostolic to provide for the Catholic rebels of the new Republic of the United States. Bishop James Talbot appears but once

¹ Cf. *Bishop Challoner's American Jurisdiction* (1758-1781), in BURTON, *Life and Times of Bishop Challoner*, Vol. ii, pp. 123-148. London, 1909.

² The history of the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the English Colonies has not yet been told in a consecutive manner. There are some historical data in HUGHES, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, Text, Vol. ii, pp. 81-83, 85-87, 127, 133, 583. From 1634 (the foundation year of Maryland), down to 1696, the year of the special decree *Alias a particulari*, of Innocent XII, by which an attempt was made to bring harmony between the Jesuits and the Seculars, there is no evidence for the exercise of canonical rights over the Colonies by the ecclesiastical superiors of England. In 1715, it was admitted by the Maryland clergy that they were uncertain whether they were under London or Quebec. With but few exceptions, and those doubtful in their nature, the real assumption of jurisdiction by the London Vicar-Apostolic is synchronous with Challoner's attempt, in 1743, to rid the Church in England of the bothersome colonies. Cf. *The London Vicariate-Apostolic and the West Indies*, article by HUGHES, in the *Dublin Review*, Vol. cxxxiv, pp. 66-93.

³ Campbell (USCHS *Hist. Records and Studies*, Vol. i, pp. 251-276) treats this aspect of the question in his article: *The Beginnings of the American Hierarchy*; cf. BURTON, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 136-139. For the singular share given to the question of Confirmation in the correspondence between London and Rome at this time, cf. HUGHES *The Sacrament of Confirmation in the Old Colonies*, article in the *Ecclesiastical Review*, Vol. xxv, pp. 23-40.

⁴ SHERA, *Hist. of the Cath. Church in the United States*, vol. ii, p. 77 (facsimile of Challoner's order for the Suppression in America); for a facsimile of the Act of Submission, see HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, Vol. ii, p. 607.

in the correspondence of these two critical years in the life of the American Church (1783-1785), and then merely as the recipient of a letter from the Cardinal-Prefect of Propaganda, Antonelli, dated Rome, June 19, 1784, advising him that the Church in the United States was free and independent of English rule.⁶

The clergy and the faithful in the Colonies, however, were not acephalous during the war. When the suppression of the Society of Jesus was announced by Bishop Challoner in October, 1773, the acting Superior, Father John Lewis, Vicar-General of the London Vicar-Apostolic, continued to be recognized by the clergy—without exception, all ex-Jesuits—as their legitimate head. After Yorktown (1781), there could have been no question of appealing to Bishop James Talbot, brother of the Earl of Shrewsbury, for guidance; and once the final Treaty of Peace with Great Britain was signed on September 25, 1783, the line of cleavage was complete.

During this time, a General Chapter of the American clergy was called. Meetings were held at Whitemarsh in 1783-1784—from June 27, 1783, to October 11, 1784. A *Form of Government* in nineteen sections; *Rules for the Particular Government of the Clergy*, in six sections; and *Regulations respecting the Management of Plantations*, in eight sections, were passed with the approval of those present.⁶ The two principal questions before this Constitutional Assembly of the American clergy were: *the maintenance of ecclesiastical life and discipline*; and, *the preservation of ecclesiastical property*, which by this time had become considerable.

It is the first of these problems which interests us here.

Father Thomas Hughes, S.J., has written four large volumes, entitled *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal*, to explain the second.⁷

The Constitution adopted at the last meeting of this General Chapter (October 11, 1784), remained in force until 1805, when the Society of Jesus was partially restored in the United States. (The universal restoration of the Society in 1814, rendered further adherence to the *Rules* and *Regulations* to a great extent unnecessary). In the Proceedings of the Chapter, October 11, 1784, the following resolution was adopted:

That the Superior in spirituals from the receipt of his faculties be allowed the salary of 100-0-0 sterling per annum, together with a servant, and a chais and horse; that his salary continue until the next ensuing meeting of the Chapter, and then be subject to their further determinations.⁸

Before this Second General Chapter met (again at Whitemarsh) in 1786,

⁶ *Propaganda Documents* (cited as PD), pp. 35-36. These *Documents* (on the appointment of the first Bishop of Baltimore), appeared in the original French, Italian, and Latin, in the *American Historical Review*, for July, 1910, pp. 801-829. They were copied at Rome by Professor Carl Russell Fish, while he was engaged on his *Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and other Italian Archives* (Washington, 1911), and were translated into English and published by the late American Church historian, Rev. Edward I. Devitt, S.J., in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, Vol. xxi, pp. 185-236.

⁷ Hughes, *op. cit.*, Documents, Vol. ii, pp. 617-637.

⁸ New York (Longmans), 1908.

⁹ Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 631.

Father John Carroll had accepted the Prefectship-Apostolic of the Church in the United States. His nomination and acceptance form one of the most interesting pages in American Catholic history. The story has never been fully told, and it is impossible to tell it in a strictly chronological fashion, owing to several complicating factors which touch the main issue at certain points. Some of these factors were: Carroll's attitude toward the acceptance of a post of such importance "from a foreign State," to be held only "at the discretion of a foreign tribunal or congregation [Propaganda Fide]"; the expectation of the American clergy in the speedy restoration of the Society of Jesus; the intrigue at Paris—grouped around the Papal Nuncio, Archbishop Doria Pamphili, the American Minister, Benjamin Franklin, the French Prime Minister, Count de Vergennes, the notorious Talleyrand, then Bishop of Autun, and Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect of Propaganda Fide; and the position assumed by the American clergy at Whitemarsh toward the appointment of a bishop for the United States.

Father John Lewis, the last of the Jesuit Superiors of the Mission before the Suppression, continued to exercise a quasi-jurisdiction over the clergy from 1773, down to the first General Chapter in 1783. He can scarcely be said to have had juridic or canonical powers over his brother-priests. There was a sort of gentlemen's agreement that he should be their leader, but his title of Superior was rather an honorary one. The decade has not incorrectly been called by Hughes a period of inaction—"the ex-Jesuits merely stayed at their posts, discharging in a spiritless way their pastoral duties."⁹ The missions under their care were extensive, as can be seen from the maps published as appendixes to Hughes' *History*. Two Propaganda documents, published in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, give us an accurate account of the state of Catholicism during this period of inaction which corresponds with the Revolutionary War (1773-1783).¹⁰ The first is a *Relation* drawn up by Father John Mattingly, dated September 6, 1773, in which he tells us that the principal residence of the Society was Port Tobacco, in Charles County. The next in order of dignity was the residence at New Town, in St. Mary's County, which formed a sort of "Collegium," as in the early days of the Jesuit Mission in England. From New Town, the Fathers attended the various congregations within a radius of twenty miles, celebrating Holy Mass on Sundays and Holy-days of Obligation. Mattingly's *Relation* gives us a very fair picture of how thoroughly the missions were attended. The want of a bishop to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation was badly felt, but the antipathy of the non-conformist element in Maryland to the presence of an Anglican prelate made the appointment of a Catholic bishop a serious matter. In another hand, at the end of this document we are told that the Catholics in Maryland and Pennsylvania numbered at the time about twenty thousand. In Pennsylvania there was practically complete freedom of worship. It was somewhat restrained

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 608.

¹⁰ Vol. II, pp. 317-320. A list of the Jesuit Superiors from 1634 to 1773, will be found in FOLLEY, *Records, etc.* (*Collectanea*, part I), pp. 73-74. A biographical list of all the Jesuits who labored in the American Mission is in HUOTER, *op. cit.*, Text, Vol. II, pp. 676-704 (Appendix F).

in Maryland.¹¹ The second of these documents, from the same volume of the Propaganda Archives, is apparently of a later date than Father Mattingly's *Relation*. It purports to give a complete *Catalogue of the Jesuit Missions in the United States*. The number of priests was twenty-six at the time. There were twenty-five Scholastics, ten Novices, twenty-five Lay Brothers, and nine Lay Novices—making a total of ninety-five members in the Society. The various missions are given with the approximate distances between the residences of the priests.

Father John Lewis made no attempt to create a central organization for the Church in these scattered missions; and in a letter, dated Maryland, February 20, 1782, from Father John Carroll to his friend, Father Charles Plowden, who was to preach at his consecration at Lulworth Castle, eight years later, we learn that all were not satisfied with the rather loose ecclesiastical system which prevailed at this time:

The clergymen here continue to live in the old form. It is the effect of habit, and if they could promise themselves immortality, it would be well enough. But I regret that indolence prevents any form of administration being adopted, which might tend to secure to posterity a succession of Catholick clergymen, and secure to them a comfortable subsistence. I said, that the former system of administration (that is, everything being in the power of a Superior) continued. But all those checks upon him, so wisely provided by former constitutions, are at an end. It is happy that the present Superior [Father John Lewis] is a person free from every selfish view and ambition. But his successor may not [be] . . . Ignorance, indolence, delusion (you remember certain prophecies of re-establishment), and above all the irresolution of Mr. Lewis, puts a stop to every proceeding in this matter.¹²

Father Carroll at this time had no official position in the American Church. We find him, however, during this same year, 1782, drawing up a *Plan of Organisation* for the clergy.¹³ It can be presumed that copies of this were distributed among his fellow priests, for the Chapter of 1783-1784, followed out the main lines of his proposals. The *Plan* is divided into seven paragraphs. Tentative suggestions are given for the maintenance and careful administration of the estates, but nowhere does Carroll imply the necessity of centering the spiritual guidance of the Church under one head. He was preoccupied, as most of his fellow-priests of that day were, with the preservation of the Society's property. "The obligations of justice to the benefactors, who took up or left these estates for pious uses; the sort of consecration which estates from such a destination acquire; the duty of charity to the present and future generations"—these are the motives, and worthy ones, too, for this preoccupation. Rumors were abroad at the time that those who had succeeded in destroying the Society in Europe had designs also upon the temporal possessions of the Jesuits; and Carroll speaks rather emphatically on the question of interference in this regard. Their brethren in England, he said,

¹¹ "I cattolici delle due provincie di Marilandia e Pensilvania saranno circa ventimila. L'esercizio della religione nella prima è libero; nella seconda è totalmente libero."

¹² HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, Vol. ii, p. 609.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 609-614.

had "rightly distinguished between the spiritual power derived from the bishop, and which must be left in the hands to which he has intrusted it; and the common rights of the missionaries to their temporal possessions, to which as the bishop, or Pope himself, have no just claim, so neither can they invest any person or persons with the administration of them."

Carroll's views on foreign interference in temporal matters must be kept in mind when we come to examine his attitude toward the Congregation of Propaganda Fide the following year. In a letter to Father Charles Plowden, dated September 26, 1783, there are several statements which have a bearing on this aspect of the problem under consideration in these pages. He writes for instance, during the time the Chapter was in session:

Our gentlemen continue, as when last I wrote. We are endeavoring to establish some regulations tending to perpetuate a succession of labourers in this vineyard, to preserve their morals, to prevent idleness, and to secure an equitable and frugal administration of our temporals. . . . Your information of the intention of Propaganda gives me concern no farther than to hear that men, whose institution was for the service of Religion, should bend their thoughts so much more to the grasping of power, and the commanding of wealth. For they may be assured that they will never get possession of a sixpence of our property here; and, if any of our friends could be weak enough to deliver any real estate into their hands, or attempt to subject it to their authority, our civil government would be called upon to wrest it again out of their dominion. A foreign temporal jurisdiction will never be tolerated here; and even the spiritual supremacy of the Pope is the only reason, why in some of the United States the full participation of all civil rights is not granted to the Roman Catholics. They may therefore send their agents when they please; they will certainly return empty-handed.¹⁴

The following April, 1784, in a letter to the same correspondent, Father Carroll uses language not dissimilar in spirit; this time, however, it is the spiritual jurisdiction of the Congregation which is in question:

But this you may be assured of; that no authority derived from the Propaganda will ever be admitted here; that the Catholic Clergy and Laity here know that the only connexion they ought to have with Rome is to acknowledge the Pope as Spiritual head of the Church, that no Congregations existing in his States shall be allowed to exercise any share of his Spiritual authority here; that no Bishop Vicar-Apostolical shall be admitted, and, if we are to have a Bishop, he shall not be in partibus (a refined political Roman Contrivance), but an ordinary national Bishop, in whose appointment Rome shall have no share; so that we are very easy about their machinations. Our Brethren have, in a meeting held last October, settled or nearly settled a plan of internal government, which will meet with your approbation, being founded on Christian and rational principles, etc.¹⁵

It is difficult to say what was the precise cause of the first general Chapter of the clergy, but if one may judge from the material at hand, it was rather the fear of losing hold on the property which had been amassed since 1634,

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 615-616.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 619-620.

than the realization of their singular canonical situation. The Delegates of the three Districts met at Whitemarsh on November 6, 1783. These were Father John Lewis for the *Northern District* (Pennsylvania and the Eastern Shore of Maryland), Fathers John Carroll and Bernard Diderick for the *Middle District* (the Western Shore of Maryland, except St. Mary's and Charles Counties), and Fathers Ignatius Matthews and James Walton for the *Southern District* (St. Mary's and Charles Counties, with Virginia). A committee was appointed, consisting of these five Delegates, for the purpose of preparing a Petition to the Holy See, asking that Father John Lewis be formally constituted Superior of the Church in the New Republic, with certain episcopal privileges—administering the Sacrament of Confirmation, blessing chalices, and delegating priests for the missions. This Petition gives us a clear idea of the attitude of the clergy toward the problem of a hierarchy of jurisdiction in the American Church. It runs as follows:

Most Holy Father:

We, John Lewis, Bernard Diderick, Ignatius Matthews, James Walton, and John Carroll, missionary priests, residing in the Thirteen United States of North America, assembled together from the neighboring stations to take counsel for the good of the missions, our fellow-priests residing in the more remote parts of this mission agreeing herein and approving by letter, in our name and in the common name of our brethren, with all respect represent to your Holiness, that we, placed under the recent supreme dominion of the United America, can no longer have recourse, as formerly, for necessary spiritual jurisdiction to the Bishops and Vicars-Apostolic residing in different and foreign States (for this has very frequently been intimated to us in very positive terms by the rulers of this Republic), nor recognize any one of them as our ecclesiastical Superior, without open offense of this supreme civil magistracy and political government. Wherefore we, placed in this difficult position have recourse to your Holiness, humbly beseeching you to vouchsafe to confirm anew the ecclesiastical Superior whom we now have, namely, John Lewis, a priest already approved and confirmed by the Vicar-Apostolic of London, to whom this whole mission was subject before the change of political government, and to delegate to him the power of granting the necessary faculties to priests coming into these missions, as it shall seem expedient; that said Superior may delegate this power to at least one or more of the most suitable missionaries as the necessity and distance of time and place may require.

Moreover, as there is no bishop in these regions, who can bless the holy oils, of which we were deprived for several years during the confusion of the war, no one to bless the chalices and altar stones needed, no one to administer the sacrament of confirmation, we humbly beseech your Holiness to empower the said John Lewis, priest, Superior, to perform these things in the present necessity, and until otherwise provided for this mission by your Holiness, that our faithful, living in many dangers, may be no longer deprived of the Sacrament of Confirmation nor die without Extreme Unction according to the rite of the Church.

Moreover, we also pray your Holiness to bestow on this mission the indulgences of the Jubilee, and to extend to the missionaries the ample faculties which may seem seasonable in these vast and remote regions racked by a long bitter war, where on account of the constant military movements, neither the

Jubilee on the exaltation of your Holiness to the See of Peter, nor the Jubilee of the year 1775, could be promulgated, much less celebrated or enjoyed.

This, Most Holy Father, is what the aforesaid petitioners, missionary priests in these regions of United North America, humbly solicit from your Holiness' supreme wisdom and providence for the good of the Catholic Religion.¹⁶

Shea says that this Petition was forwarded through Cardinal Borromeo. Evidently it was presented to Pius VI, as it is still among the Propaganda Archives (*America Centrale*).¹⁷ When its contents became known to the rest of the American clergy, it was feared by some that it was not sufficiently respectful in tone, and accordingly another Committee, of which John Carroll was a member, was appointed to draft a second Petition. This second request for a Superior contained the modification that they be permitted to elect their own Superior; it declared also that the United States Government would not permit the presence of a Bishop in the country. Father Carroll was instructed to send this second Petition to the Holy Father through a friend at Rome. Accompanying the Petition was a long letter from Carroll instructing his friend on the mind of the American clergy toward the establishment of a hierarchy in the United States. The Revolution, he says, had rendered any exercise of spiritual jurisdiction on the part of the London Vicar-Apostolic impossible and even injurious to the welfare of the Church. It was their duty to preserve and improve the "free toleration" allowed to all Christians in the United States, "by demeaning ourselves on all occasions as subjects zealously attached to our Government and by avoiding to give any jealousies on account of any dependence on foreign jurisdiction more than that which is essential to our religion—an acknowledgment of the Pope's spiritual supremacy over the whole Christian world."¹⁸ Father Carroll's views on the question of an American hierarchy were always guided by this distinction. He could see no other way of meeting fairly and honestly the American attitude toward "foreign jurisdiction," except by the appointment of a Bishop Ordinary, with his See in the United States. He instructs his correspondent, therefore, that the Superior asked for in the Petition, should have episcopal powers. This second Petition arrived too late in Rome to have any appreciable effect upon the action of the Holy See in organizing the American Church. The factor which actually hastened the final arrangement, namely, Carroll's nomination to the Prefecture-Apostolic, was an intrigue at Paris for what Shea not unjustly calls the enslavement of the Catholics in this country.¹⁹

At the time when the clergy of the new Republic were holding their meetings at Whitmarsh for the purpose of reorganizing Church government under one of themselves as Superior, who would be subject directly to the Holy See, an interesting and significant series of negotiations were being carried on in Europe, and in particular at Paris, the object of which was to place the nascent American Church under French control. France had proven herself a noble

¹⁶ SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 209-211.

¹⁷ *Propaganda Archives, America Centrale*, Vol. 2, No. 8

¹⁸ SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 211.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 213, note.

ally during the Revolution. In December, 1776, an American mission at Paris, presided over by Benjamin Franklin, had formally asked the assistance of the French government in the great struggle for independence. That the policy of France was to take advantage of England's conflict with the American colonies was understood by all at that time. France was still smarting under the defeat she sustained in the Seven Years' War and she was recognized as the chief sufferer among the continental nations which had been humiliated by England. America's independence would be a great check upon the arrogance of the British navy. The Secretary of Foreign Affairs in France at that time, the Count de Vergennes, was not only in favor of immediate intervention in favor of the rebelling colonists, but was also a warm personal friend of Franklin.²⁰ Burgoyne's surrender, or, as it was called, to spare the English General's feelings, the "convention between Lieutenant-General Burgoyne and Major-General Gates," on October 17, 1777, marked the turning point in the war. From that date down to the victory at Yorktown the Revolution became an international affair. The news reached Paris in December, 1777, and its immediate effect was to hasten the Alliance with France. This was signed on January 17, 1778. Soldiers, money, warships, and supplies were to be furnished to the struggling colonists. Ultimate victory for the Americans was now a certainty. Franklin, in his house at Passy, a suburb of Paris, gathered around him the best men of the French capital, and it was through his shrewdness and statesmanship that the Alliance was kept in vigorous activity until the end of the war. It must be remembered that France was a great Catholic country at this time.²¹ The King, Louis XVI, mediocre as he was in statesmanship, was a most Christian King in more than name, and there is no doubt that every aspect of the future of the new nation then coming into existence was discussed between him and his ministers. The French Alliance was denounced by the loyalists in America as "a horror and an infamy worse than the Declaration of Independence. That Protestant colonists should ally themselves with the great Roman Catholic monarchy, the ancient enemy of the Anglo-Saxon race, and ally themselves for the purpose of making war upon their own faithful and loving mother, England, was a depth of degradation to which, they declared, they had thought it impossible for Americans to descend. They saw in it nothing but ruin, and the Romanizing of America under despotic government. For the rest of the war, and even for some time afterwards, loyalist newspapers and writers never wearied of describing the details of this ruin which they saw so clearly appearing. They were sure that parts of America had been ceded to France by secret clauses in the treaty or would be demanded at the end of the war, and at times they named the particular states. French vessels were on their way to America laden with tons of holy water, casks of consecrated oil, chests of beads, crucifixes, consecrated wafers, mass books, and bales of indulgences, besides the wheels, hooks and pincers of the Inquisition."²²

²⁰ FISHER, *The Struggle for American Independence*, Vol. ii, pp. 113-115. Phila., 1908.

²¹ Cf. *The French Clergy's Gift to America*, in the *Catholic Mind*, Vol. xviii, No. 8 (April, 1920).

²² FISHER, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 120; cf. VAN TYN, *Loyalists in America*, pp. 132-136, for an excellent summary of the loyalist point of view.

This lingering spirit of anti-Catholic bias was only too familiar to the Catholics resident in the English colonies. From the foundation of Jamestown in 1607, that spirit was ever vigilant. The colonial charters were incomplete without their laws for the "regulation of Popery." The Catholics of Maryland and Pennsylvania, where the great majority of them lived, were in reality during the Revolution breathing the air of freedom for the first time since 1689.³² All the iniquitous regulations to hinder Catholic freedom of conscience which stand so accusingly upon the Statute Books of England were used in the colonies by colonial agents to stifle Catholic life. The series of colonial laws—Anti-Jesuit, Anti-Papist and otherwise—were more than mere echoes of British bigotry; they were living weapons for murdering the souls of those whose fathers had fled to America for conscience' sake.

The general impression the reader takes from the documents presented to him in such volumes as those of Father Hughes, is that the Catholics of the colonies, while under British rule, had endeavored to avoid, as far as possible, all open conflict with the bigoted anti-Catholic law of those days. There was more than the mere opinion that a bishop was not necessary in 1765, which induced the 256 Catholic laymen of Maryland to send their letter of protest to Father Dennet, the English Jesuit Provincial, for the war against France, the French and Indian War of the Colonies (1755–1763), had stirred up violent antagonism to all things Catholic. The Catholics of Maryland were openly accused of sympathizing with the French, on account of their faith, and they had been so bitterly oppressed from 1689 onwards that more than one project of migration was discussed at this time.³³ The West Indies seemed a likely refuge in 1727; but later on, during the violent anti-Catholic agitation in Maryland (1750–1760), Charles Carroll and other Catholics of means and prominence were contemplating a migration to French Louisiana. Charles Carroll, while on a visit to his son, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, then a student in France (1756), presented a petition to the French government asking for a grant of land on the Arkansas River.³⁴ The plan did not succeed; but the two projects—one toward the West Indies, the other toward French Louisiana—show that these English subjects thought any country and government preferable to the intolerance of English rule. In spite of the fact that they were "almost reduced to the level with our negroes, not having the privilege of voting for persons to represent us in the Assembly," as the Catholic petition to Governor Sharpe of Maryland read in 1757,³⁵ the Catholics of Maryland and elsewhere were among the first to rally to the cause of the Revolution.³⁷ That their sympathies were with France as against England no one can doubt. All the priests in the Maryland-Pennsylvania Mission had been educated in France, or Belgium, in Colleges which had been set up as a protest to the

³² HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Text, Vol. II, pp. 154–205.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 490 *seq.*

³⁴ A third plan is mentioned by HUGHES, *ibid.*, p. 547.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 546.

³⁷ GRAYSON, *Catholics in the American Revolution*, 3 vols., Phila., 1907; RILEY, *The National Debt that American Protestants owe to their Brethren of the Roman Catholic Church*. Annapolis, 1914; O'BRIEN, *A Hidden Phase of American History*. New York, 1919.

prevailing English bigotry of the day.²⁸ Some of these Colleges, like St. Omer's, had been subsidized by the French King. But this sympathy with things French, which was based upon their educational days in Europe and which was strengthened by the short-sighted penal legislation of the colonies, never dulled the spirit of independence possessed by the clergy and the laity in those days. No group of colonists had less reason for being enthusiastic over the Revolution than the Catholics. The colonial attitude over the Quebec Act (1774), was sufficient to chill Catholic interest in the coming Revolution. But larger interests prevailed, and the pages of American history present the rather significant situation of one Church, persecuted from the very beginning of English colonization, throwing all its efforts into the cause of liberty, and in some cases, like that of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, then the richest private gentleman in the colonies, its wealth as well, and another Church, which had waxed fat and rich on the spoils of ecclesiastical graft and other unworthy measures, holding out to the bitter end against American independence.

It is difficult not to enter upon the story of the effort made in France at this time (1783-1784), to give an organized hierarchy to the Church in the new Republic, without considerable suspicion of all concerned. The leading fact to be kept in mind, however, for a cautious judgment on the whole episode is Franklin's prompt acquiescence in the appointment of John Carroll once the latter's name was seriously considered. The whole episode can be very easily followed in the diplomatic and ecclesiastical correspondence which we have already spoken of as the *Propaganda Documents*.²⁹

In the *Instruction*³⁰ sent by the Congregation of Propaganda Fide to Prince Doria Panphili, Archbishop of Seleucia, and Apostolic Nuncio at Paris, dated January 15, 1783, the Nuncio is reminded that the occasion of the general peace which was to be concluded among the nations of Europe was an important one for the future of the Church in the new Republic across the seas. He is informed that up to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, all the possessions of England on the continent, or on the islands, of America were under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic of London. "The approaching declaration of the independence of all those provinces," he is informed, "will destroy the bonds of their political and civil subordination to the British government; it will thereby destroy all bonds in religious matters, and, therefore, the Vicar-Apostolic of London will be deprived of the influence and direction he has exercised until now in the religious affairs of those provinces."³¹ The Nuncio should, therefore, exert his own power with the court of France, to the end that, through the influence which the King has with the leaders of the American Congress, he may obtain the insertion of an article in the

²⁸ GUILDAY, *English Catholic Refugees on the Continent (1558-1795)*, Vol. I, pp. 141, 154, 229, 275, 280, London, 1914; DEVITT, *Bohemia*, in the *ACHS Records*, Vol. xxiii, pp. 97-139; cf. HUGHES, *Educational Convoys to Europe in the Olden Times*, in the *Ecclesiastical Review*, Vol. xxix, pp. 24-39.

²⁹ See note 5.

³⁰ For the diplomatic and historical value of these Instructions, cf. CAUCHET-MAREZ, *Recueil des Instructions Générales aux Nonces de Flandre*, pp. iii-ix. Brussels, 1914.

³¹ PD, p. 4.

Treaty of Peace "concerning the free exercise and the maintenance of the Catholic religion." His Most Christian Majesty, Louis XVI, was to be approached on the question of assuming the *patronatus* of the Church in the new Republic. A plan for establishing new missions and for sending missionaries to the new Republic was to be discussed, if the opportunity offered itself. A most desirable method of organizing the Church in the United States "would be to establish in one of the principal cities a Vicar-Apostolic, with episcopal character, chosen from among the subjects of the new Republic, who should receive from the Holy See powers for the spiritual government of the Catholics of all those regions, and who, thereafter, should receive the charge of establishing various missionary stations, more or less numerous, according to the requirements of each province."³³ A Bishop Vicar-Apostolic was proposed by the Holy See, not only because he would be able to guide the Church and confer on the Catholics all they needed to render their spiritual life complete, but also because "national jealousy could thus be obviated, by not constraining these new republicans to receive those sacraments [Confirmation and Holy Orders] from foreign bishops."³⁴ The Holy See recognized that the members of the American Congress might not be willing to allow a Catholic bishop to enter the United States; if such should prove to be the case, a native American might be appointed Prefect, with the title of Vicar-Apostolic, enjoying episcopal power, except for the administration of Holy Orders. The rule is laid down in this *Instruction* to the Nuncio that if a native American should be available for this important post, he should be preferred, whether for the simple Prefecture or for the Vicariate-Apostolic. If an available American should not be found, then Congress should be asked to allow a foreigner to be appointed. It would appear also from the text of the *Instruction* that Congress was to be given the privilege of stating whether the choice was acceptable or not. The maintenance of the new ecclesiastical head in the United States should also be discussed, and in case no help be proffered, the Congregation of Propaganda Fide would be ready to assign an allowance to the new Bishop, to the Prefect, or the Vicar-Apostolic. The Holy See no doubt hoped that if the missionaries who would go to America were Frenchmen, the King would assist them "from his royal and liberal munificence."

Less than a month later, on February 10, 1783, Doria Pamphili replied to Cardinal Antonelli that he had transmitted His Eminence's wishes to the Prime Minister, Count de Vergennes,³⁵ at a conference held on Tuesday of the preceding week. Article VIII of the peace preliminaries (signed on November 30, 1782), between England and America, had secured religious

³³ PD, p. 5.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Charles Gravier Vergennes, Prime Minister of France, born at Dijon in 1717, died at Paris, 1787. Entered the diplomatic service under Chavigny, French ambassador at Lisbon. Appointed in 1750, Minister to Elector of Treves. Six years later, became Ambassador at Constantinople. Recalled in 1768, was later (1771) appointed to Stockholm. Louis XVI gave him the post of Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and it was in this capacity that he concluded the Franco-American alliance on January 26, 1778. Had he lived, he might have prevented the French Revolution.

peace to the new Republic. The Prime Minister saw no difficulty in establishing a Vicariate-Apostolic in America, with an American having episcopal power, and the Nuncio begged him to inform Mr. Franklin, the minister plenipotentiary of the new Republic, that he desired to treat with him on this important matter. The main object of France in the war was American Independence, and while John Jay and John Adams, two of the American commissioners, were very suspicious of the intentions of France, Franklin never lost the fullest confidence in our ally. France had been forced to give up so much for the hard-won independence of the new Republic that it is not surprising to find Franklin willing, probably anxious, partially to recompense France by allowing the government to have control over the Church in the United States.

Cardinal Antonelli replied on March 19, 1783, telling the Nuncio what a great consolation his letter of February 10, had been to all in Rome. He is especially cheered by the hope that Catholic missionaries will be tolerated in the United States and that a native Vicar-Apostolic will be permitted to reside in the new Republic. Six months were to pass before the Nuncio was able to report on the results of his promised interview with Mr. Franklin. On September 1, 1783, two days before the definitive Treaty of Peace was signed, Doria Pamphili wrote to the Cardinal, telling him that he was transmitting a *dossier* of three papers, marked A, B, and C, respectively, relating to the organization of the Church in the United States, and giving to the Prefect a complete account of the negotiations entered into up to that date:

I have the honor of transmitting to Your Eminence, herewith, three papers marked A, B, and C, respectively, and relating to the establishment of apostolic missions in the new republic of the United States of North America, which matter was committed to me. The first is a copy of a note or memorandum, that I sent to Mr. Franklin, minister plenipotentiary of the new republic, the second and third are copies of a note of Mr. Franklin and of some observations made by him on the subject of my note just mentioned. In order to take time to send a categorical reply to Mr. Franklin, I merely acknowledged the receipt of these papers, in which your Eminence will find Mr. Franklin to be of opinion that our court, or, in other words, the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, will be free to take all measures that may be useful to the Catholics of America, without infringing the constitutions, and that the congress will not fail tacitly to approve the choice that the Sacred Congregation may make, in concert with the minister plenipotentiary of the United States of a French ecclesiastic, who, residing in France, may regulate the affairs of Catholics in America, through a suffragan there. In this connection, I am of the opinion that, rather than a French ecclesiastic, the apostolic nuncio for the time being in France, in concert with that Sacred Congregation, might, himself, invest an ecclesiastic with the character of bishop, of prefect, or of vicar-apostolic for the government in question. There being in America, as Mr. Franklin says in his note C, no college or establishment in which a Catholic ecclesiastic may receive the instruction that it is necessary for him to have, nor the hope of a public appropriation for such a purpose, Your Eminence will recognize that recourse must be had to other means in this connection, and that those suggested by Mr. Franklin in his note C, concerning the four establishments

of English Religious that exist in France, could not, and should not, be proposed, much less, accepted. The last paragraph of that note deserves all attention, tending as it does, to the attainment of desirable ends. I have thought it well to give information of the contents of these papers to the Count of Vergennes, a true statesman, full of zeal and attachment for our holy Catholic religion; and as I begged of him to facilitate the means of establishing a college in France for the education of as many priests as may be necessary for the spiritual welfare of the Roman Catholics who now are, or may come to be, in the States of the new republic, the royal minister, assuring me that he will give all the assistance that it may be in his power to lend in that connection, suggested that I speak to Monseigneur the bishop of Autun, minister of ecclesiastical benefices of this realm, in order that he, by his lights, and by his good offices, may assist in the establishment of the proposed college, at St. Malo, Nantes, L'Orient, or any other city of France, near the coast, it being necessary, however, first to obtain the requisite funds, and to know, approximately, the number of priests that the Roman Catholics of the United States may need, and whether there be in that country, individuals inclined to undertake the studies and to adopt the ecclesiastical state. Accordingly, I had an interview with Monseigneur the bishop of Autun, on Wednesday, and we agreed to confer together, on Saturday of last week, with the Count of Vergennes. To this end, on the day appointed, I went to Versailles, and the Count of Vergennes, as well as the above-named prelate, showed himself to be desirous of obtaining the funds necessary for so important an end. While this matter is being thought over, I trust that your Eminence will give me what information you have in regard to the mission of North America, and will obtain further information from the prelate who is in charge of that mission, requesting him to give the number of priests that are in those states, and the number of them that may be needed there. In quest of this information, after receiving the answer of Your Eminence, I will endeavor to obtain that the Count of Vergennes write to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, who has been minister plenipotentiary of the Most Christian King to the United States of North America for the last three years, and who is much esteemed and loved there. On the other hand, Your Eminence will deign to inform neither the ecclesiastic just mentioned nor any one else, with the exception of the Holy Father, of my negotiations with the Count of Vergennes and with Monseigneur the bishop of Autun, since it is question, as yet, of a mere project, of which it would not be well to speak before it be realized, or developed sufficiently not to be frustrated by any one who may regard the proposed establishment unfavorably. Ready ever to comply with the revered commands of Your Eminence, I subscribe myself, with all homage,

*Of Your Eminence,
the Very Humble, Devoted, and Grateful Servant,
G. ARCHBISHOP OF SELEUCIA.*

*Paris, September 1st, 1783.*²⁵

The first note (NOTE A) is a copy of a memorandum which the Nuncio had sent to Mr. Franklin on July 28, 1783, requesting him to transmit the same to the American Congress and to support it with his influence:

²⁵ PD, pp. 8-11.

Note A

Before the revolution that has just been consummated in North America, the Catholics and the missionaries of those provinces were in spiritual dependence upon the Vicar-Apostolic residing at London. It is obvious that this arrangement can not be continued; but, as it is essential that the Catholic subjects of the United States have an ecclesiastic to govern them in what concerns their religion, the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, which exists at Rome with a view to the establishment and preservation of the missions, has determined to propose to the Congress the installation of one of their Catholic subjects, in some city of the United States of North America, with the powers of Vicar-Apostolic and with the character of Bishop, or simply as Prefect-Apostolic. The establishment of a Bishop Vicar-Apostolic seems to be preferable, all the more, since this would enable the Catholic subjects of the United States to receive confirmation and Holy Orders in their own country, instead of being obliged to go to foreign countries to receive those Sacraments; and as it might happen, at times, that no one be found among the subjects of the United States qualified to be entrusted with the spiritual government, whether as Bishop or as Prefect-Apostolic, it would be necessary in such cases that Congress be pleased to consent that the choice be made among the Bishops of a foreign nation, the most friendly to the United States. ²⁸

Shea tells us that the Nuncio transmitted also to the French Minister in the United States, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, a similar letter addressed to the Senior Catholic Missionary in the United States. Note B is a résumé of Franklin's reply to the Nuncio. The American Minister, after mature reflection on the matter contained in the Nuncio's letter of July 28, decided that "it would be absolutely useless to send it to Congress, which, according to its power and constitution, cannot and should not in any case intervene in the ecclesiastical affairs of any sect or religion established in America." Mr. Franklin was of the opinion that the Holy See was entirely free in taking whatever measures which might be useful to the Catholics of America, without infringing the Constitution, and that Congress would not fail to give a tacit approval to the choice made by the Sacred Congregation. But, as the Note goes on to say, it was understood that the choice in question would be "of a French ecclesiastic; who, residing in France, may regulate the spiritual affairs of the Catholics who live, or who may come to establish themselves, in those states, through a suffragan residing in America."

Note B

Observations on the Note of M. the Apostolic Nuncio.

Mr. Franklin, after reading the note of M. the Nuncio and reflecting upon it maturely, believes that it would be absolutely useless to send it to the Congress, which according to its power and constitution cannot, and should not, in any case, intervene in the ecclesiastical affairs of any sect or of any religion established in America. Each particular state has reserved to itself by its own constitution the right to protect its members, to tolerate their religious opinions and not to interfere with the matter, as long as they do not disturb civil order.

²⁸ PD, p. 11.

Mr. Franklin is therefore of opinion that the Court of Rome may take, of its own initiative, all the measures that may be useful to the Catholics of America, without disregard to the constitutions and that Congress will not fail to give its tacit approval to the choice that the Court of Rome in concert with the minister of the United States may make of a French Ecclesiastic who, residing in France, may regulate the spiritual affairs of the Catholics who may live or who may come to establish themselves in those states through a suffragan residing in America.

Besides many political reasons that may make that arrangement desirable, the Apostolic Nuncio must find in it many others that may be favorable to the intentions of the Court of Rome.²⁷

A third NOTE (C) contained a most surprising suggestion. The Cardinal Prefect had laid stress on the necessity of maintenance for the Vicar-Apostolic of the new Republic, and Franklin suggests to the Nuncio that, since there is in America no college or establishment where a Catholic ecclesiastic might receive the necessary preparation, the four monasteries of the English Benedictine monks, the annual revenues of which amounted to almost 60,000 livres, might be used for this purpose. "It is possible," so runs NOTE C, "that the King of France, to please the Court of Rome and to strengthen the bonds of friendship with the United States, would permit these establishments to train, instruct, and in part support the ecclesiastics who would be used in America."

Note C on American Catholics

The American revolution, by separating the interest of the colonies from those of the mother country changes the relations that bound the Catholics of America with those who live on the English dominion. The unity of the present governments seems to require that those bonds be diminished and weakened by taking from the British ministry all influence over the subjects of the United States.

In the greater number of the colonies, there is no endowment, no fixed revenue, for the support of a clergy of whatever denomination; legislation, viewing this subject from the standpoint of a more general freedom, has been unwilling to make a public charge of a tax that should be only voluntary and private. Neither is there a college or public establishment where a Catholic ecclesiastic may receive necessary instruction. These are two equally essential points to be considered.

There are in France four establishments of English monks, the total revenues of which may amount to 50,000 or 60,000 livres. These monks are few. The want of subjects makes those who remain useless at least.

It is possible that the King of France, to please the Court of Rome, and to strengthen the bonds of friendship with the United States, would permit these establishments to train, instruct and in part support the ecclesiastics who would be used in America.

It would be expedient that one of the Bishops named by the Holy See should be a subject of the king, residing in France, in a position, always, to act in accordance with the Nuncio of His Holiness and the American minister, and to adopt with them the means of training the ecclesiastics, which might be agreeable to Congress and useful to American Catholics.²⁸

²⁷ PD, p. 12.

²⁸ PD, pp. 12-13.

From these three memoranda it is clear that a definite policy regarding the American Church had been decided upon between March and September, 1783. Cardinal Antonelli's concession that a foreigner might be chosen as head of the American Church was evidently being made capital of in Paris, and whoever originated the scheme, found in Franklin a willing tool in the project of subjecting his Catholic fellow-citizens to a foreign superior, nominated by French influence and residing in France. The Nuncio was not favorably disposed toward the suggestion that the property of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation be confiscated for the purpose of educating priests for the American Mission.²⁹ Vergennes also saw the injustice of Franklin's proposal and intimated to the Nuncio that Talleyrand would be the proper official to consult in this aspect of the affair. By September, 1783, therefore, the French scheme was fully developed. Besides a French Vicar-Apostolic for the United States, with episcopal character, who would rule the Church here through a suffragan or Vicar-General, an American Seminary was to be erected in one of the seacoast towns of France, supported by the revenues of the English monastic establishments in France which were to be confiscated for this purpose. How much money would be necessary for the project would depend upon the number of priests needed in the United States. The Nuncio called on Talleyrand and a conference was agreed upon between Doria Pamphili, Talleyrand, and Vergennes at Versailles. The Prime Minister and the Bishop of Autun both showed themselves desirous of carrying out the American Seminary idea. Accordingly, the Nuncio was directed to ask at Rome for further information on the American mission, namely, the number of priests already in the states, and the number that was still needed for the Church there. The Nuncio intended also, he tells Antonelli, to ask Vergennes to inquire from de la Luzerne, then French Minister at New York, "and who is much esteemed and loved there," for information on these two points.

As we have seen, the American clergy, although ignorant up to this time of the intrigue, had already begun to create their own organization during the peace year (1783-1784). The Whitmarsh meeting of the clergy on June 27, 1783, had decided upon a Chapter Form of Government. Father John Lewis, the Vicar-General of the London Vicar-Apostolic up to the outbreak of the war, was the acknowledged head of the Church in the United States down to the General Chapter of the American Clergy, on November 6, 1783, when his nomination as Superior for the whole Mission was sent to Rome. News of the proceedings of the June meeting had no doubt been reported to the Nuncio, for his letter of September 1, 1783, as has been seen above, contains a rather emphatic suggestion that silence on the whole plan should be kept: "On the other hand, Your Eminence will deign to inform neither the ecclesiastic just mentioned [the Superior of the Mission in the United States] nor anyone else, with the exception of the Holy Father, of my negotiations with the Count de Vergennes, and with Monseigneur the Bishop of Autun, since it is question, as yet, of a mere project, of which it would not be well to speak before it be

²⁹ Cf. TAUNTON, *The English Black Monks*, Vol. II, chapters xvii-xix, London, 1897.

realized, or developed sufficiently not to be frustrated by anyone who may regard the proposed establishment unfavorably."

There were, indeed, several quarters from which opposition might legitimately be expected. The English Benedictines in France had dwindled to a mere shadow of their former greatness, St. Edmund's Monastery, in Paris, for example, being reduced to such a state that during the latter half of the eighteenth century "it was seriously considered whether it would not be as well to disband the house altogether."⁴⁰ All the English religious houses in France were indeed to be swept away in the whirlwind of the French Revolution ten years later, their sequestration taking place on February 18, 1793, a few days after the declaration of war between England and France;⁴¹ but no religious order, with the great antiquity of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation behind it, could acquiesce without a protest in the heartless project contained in Franklin's Note C to the Nuncio. There was a lack of generosity in the plan, if, as Taunton states, Benjamin Franklin during his stay in Paris (1776-1784), was a constant guest at St. Edmund's Monastery, in Paris.⁴² Another source of opposition was naturally the American Catholics themselves. Priests and people were thoroughly imbued with the spirit of independence—at that time more intense in American life than ever afterwards; and the proposal to place them under a "foreign prince or potentate," was obnoxious to a nation which had just forged its way to freedom, and at such awful cost. Whether the English Benedictines became aware of the Franklin proposal we do not know. Both Taunton and Ward are silent on the matter, and both had access to archives which should have contained documents on the subject, had it been discussed.

We know that the French Vicar-Apostolic project was first made known to Carroll through former English associates. Carroll expresses his great surprise in a letter to Plowden, dated September 15, 1784, that his old friend Dr. Franklin had become a party to the Nuncio's intrigue,⁴³ which, however, was not meeting with the success its leaders expected. On September 27, 1783, Antonelli wrote to the Papal Nuncio at Paris, telling him that the Holy Father, Pius VI (1775-1799), had greatly commended his zeal and sagacity in having obtained the active cooperation of Vergennes and Talleyrand "in this salutary work." He reminds the Nuncio that "this Holy Congregation does not withdraw from its original offer to assist in the support of a Vicar-Apostolic endowed with episcopal character, or of a bishop, if this should be preferred, whom it will be necessary to put at the head of the Catholics in the United States." Very wisely, Antonelli rejected "without further discussion" the Franklin project of suppressing the four monasteries of English Benedictines in France. Antonelli's letter of this date is one of the most interesting in this correspondence:

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. ii, p. 287.

⁴¹ WARD, *Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England*, Vol. ii, p. 78, London, 1909.

⁴² TAUNTON, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 285.

⁴³ *SHERRA*, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 218, note.

[Rome], *September 27, 1783.*

Your Lordship has so well begun the great matter of a plan for missions in the provinces of the new republic of the United States of North America that I do not doubt that you will soon bring it to a most happy termination. The Holy Father, who has been informed of your action, has greatly commended your zeal, and your sagacity in having interested the Count of Vergennes and Monseigneur the bishop of Autun in this salutary work, the former, for his protection as worthy prime minister, the latter, for the subsistence of the new workers, in view of his ministry of ecclesiastical benefices in that kingdom. This Holy Congregation, however, does not withdraw from its original offer to assist in the support of the Vicar-Apostolic endowed with the episcopal character, or of a bishop, if this should be preferred, whom it will be necessary to put at the head of the Catholics in the United States.

Conformably with the judicious suggestions of Your Lordship, the following points should be established:

I. The proposition of Mr. Franklin, to suppress the four monasteries of English Benedictines that exist in France, should be rejected, without further discussion. Besides the odium that would be aroused in the nation, which would be highly displeasing to the pacific and generous spirit of His Most Christian Majesty, grievous injury would be done to the missions of England, if the four monasteries in question should be suppressed, since the English Benedictine congregation, which furnishes nearly forty missionaries who work for the good of souls in England, would be reduced to the one monastery that, with the four in France, constitutes the total number of the convents of that worthy congregation.

II. The Nuncio to France, as Your Lordship opportunely suggested to Mr. Franklin, should have the supervision of these American missions, as is the case with the Nuncio at Brussels for the missions of Holland, and he would come to an understanding with the minister of the United States at Paris, whenever it was necessary to act in accordance with him for the greater good of those missions. This arrangement would also be compatible with an agent of the Vicar-Apostolic, or of the Bishop to be established in the United States, at Paris, in the person of some French ecclesiastic, who, upon occasion, would act in concert with the minister of those States and with the nuncio. It is to be desired that, some day, this new republic may have a Catholic minister at Paris; but, in the present circumstances, in which the minister is heretical, possibly Presbyterian, or Non-Conformist, which are the dominant sects in those states, it would be desirable to have a French ecclesiastic in private correspondence with the head of that mission, saving always the formal correspondence between the nuncio and the minister.

III. It was suggested above, and is repeated now, that it appears very necessary to establish that the superior, who is to have jurisdiction over all the Catholics of the American Republic, be invested with the character of bishop, with the title of Vicar-Apostolic, or, if acceptable, that he be the bishop of a diocese in that country. He may take his title from any city in the provinces of that republic that may seem to be the one best adapted for his residence. As the greater number of Catholics are in Maryland and in Pennsylvania, it would appear that the residence should be established in one of these two states; but it will be better to determine this point according to what may be most satisfactory to the minister and to the states. There is no doubt

that all the missionaries should depend upon the Vicar-Apostolic, or bishop, and receive from him their powers and destination among the various stations, according to requirements. And, to that end, the Prelate will be invested with the most ample powers, as for instance, those of the first formula.

IV. As to the subjects to be chosen, for the vicariate-apostolic, or the episcopacy, as well as for missionaries, present conditions seem clearly to indicate that they should be taken from among the ecclesiastical subjects of His Most Christian Majesty. But if in time any native should be found available for the sacred ministry, there is no doubt that the Vicar or Bishop would be free to ordain him, and to employ him in the missions.

V. It would be most useful to establish a college for the sole benefit of these missionaries, at Nantes, St. Malo, l'Orient, or some other place, near the ocean; but it may be foreseen that the magnitude of the idea would make its realization difficult. It is clearly understood that Monseigneur d'Autun, by his favor, could overcome all obstacles; but great and expensive things, as would be the creation of a new college, should not be sought.

VI. Consideration might be given, therefore, to the idea of increasing to some extent the income of the Seminary of Foreign Missions, where ecclesiastics, already, are trained for the East Indies; or, better still, the Seminary of Saint Esprit, the ecclesiastics of which are destined to the missions of South America, at Cayenne and Guiana, imposing upon it the obligation of maintaining there, for the present, a reasonable number of ecclesiastics, to be sent under the suggested authority in America to the provinces of the United States. If, to begin, eight or ten missionaries are sent, besides the vicar, or bishop, this will provide sufficiently for the needs of the faithful in question, the number of whom is not precisely known to this Holy Congregation, which is also without exact information of the number of the old workers, who, for the greater part, were of the suppressed Society of Jesus; for, neither directly, nor through the Vicar-Apostolic of London, has news been received concerning those Catholics, of whom some information was sent to Your Lordship in the instruction of the 15th of January of the present year.

VII. If the number of workers suggested should prove to be insufficient, it will be time, then, to think of other means of study for a greater number of subjects, and it will be possible, even, if there be a desire to form a national clergy, to establish at the college of the Propaganda, here, two or three places for Americans, as has been done for so many nations of Asia, Africa, and Europe.

Your Lordship, however, who is better informed of the state of affairs, will know which of the points noted above should be communicated to the minister, and which not; upon this point, His Holiness and this Congregation repose on your known zeal and activity, of which there are so many exceptional proofs; and thanking Your Lordship for the letter which you enclosed from Monseigneur the Vicar-Apostolic of London, I remain, with all esteem, heartily yours. "

The hierarchal character of the French project as outlined by Antonelli was as follows: At the head of American ecclesiastical affairs would be the Papal Nuncio in Paris, who would, as Ordinary, act with the knowledge and understanding of the American minister in Paris, "whenever it was necessary

to act in accordance with him for the greater good of those missions." Subordinate to the Nuncio would be a French Vicar-Apostolic or Bishop, with an official agent at Paris, who would act in concert with the American minister and with the Nuncio. Antonelli hoped that some day the new Republic might have a Catholic minister at Paris; but until that should occur, it would be best to have a French ecclesiastic act as agent for the American mission. Apart from this, there would always be, he explained, "the formal correspondence between the Nuncio and the minister." The third point in Antonelli's letter is quite significant: It is becoming more evident, in fact, it appears very necessary, to appoint a bishop for the United States, who should have his See in that country. Since the greater number of Catholics live in Maryland and in Pennsylvania, it would appear, he says, that the Bishop's See should be established in either one of these two states. Whoever is appointed, whether as bishop or as Vicar-Apostolic, should have episcopal jurisdiction over the Church in the states. The choice of an ecclesiastic to occupy this post is clearly indicated by present conditions—"he should be taken from among the ecclesiastical subjects of His Most Christian Majesty." Not only was the ecclesiastical head to be chosen, but the missionaries also for the Church in the new Republic, from among the French clergy. It might happen, in time, Antonelli adds, that if an American be found available for the sacred ministry, "there is no doubt that the Vicar or Bishop would be free to ordain him, and to employ him in the missions." It may be necessary for the reader's benefit to emphasize the fact that the ecclesiastic who thus describes the early American Church was not only a Cardinal but was also the Prefect of the Congregation which had for its purpose the propagation of the faith in non-Catholic lands. There were means at his disposal for a thorough acquaintance with the state of the American Church, but those means were seldom employed. The interest shown in the organization of the Church in the United States in these early years was mainly political and financial, and from this date down to the first Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1829, no impartial reader will be able to accuse the Roman authorities of accurate knowledge of American Catholic affairs in general or of American conditions, geographical and otherwise, in particular. The American clergy will be at the mercy of meddlers and at the mercy of ignorant chiefs in the Congregation to which they are obliged to look as to their superiors, until an Archbishop of Baltimore breaks the restraint the American clergy must have felt, and appeals directly to the Pope in a letter which lacks nothing in its indignation at the sad situation in which Roman curial ignorance had placed them.⁴⁵

Antonelli's letter of September 27, 1783, must have been written with cognizance of the plans formulated by the American clergy. He persists,

⁴⁵ Archbishop Neale to Pope Pius VII, Georgetown, March 6, 1817. Cf. *SMSA*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 34. Cf. *Maréchal's Report of 1818* in the *CHR*, Vol. I, pp. 439-453. An interesting side-light on the situation will be found in S. B. Mowat (of telegraph fame), *Foreign Conspiracy against the Liberty of the United States*, p. 141. New York, 1835; it was published originally under the pen-name "Brutus," in the *New York Observer* (1834-1835).

however, in the American Seminary project. He directs the Nuncio's attention to the idea of combining the Seminary project with either the Seminary of Foreign Missions or the Seminary of the Holy Ghost in Paris. If the income of either of these establishments was to be augmented for the purpose by Talleyrand, they could be required to furnish a certain number of missionaries for the missions in the United States. Eight or ten missionaries, he thinks, would be a sufficient number to send to the United States; but of this he is not quite certain, because the number of Catholics in the United States "is not precisely known to this Holy Congregation, which is also without exact information of the number of the old workers." Later on, he deems, there might be room for a national American College at Rome, for the formation of a national clergy.

On December 15, 1783, Franklin wrote to Vergennes that the delay in the spiritual organization of the American Church was causing him some concern:

I understand that the Bishop or spiritual person who superintends or governs the Roman Catholic clergy in the United States of America resides in London, and is supposed to be under obligations to that Court and subject to be influenced by its Ministers. This gives me some uneasiness, and I cannot but wish that one should be appointed to that office who is of this nation and who may reside here among our friends. I beg Your Excellency to think a little of this matter and afford me your counsels upon it.⁴⁴

"But for this positive evidence," says Shea, "we could scarcely believe that Dr. Franklin lent himself to a plan for treating his Catholic countrymen in this manner and helping a conspiracy to subject them not to a Superior chosen from among themselves, but to one nominated by the French Court and residing in France."⁴⁵ Franklin certainly had opportunities in Paris of learning that the Vicar-Apostolic of London had exercised no jurisdiction over the Church in America from the outbreak of the Revolution, and Bishop Talbot's refusal to recognize the American Church as part of his charge was too well known at the time to have been ignored by one so fortunately placed as Franklin. On receiving Franklin's letter, Vergennes made a memorandum, which shows that the Prime Minister was not altogether satisfied about the French Vicar-Apostolic plan, and that he was better acquainted with the situation than Franklin. "Mr. Franklin," he says, "represents that since the Bishop governing the Catholic Clergy in America resides in London, it is to our interest to name someone for that charge who could reside in the United States." Franklin had already consulted Archbishop de Cicé of Bordeaux on the Seminary subject, doubtless at the suggestion of Talleyrand, as we learn in a letter from de Cicé to Vergennes, dated December 27, 1783:

I regard it a duty, Count, to inform you of the proposition just made me by Mr. Franklin. The object is to secure to religion among the Catholics of the United States more order and facility in the number and choice of ministers necessary for them. I reasonably presume that in this matter Mr. Franklin is the interpreter of the wishes of his Catholic fellow-citizens. He seems to

⁴⁴ *ACHS Researches*, Vol. xi, p. 190.

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 215.

desire that to attain more securely what they propose, they should have in France a titled ecclesiastic, appointed to provide for the wants of the Church.⁴⁸

The truth is that Franklin was not only acting blindly in the whole affair, but was proceeding without the knowledge of the Catholic leaders in the new Republic. Certainly his wishes regarding the chief pastor of the flock in the United States were at variance with those of the American clergy, as evidenced in the Whitmarsh meeting of 1783-1784. The Archbishop of Bordeaux, while not a party to the enterprise, was brought into the affair, on account of the Bordeaux American Seminary scheme, of which the correspondence speaks often during these two years. Cicé acted very cautiously, albeit generously, in the matter. Among the *Franklin MSS.* at the Library of Congress (fol. 2617), there is a letter from the Archbishop of Bordeaux to Franklin, assuring him of his eagerness to second the worthy efforts of Talleyrand and the American minister to supply the American Mission with priests, but asking for more detailed information before he gave his consent to the Bordeaux project.⁴⁹

It would appear, from a letter of Antonelli to Doria Pamphili, of June 9, 1784, that Talleyrand had first made the proposition that one of the Seminaries in Bordeaux be used for the American Seminary project.

Meanwhile Vergennes' commission to Luzerne had not been neglected. That worthy French Catholic gentleman had consulted with the leaders of the American Republic and on January 31, 1784, he wrote to Vergennes from Annapolis, stating that while Congress did not wish to take any action in the matter which was beyond its competency, the delegates had assured him that a Catholic bishop would be very well received. That part of the letter which touches on the subject is as follows:

Monseigneur the Apostolic Nuncio has made some propositions in the name of His Holiness to Doctor Franklin in regard to the sending of a Bishop or a Vicar-Apostolic whom the Holy Father desires to place over the Roman Catholic Churches of this continent. The Congress has respectfully welcomed that overture; it has been unable, however, to take action in this matter, which is not of the competency of Congress. It is a matter that concerns the Catholics alone; and the delegates who have spoken to me on the subject have assured me that a Catholic bishop would be very well received in the state of Pennsylvania and much more so in Maryland, where there are many Catholics, providing the prelate carefully avoided to assume any temporal jurisdiction or authority. The Congress, in general, would be pleased at the residence of a prelate, who by conferring the sacrament of Holy Orders on the priests of these parts, would relieve them of the necessity of receiving it in London or in Quebec, as has been done in the past. Some of the delegates even believe that a Catholic bishop would not refuse to confer Holy Orders on the Anglican ministers of America, who, until now, have been obliged to procure their ordination at London; but this practice does not seem to me to be compatible to the profession that those who receive Holy Orders must make or with the examination that they must undergo. The State

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

⁴⁹ Cf. *ACHS Researches*, Vol. xxvii (1910), p. 345.

Legislatures and Congress refrain from entangling themselves with religious matters.⁴⁰

This letter was no doubt communicated at once to the Nuncio, who probably sent it to Propaganda. On May 11, 1784, as we read in the *Secret Journals of Congress*, one of the resolutions passed was to the effect that Dr. Franklin be requested to notify the Nuncio at Paris of the American policy of non-interference in religious affairs:

Resolved, That Doctor Franklin be desired to notify the apostolic nuncio at Versailles, that Congress will always be pleased to testify their respect to his sovereign and state; but that the subject of his application to Doctor Franklin, being purely spiritual, is without the jurisdiction and powers of Congress, who have no authority to permit or refuse it, these powers being reserved to the several states individually.⁴¹

This resolution could not have reached Franklin before the end of the summer, but the shrewd American Minister had already reached the same conclusion. Antonelli, likewise, was beginning to see the wisdom of appointing one of the American missionaries. Writing to Luzerne, under date of May 12, 1784, he states that the Sacred Congregation desires full information of the condition of the Church in the United States. (The four points of information asked for are those which Father Carroll eventually answers on March 1, 1785, in his *Relation*)—

Before the American revolution, the Catholics and missionaries of those states, in what concerns religion, were under the vigilance and direction of the Vicar-Apostolic residing in London. That revolution having separated the interest of the United States from those of England, and having entirely changed the government of those states, the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda has seen the necessity of taking other measures for the government of these missions; hence, Monseigneur, the Archbishop of Selesia, Apostolic Nuncio at Paris, was charged by this Congregation to make on that subject to the Congress of the United States some proposition, not less useful to religion and to the spiritual assistance of the Catholics than acceptable to the government of those States.

Monseigneur the Nuncio mentioned the matter to Mr. Franklin, who, however, answered that, having seriously reflected on it he considered it absolutely useless to refer the question to the Congress, which, by its constitutions and faculties, could not, and should not, entangle itself in ecclesiastical affairs, and consequently, that it was in the power of the Court of Rome to take all measures that might be of advantage to the Catholics in America, without offending the constitutions. After receiving this answer, the Congregation, by order of His Holiness, instructed Monseigneur the Nuncio to agree with the ministers of His Most Christian Majesty, and with the minister of the United States, upon the most desirable means of giving to the missions of North America the stability and development of which they might be capable.

His Most Christian Majesty having wished, on such an occasion, to give a new proof of his piety and of the interest that he takes in the preservation and extension of the Catholic religion in all parts of the world, found no difficulty

⁴⁰ PD, pp. 19-20.

⁴¹ Vol III, p. 493. Boston, 1821.

in agreeing to a plan that is no less useful to the Catholics of the United States than to the government of those provinces; but, to establish a stable condition of things, and to forestall all the objections and difficulties that might present themselves in its realisation, it is necessary to have certain information that may make it possible to compass that object.

1st. To have exact knowledge of the conduct and capacities of the ecclesiastics and missionaries who are in the various provinces of North America; which one of them would be the most worthy, and the most acceptable to the assembly of those provinces, to be created Bishop *in partibus* and invested with the character of vicar-apostolic, considering that it will be desirable to fix the residence in that province in which there is the greatest number of Catholics.

2d. If there be among those ecclesiastics a native of the country who may be among the most worthy, in equality of merits, he would be preferred to any of another nationality; and whenever the provinces would be in lack of missionaries, a Frenchman will be sent to establish himself there, residing in the province suggested above.

3d. To know the number of the ecclesiastics and missionaries, as, also, that of the Catholics in the different provinces and their area, assuming that the greater number of them is to be found in Pennsylvania and Maryland. It would be well, however, to know the same in regard to the other provinces.

4th. To know if there be schools in those provinces, where the Latin language may be learnt, and where those youths who wish to prepare for the ecclesiastic state may have studied the humanities before repairing to France or to Rome for the study of philosophy and of theology.²²

On this same date, May 12, 1784, the Nuncio also wrote to Luzerne, at New York, asking him to assist Propaganda in ascertaining full knowledge of the state of affairs in the Church of the United States. He incloses a letter which he has drawn up by order of Propaganda, which he begs Luzerne to deliver "to one of the oldest missionaries of those provinces." He does not touch in this inclosed letter on the subject of the Bishop Vicar-Apostolic or on the manner of his selection, but he adds that "the ex-Jesuit, Mr. Carroll of Maryland, has been spoken of to me with eulogy, this Carroll being the same who was educated at St. Omer, and who, in 1776, was sent by the Congress to Canada, with Mr. Franklin and other commissioners. I hope that Your Lordship will be pleased to give me information concerning him, and will let me know whether you consider him worthy to be named bishop *in partibus* and vicar-apostolic."²³

Shea intimates that this came about through the English Jesuits, who had become aware of the French intrigue, and he states that Plowden, Carroll's great friend, on hearing of the intrigue, wrote at once to Franklin to dissuade the American minister from the French scheme. Fathers Sewall and Mattingly, natives of Maryland, were then in England, and they added their protests to that of Plowden, explaining to Franklin that out of respect and consideration for the missionaries then in the United States no appointment should be made without their participation and consent. Plowden states this to Carroll in a letter dated September 2, 1784. It is not certain that this intervention

²² PD, pp. 20-22.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

preceded the letter of the Nuncio to Luzerne of May 12, 1784, but from this time on the French scheme was doomed. Franklin's eyes were opened, says Shea, and as he knew John Carroll personally, "he must have felt not a little chagrined to find himself made even indirectly the medium of impeaching the loyalty of the Carrolls and other patriotic American Catholics, priests and laymen. It is certain that he at once determined that sound policy required him to favor the appointment of an American missionary as Superior of the Catholics in the United States, and he certainly from this time exerted all his influence to press the appointment of Rev. Mr. Carroll, to whose qualifications he could bring the testimony of personal knowledge and daily intercourse for a considerable period."⁴

Meanwhile, the project was dragging itself tediously to an end. On May 17, 1784, Doria Pamphili wrote to Antonelli (referring to his letter of April 26), stating that, on May 3, a conference was held at Versailles on the very important matter of the government of the missions in the provinces of the new Republic of the United States of North America, with Vergennes, Talleyrand, and himself present. The Prime Minister read Luzerne's dispatch from Annapolis of January 31, 1784. The Nuncio gave an abstract of His Eminence's letter of September 27, 1783. The chief matter discussed at the conference was the supply of the clergy for the American missions. It was decided that the Nuncio should send two letters; one to Luzerne and the other to one of the missionaries in America (those mentioned above, May 12, 1784), asking for information on the needs of the Church in the United States. The place to educate the students for the American Missions was also discussed. Paris, it was decided, would not be desirable, since only philosophy, canon and civil law, and theology were taught in the Seminaries there. The students would need a college education before beginning these studies, and for this purpose Talleyrand suggested that the Archbishop of Bordeaux, an intimate friend of the Bishop of Autun, should be asked to arrange for the reception of these students in one of the Seminaries in Bordeaux.

Since Mr. Franklin had spoken to him of the merits and good reputation of Father Carroll, the Nuncio hopes that the Holy See will be pleased to hear this, and he avers that Franklin and many members of Congress would welcome Carroll's appointment to the vicariate to be established in America.

The letter which the Nuncio inclosed in his dispatch to Luzerne, on May 12, 1784, addressed to "one of the missionaries living in America," was as follows:

The interests of religion requiring that new information be had of the missions that are established in the United States of North America, the Congregation of the Propaganda has ordered me to ask you for detailed information of the present conditions of those missions. I beg of you to let me know, at the same time, what number of missionaries would be necessary for the service of those stations and to secure spiritual assistance to the Catholic subjects of the United States; which are the provinces where there are Catholics, and where the greatest number of Catholics are to be found, and lastly, whether there be, among the natives of that country, subjects available

⁴ *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 216-218.

to receive Holy Orders and to exercise the functions of a missionary. I will be very thankful to you, personally, for the precision and celerity with which you may be kind enough to procure and to forward this information for me. "

Luzerne had probably left for France when the letter arrived, and the chargé d'affaires, Marbois, informed Reyneval, Vergennes' secretary, on August 15, 1784, that he had sent the letter to Mr. Charles Carroll, asking him to give it to the oldest missionary. Shea says that this letter was addressed by the Nuncio to the Rev. John Carroll.⁶⁶ This is no doubt incorrect. Mr. Charles Carroll was asked by Marbois to give it to the oldest missionary and he relieved himself of responsibility in the matter by sending it to his cousin, Father Carroll. Father Carroll was not the oldest missionary, nor was he the Superior of the clergy at that time, but he was known to Franklin, and his reply would probably have greater weight with that statesman in the matter under consideration. On May 31, 1784, the Nuncio informed Antonelli that he had sent to Vergennes copies of the two letters of May 12, one to Luzerne and one to the oldest missionary.

On June 9, 1784, the whole matter was brought to an abrupt close by the action of the Holy See in appointing John Carroll "head of the missions in the provinces of the new Republic of the United States of North America." This action had a double effect: that of officially ending the jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic of London over the Catholics in the former English Colonies, and that of giving to the Church in the United States its own autonomy under the jurisdiction of Propaganda. We have for this date, June 9, 1784, a letter from Antonelli to the Nuncio, which states that John Carroll had been appointed Prefect-Apostolic of the United States on that day, and refers to the fact that prior to the Nuncio's dispatch of May 17, 1784, the Congregation of Propaganda had received the Petition from the priests in America in which they requested that Father Lewis should be constituted their Superior. Antonelli inclosed copies of these letters for the Nuncio's perusal, and pointed out that Carroll's name is in the last place among the nominees sent by the American missionaries. "This fact shows," he says, "that Carroll has not cooperated with the earnest solicitation of Mr. Franklin in his behalf, and, consequently, it has helped to give him the preference over Lowis [*sic*], who, moreover, being 64 years of age, as the letters in question show, would seem to deserve a rest. We are not informed of the age of Carroll [he was then 49 years old], but it may be assumed to be a much more vigorous one than that of Lowis [*sic*] since he is named last in the petition."⁶⁷

A second letter of this same date, June 9, 1784, inclosed in the one to the Nuncio and addressed to Father Carroll, which the new Superior received on November 26, 1784, announced officially to the Church in America the decision reached by the Holy See:

⁶⁶ PD, pp. 27-28.

⁶⁷ *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 231.

⁶⁸ PD, p. 30.

Rome, June 9, 1784.

Very Rev. Sir:

In order to preserve and defend Catholicity in the Thirteen United States of North America, the Supreme Pontiff of the Church, Pius VI, and this Sacred Congregation have thought it extremely proper to designate a pastor who should, permanently and independently of any ecclesiastical power, except the same Sacred Congregation, attend to the spiritual necessities of the Catholic flock. In the appointment of such a pastor, the Sacred Congregation would have readily cast its eyes on the Rev. John Lewis if his advanced age and the labors he has already undergone in the vineyard of the Lord, had not deterred it from imposing on him a new and very heavy burden; for he seems to require repose rather than arduous labor. As then, Rev. Sir, you have given conspicuous proofs of piety and zeal, and it is known that your appointment will please and gratify many members of that republic, and especially Mr. Franklin, the eminent individual who represents the same republic at the court of the Most Christian King, the Sacred Congregation, with the approbation of his Holiness, has appointed you Superior of the Mission in the thirteen United States of North America, and has communicated to you the faculties, which are necessary to the discharge of that office; faculties which are also communicated to the other priests of the same States, except the administration of confirmation, which is reserved for you alone, as the enclosed documents will show.

These arrangements are meant to be only temporary. For it is the intention of his Holiness soon to charge a Vicar-Apostolic, invested with the title and character of bishop, with the care of those states, that he may attend to ordination and other episcopal functions. But, to accomplish this design, it is of great importance that we should be made acquainted with the state of the orthodox religion in those thirteen states. Therefore we request you to forward to us, as soon as possible, a correct report, stating carefully the number of Catholics in each state; what is their condition, their piety and what abuses exist; also how many missionary priests labor now in this vineyard of the Lord; what are their qualifications, their zeal, their mode of support. For though the Sacred Congregation wish not to meddle with temporal things, it is important for the establishment of laborers, that we should know what are the ecclesiastical revenues, if any there are, and it is believed there are some. In the meantime for fear the want of missionaries should deprive the Catholics of spiritual assistance, it has been resolved to invite hither two youths from the states of Maryland and Pennsylvania, to educate them at the expense of the Sacred Congregation in the Urban College; they will afterwards, on returning to their country, be substitutes in the mission. We leave to your solicitude the care of selecting and sending them. You will make choice of those who have more promising talents and a good constitution, who are not less than twelve, nor more than fifteen years of age; who by their proficiency in the sanctuary may give great hopes of themselves. You may address them to the excellent archbishop of Seleucia, Apostolic Nuncio at Paris, who is informed of their coming. If the young men selected are unable to defray the expenses of the voyage, the Sacred Congregation will provide for them; we even wish to be informed by you frankly and accurately of the necessary traveling expenses, to serve as a rule for the future. Such are the things I had to signify to you; and whilst I am confident you will discharge the office committed to you with all zeal, solicitude and fidelity, and more than

answer the high opinion we have formed of you, I pray God that he may grant you all peace and happiness.

*L. Card Antonelli,
Prefect.*

*Stephen Borgia,
Secretary.*⁸⁸

Father Carroll received the news of his appointment from several sources, namely—a) August 20, 1784, Father Thorpe's letter of June 9, from Rome; b) September 17-18, 1784, Father Charles Plowden's letter of July 3, from England; c) November 7-8, 1784, Barbé de Marbois' letter of October 27, from New York; d) November 26, 1784, Cardinal Antonelli's letter of June 9, from Rome.

(a) Father Thorpe's letter of June 9 announced his appointment, the nature of the faculties imparted by Propaganda, particularly the power of administering Confirmation, and stated that as soon as the necessary information of the state of the Church in America reached Propaganda, the Holy See would promote him to the dignity and character of a Bishop. This letter Carroll presented to his brethren at the Whitemarsh Chapter on October 11, 1784. The Chapter passed three important resolutions based upon the decision that a Superior in *spiritualibus* was adequate "to the present exigencies of religion in this country": (1) That a Bishop was unnecessary; (2) that if one be sent [*i. e.*, not elected by themselves], he should not be entitled to support from the clergy estates; (3) that a Committee of Three [Fathers Diderick, Matthews, and Mosley] be empowered to send a *Memorial* to Rome against the appointment of a Bishop.⁸⁹ This *Memorial* was prepared at once; and on December 9, 1784, Father Bernard Diderick wrote to Carroll as follows:

Port Tobacco, December 9, 1784.

Rev. Sir: We send you a copy of the letter we have drawn up to send to Rome. We hope it will not be disagreeable to you, as your intended promotion seemed to give you much uneasiness. We should be happy, in case of a bishop's being appointed here, that you should be the person, as we have not any objection to your person and qualities. But as we look upon it to be unnecessary, and hurtful to the good of religion, we have sent this letter according to what was determined in chapter.

We are, with due respect, Rev. Sir,

Your most obed't and humble servants,
BERNARD DIDERICK,
IGNATIUS MATTHEWS.⁹⁰

The *Memorial* was as follows:

Most Holy Father:

Of the twenty-two secular priests living in the thirteen United States of North America, six were appointed a few months ago to deliberate together upon the welfare of the Catholics in this part of the world. Having assembled for this purpose, they expressed the opinion that there is not the least

⁸⁸ *SHERRA, op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 243-245.

⁸⁹ *HUGHES, op. cit.*, Documents, Vol. II, p. 633.

⁹⁰ *United States Catholic Magazine*, Vol. III, p. 797.

necessity for a bishop in this country, because there is no institution as yet for the education of youth and their subsequent preparation for holy orders. I, Bernard Diderick, have been requested by the committee to notify your holiness of this sentiment, and to acquaint you also with the following circumstances:

1. The majority of the Protestant population here are averse to a Roman Catholic prelate, and for this reason the episcopal office if introduced would most likely awaken their jealousy against us.

2. We are not able to support a bishop in a manner becoming his station, and at the same time to supply the necessary wants of our fellow laborers in the ministry; moreover, the Catholics cannot be induced to aid us with their means in effecting this object.

3. Were it even admitted that the two points just mentioned would present no difficulty, we are entirely at a loss to see how the greater number of missionaries, whose cooperation would be so very desirable in this immense region, could be furnished with the means of passing to this country.

We therefore humbly entreat your holiness not to persist in the design of conferring the episcopal dignity upon any individual in these parts, unless the necessary provision be made in some other quarter for his support. Should your holiness entertain a different view, it would be a source of much affliction to us, while at the same time we are convinced that it will be much more detrimental than otherwise to the interest of religion; for, as it has pleased your holiness to appoint one of our body to administer confirmation, consecrate altar-stones, bless the holy oils, and grant dispensations in the prohibited degrees, this appointment is equally advantageous for the good of religion.^a

Carroll's sentiments on the *Memorial* are well expressed in a letter to Father Thorpe, dated February 17, 1785, copied from the original brouillon in the Baltimore Archives, which follows in its chronological place in this series of documents on the question.

(b) Father Charles Plowden's letter of July 3, 1784, which Carroll answered on September 18, 1784. (He mentions having received the news already from Father Thomas Talbot, the Procurator of the dissolved English Jesuit Province). "I do assure you, dear Charles," he wrote, "that nothing personal to myself, excepting the dissolution of the Society, ever gave me so much concern. And, if a meeting of our gentlemen to be held on the 9th of October agree in thinking that I can decline the intended office without grievous inconvenience, I shall certainly do so."^a

(c) The letter of Barbé de Marbois, French Chargé d'Affaires, at New York, dated October 27, 1784, reached Carroll on November 8. "I congratulate myself," Marbois says, "in being one of the first to assure you that this choice will give general satisfaction." Accompanying the letter was the dispatch from Cardinal Antonelli to "Mr. John Carroll, Superior of the Missions in the thirteen United States of North America," authorizing him to publish the Jubilee of 1775-1776, which was specially extended to the

^a *Ibid.*, pp. 797-798.

^a *HUGHES, op. cit.*, Documents, Vol. II, pp. 632-633.

United States. The proclamation of this Jubilee was the first official act of the new Superior.

(d) The official documents of his election to the Superiorship sent by Cardinal Antonelli on June 9, reached him on November 26, 1784. Cardinal Antonelli's letter, as given above, emphasized the one point in the official decree of appointment which gave Father Carroll most concern, namely, the nature and the extent of his dependence on Propaganda.

Shea has summed up the effect of this letter in the following paragraph:

The action of the Holy See had given the Catholics in the United States a separate organization; but among priests and people who had just emerged from the oppressed condition so long maintained by the penal laws, the temporary tenure of the Prefect, his absolute dependence on the Propaganda, and the extremely limited powers given him, were the source of much uneasiness.⁴³

No one felt more uneasy over the embarrassing situation caused by his appointment than Father Carroll himself. We have seen how decided his views were from the beginning on the question of having the American Church under what he and others called "Foreign domination." The appointment was not at all to his liking. "He had a decided repugnance to accept any position, and especially one merely at their pleasure, from the Congregation de Propaganda Fide; to accept it hampered by restrictions and little power for good was a step from which he shrank." The action taken by the Chapter in October, 1784, left him free to decline the appointment. Our only means of following his deliberations on the question of acceptance is in his correspondence with his fellow priests, as a result of a Circular he issued about this time to the clergy announcing his appointment and asking for their guidance in the matter. This circular contained the statement:

Nothing but the present extreme necessity of some spiritual powers here, could induce me to act under a commission, which may produce, if long continued, and it should become public, the most dangerous jealousy.⁴⁴

Some of this correspondence has survived, and in a special manner, the letters of his two friends of Philadelphia, Fathers Molyneux and Farmer, are important, for they undoubtedly had a great share in his decision. Father Molyneux had been in correspondence with Carroll all through the year 1784, owing to the Wharton-Carroll controversy, and had been instrumental in securing important data from the library of James Logan for Carroll's reply to the apostate. Shortly after Father Thorpe's letter had become known to the clergy, Father Molyneux wrote to Carroll, September 18, 1784, telling him of the great joy he experienced in learning that the Holy See had chosen Carroll for the post. "It is our humble opinion," he wrote, "that you should not hesitate one moment in giving your consent. *In negotio tanti momenti digitus Dei, haud dubium est.* We shall henceforth esteem it our duty daily to remember you *ad altare*. May God grant us all grace to be ever thankful, and by our lives and conversation show that we are not undeserving. It has

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 245-264.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 251, note.

been my uniform opinion that no one was so fit for the sacred character."⁶⁶ This sentiment he reiterates in letters dated from Philadelphia, November 18, November 25, and December 7, 1784. "A refusal on your part," he writes, "or an objection on that of any of our gentlemen [the ex-Jesuits] might prove fatal to their fortune and existence in this country, and perhaps so to the cause of religion." Father Farmer to whom he showed his letters urged Carroll to reply at once to Propaganda, accepting the post.

In the Baltimore Archives (Case 9A-F1) there is the rough sketch of a circular, dated January 12, 1785, which Carroll issued regarding the Jubilee of 1775-1776. "The commencement of this grant is to date from November 28, 1784, and it is to be in force till November 28, 1785. A commission was sent me at the same time to publish it in all the countries subject to these states." At the end of this letter is the announcement that, until "I have better opportunity of conversing with the several gentlemen, to fix a general and equitable rule for keeping lent for all the different Congregations, I request each of you to make such regulations (for this year) for those under your charge, as you shall in prudence think proper." This is the language of a Superior. Father Carroll had evidently concluded to accept the Prefectship-Apostolic by this time, but before doing so he decided to place the whole affair with its proper light before the authorities at Rome. A long letter, written on February 14, 1785, to his friend Father Thorpe at Rome, is a summary of the ecclesiastical situation created by his appointment. The rough draft of the *Letter*, with many erasures and corrections, is in the *Baltimore Archives* (Case 9A-F1.) It is here printed for the first time in full; Shea has only used excerpts from it:

Maryland, near Georgetown, Feb. 17, 1785

The official information of the advices sent by you June 9th, 1784, was only received Nov. 26th. I did myself the honour of writing to you on the subject, immediately after receiving your letter, which was about the 20th of August, and of thanking you most cordially for your active and successful endeavours to render service to this country. I say successful, not because your partiality, as I presume, joined to that of my old and chearful friend Dr. Franklin suggested me to the consideration of his Holiness; but because you have obtained some form of spiritual government to be adopted for us. It is not indeed quite such as we wish; and it cannot continue long in its present form. You well know, that in our free and jealous government, where Catholics are admitted into all public councils equally with the professors of any other Religion, it will never be suffered that their Ecclesiastical Superior (be he a Bishop or Prefect-Apostolic), receive his appointment from a foreign State, and only hold it at the discretion of a foreign tribunal or congregation. If even the present temper, or inattention of our Executive, and legislative bodies were to overlook it for this and perhaps a few more instances, still ought we not to acquiesce and rest quiet in actual enjoyment; for the consequence, sooner or later, would certainly be, that some malicious or jealous-minded person would raise a spirit against us, and under pretence of rescuing the State from foreign influence, and dependence, strip us per-

⁶⁶ USCM, Vol. iii, p. 376-379.

haps of our common civil rights. For these reasons, every thinking man amongst us is convinced, that we neither must request or admit any other foreign interference than such, as being essential to our religion, is implied in the acknowledgment of the Bishop of Rome, by divine appointment, head of the universal Church; and the See of St. Peter being the center of ecclesiastical unity.

I am well aware that these suggestions will sound ungrateful at Rome, and that the mention of them from us will be perhaps imputed by some of the officers of the propaganda to a remaining spirit of Jesuitism; but I own to you, that tho' I wish to treat with them upon terms of sincere unanimity and cordial concurrence in all matters tending to the service of Religion, yet I do not feel myself disposed to sacrifice to the fear of giving offence the permanent interests of Religion. I mean candidly and respectfully to state our present situation; the spirit of our people; and the sentiments of the R. Catholics, the principal of whom are ready and desirous to transmit to Rome their opinion on the probable consequences of such a spiritual government, as is laid down in my dispatches from yr city. Whether I shall transmit their opinion under their own signature, I am yet uncertain; I would wish to avoid giving the Congregation, or any other person the smallest reason to suspect a cabal to defeat their measures; and if plain and honest representation will not succeed with them, I should fear the effects of intemperate obstinacy.

That you may judge of these matters yourself, I must inform you, that my dispatches contained, 1st decree of the Congn. of the Propgda., appointing me Superior of the Missions in the Thirteen U. States, *ad suum beneplacitum . . . cum auctore ea exercendi, quae ad earundem Missionum regimen pertinent, ad proscriptum decretorum sacrae Congnis. et facultatum eidem [mih] concessarum et, non alias nec alio modo.* 2-ly An order from his Holiness, empowering me to administer Confirmation. 3-ly A letter from Cardl. Antonelli, advising that His Holiness has extended to these States the Jubilee of 1776. 4-ly Another letter from him and one likewise from the Nuncio at Paris, desiring me to send two youths to be educated in the College of the Propgda. 5-ly In the same letter Cardl. Antonelli wishes to know the number of our Clergy, and the amount of their incomes: for tho' the Congregation means not to meddle in temporalibus, yet conceiving and believing there are Church possessions here, it is proper for them to know how many Clergymen can be maintained from them. 6-ly He further informs that his Holiness means hereafter to appoint a Bishop Vicar-apostolic; but neither insinuates when or whom. 7-ly In the faculties sent me, which with respect to matrimonial dispensations, are too much restricted, for our exigencies. I am particularly charged to grant no powers or faculties to any who may come into this country, but those quos sacra Congregao. destinaverit et approbaverit. Thus you see the outlines of our future Ecclesiastical government, as it is planned at Rome.

Our objections to it are—1st We conceive our situation no longer as that of missionaries; and the Ecclesiastical constitution here no longer as that of a mission. By acquiring civil and religious rights in common with other Christians, we are become a national Catholic Clergy; Colleges are now erecting for giving general and liberal education; these Colleges are open, both to masters and scholars of every religious denomination; and as we have every reason to believe, that amongst the youth trained in these different

Colleges, there will be frequently some inclined to the Ecclesiastical State we Catholics propose instituting a Seminary to form them to the virtues of their future state, and to instruct them in Divinity. Thus we shall in a few years, with the blessing of providence, be able to supply this country with labourers in the Lord's vineyard, and keep up a succession, if we are indulged in a Bishop. We are not in immediate want of one, and it will be more agreeable to many of my Brethren not to have any yet appointed; but whenever the time for it comes, we conceive that it will be more advantageous to Religion and less liable to give offence that he be an ordinary Bishop, and not a Vicar-Apostolic, and be chosen and presented to his Holiness by the American Cath. Clergy. 2-ly For two reasons we think it improper to be subject in our Ecclesiastical government to the Propaganda: the first is, that not being missionaries, we conceive ourselves, not a proper object of their institutions; and the second is, that tho' our free and tolerant forms of Government (in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania) admit us to equal civil rights with other Christians, yet the leading men in our respective States often express a jealousy of any foreign jurisdiction; and surely will be more offended without submitting to it in matters not essential to our faith. I hope they will never object to our depending on the Pope in things purely spiritual; but I am sure there are men, at least in this State, who would blow up a flame of animosity against us, if they suspected that we were to be so much under the government of any Congn. at Rome, as to receive our Superior from it, commissioned only during their good will; and that this Superior was restricted from employing any Clergyman here, but such as that Congregation should direct. I dread so much the consequences of its being known that this last direction was ever given, that I have not thought it proper to mention it to several of my Brethren.

With respect to sending two youths, I shall inform Propaganda that it would surely be very acceptable to have children educated gratis in so religious a seminary; and very acceptable to us all to have a succession of ministers of the altar thus provided for: but, as I suppose, they will not receive any into their College, but such as shall afterwards be subject to their government; and it being yet uncertain what effect my representations may produce, I shall delay that measure till further information.

I shall in the meantime request permission to give faculties to other Clergymen, than those sent by the Propgda., of whose virtue and talents I shall have sufficient documents. For want of this power, the Catholics in the Jerseys, N. Y., the great Western Country, bordering on the lakes, and the Ohio, Wabash, and Mississippi (to say nothing of many in the N. England States and Carolinas) are entirely destitute of spiritual succours. The Catholics in some of these Settlements, have been at the expence of paying the passage of some Irish Franciscans, providing for their subsistence, and in erecting places of worship. These men have brought good testimonials; but I am precluded from giving them any spiritual powers.

I should deem it a singular happiness to have an opportunity of conferring with a person of your experience of the air of Rome, before these representations are given in. But our distance is so great, that I must act according to the best of my own and Brethren's judgment, and commit all I can to your prudent management. At a meeting of some of us last autumn, it was ordered that £. St. 20-0-0 should be remitted to you as a feeble acknowledgement of our sense of your services and to defray your expence of attendance, etc.

Mr. Ashton, who is chosen to be our Manager general, either has or soon will transmit the necessary orders for it. Tho', since my late appointment, I do not intermeddle in our temporal concerns, yet I shall not fail to suggest the propriety of fixing on you, as our agent, a permanent salary: it will be proportioned, not to your zeal and services, but to our poor ability. At the same meeting, but after I had left it thro' indisposition, a direction was given to Messrs. Diderick, Mosely, and Matthews to write you a letter (I believe likewise a Memorial to the Pope) against the appointment of a Bishop. I hear that this has displeased many of those absent from the meeting, and that it is not certain, whether the measure is to be carried into execution. Mr. Diderick has shown me a copy of his intended letter to you, of his Memorial, and of a letter to Cardl. Borromeo. He has no other introduction to write to this worthy Cardinal than the information communicated to me by our common friend Plowden, of his great worth and friendly disposition to you. I made objections to some parts of his letters; and I cannot tell as I mentioned before whether they will be sent. It is [a] matter of surprise to me that he was nominated to the commission of Three; he is truly a zealous, painstaking Clergyman; but not sufficiently prudent, and conversant in the world, or capable of conducting such a business with the circumspection necessary to be used by us towards our own Government, and the Congn. of the Propaganda.

My long letter must have tired you. But it has been so earnestly recommended to me to give you very minute intelligence, that I have ventured to trespass on your patience. I have two things more to request: 1st. that you would please to present us all, and myself in particular, to Cardl. Borromeo, as penetrated with a lively sense of his virtue, and earnestly suing for his good offices to the service of Religion in this Country, wherever they can be usefully employed. 2-ly that you would let Mr. Thayer know (for I hear from Plowden that he is at Paris, and corresponds with you) that I shall be happy in being favoured with an epistolary intercourse with him: and in confidence of your introduction, I shall probably write to him before I have your answer.

The little leisure I have lately had, has been taken up in writing and publishing an answer to Wharton's pamphlet, which was held up as unanswerable by our adversaries, whom the elegance of his language, and their ignorance in Religious controversy equally contributed to deceive. I have desired Mr. Talbot to transmit you a copy by the first opportunity. I doubt, I have not made my court to a certain party at Rome by my note on the destruction of the Society. Be pleased to charge with us all postage and other expences on our acct. A credit shall be placed in England for discharging them.

With perfect esteem,

I have the honour to be, Dr Sir,

etc. etc.

Mr. Thorpe.

The ease with which the French intrigue had progressed became clearer to Father Carroll through his correspondence with Father Plowden. On September 21, 1784, Father Plowden wrote a complete exposé of the whole project, and his letter contained the following important message:

Although I know you to be incapable of mistaking the right line of conduct upon this occasion, yet, I think it the part of a friend to send you whatever information I can obtain. My meaning is not to advise or instruct you, but only to enlarge your prospect. I must repeat that there are certainly some oblique views, most probably directed to the property of the American mission, and to the obtaining superiority over the missionaries. The note delivered to the nuncio proves their wishes to exclude every Jesuit from trust or honor, and equally betrays the policy of the French ministry ("the nation most friendly to congress"), who, by bringing forward a Frenchman, or perhaps an Irish-Frenchman, would use religion as an instrument to increase their own influence in America. Our friend Thorpe's memorial, delivered to the Pope, along with your petition, by Cardinal Borromeo, convinced the propaganda that the introduction of an alien would overthrow the mission. I wish you may quickly be turned into an ordinary from a bishop in partibus, and am persuaded the pope could not refuse you the powers, &c., if your election by your own clergy, were abetted by your provincial assembly. We wish you to be as free as the bishop of Quebec, or the new archbishop of Mohilow. I wish to know in what light the leading men in the states consider your appointment. If they are disposed to tolerate it, surely they would be more willing to admit a bishop only dependent on the holy see, than one who must be subject to the prefect and secretary of a congregation. If they can be brought to relish such a prelate, it is but one step more: you want not talents or spirit to take it, and all difficulties are at once removed. The business has been hitherto treated at Paris, with uncommon secrecy by the nuncio,

Mr. Thayer, who lives in Navarre college, wrote lately thus, to our friend Thorpe:

"With respect to the views of Rome upon America, all that I can tell you is that there is a treaty on foot to establish a vicar-apostolic for the thirteen states, which treaty, I suppose, is near conclusion. I know not what the Americans will think of this plan, whether they would fear a too great dependence on Rome. This I know, that any English priests whom I have the honor to know here, think that apostolic vicars are the ruin of Catholicity in England, and that bishops properly established, would be the fit instruments of building a solid edifice, both there and in America." Make your own comments, my dear friend, on this extract, substitute a less violent word to ruin, and we shall easily agree with the writer. He is noticed by the archbishop of Paris and other dignified clergymen of the greatest merit, and much commended by the superior of Navarre college, in whose house he lives gratis. He appears to be sincere, and zealous for the promotion of religion in America, and we hope he will not be misled, &c.

If your friends here were better informed of your concerns, they might occasionally yield you service. Upon the first rumor that a vicar-apostolic was to be appointed, I prevailed upon Mr. Hoskins to write to Dr. Franklin to expose to him the degree of respect and consideration due to the missionaries now in America, and to desire that no proposals might be admitted without the participation and consent of you in particular, of the other missionaries, and the principal Catholic gentry in the country. At Mr. Thorpe's desire, the same has been written to him by Messrs. N. Sewell and Mattingly, with other information relative to the origin and actual state of the American missions. Mr. Thorpe is all alive in your service; and wishes that his endeavors

may be useful to the common cause, and approved by you. The Romans have got scent of your promotion, and according to their custom have strangely distorted the whole business, even your name. They bring in the French king to figure in it, and talk of congress and your provincial assemblies as if they were so many conseils souverains in France. ⁶⁶

This letter probably reached Father Carroll about the time of the *Memorial* of December, 1784. To this situation abroad was added the danger of dissension at home. The "famous triumvirate," as Father Molyneux called the anti-episcopal Committee, was apparently not in favor of Carroll. No doubt other factors of which we are nowadays unaware entered into his final decision to accept the Prefectship. "Since the prefecture," writes O'Gorman, "was expected to pave the way to some more satisfactory and permanent arrangement, and since, on the other hand, his refusal might result in the imposition of a foreigner as Prefect on the Catholics in America, Carroll yielded to the arguments of his fellow-priests and decided to take up the onerous office."⁶⁷

Father Carroll's acceptance of the Prefectship is contained in his *Letter* to Cardinal Antonelli, dated February 27, 1785. The rough draft of this *Letter* is in the *Baltimore Archives* (Case 9A-F1); an imperfect copy is among the *Shea Transcripts* at Georgetown University. The original, given here for the first time, has been photostated at Rome (*Propaganda Archives, America Centrale*, vol. 2, fols. 306-311). It is left untranslated, since the main paragraphs have been used by Shea.

Eminentissime Domine

Litterae, quas ad me destinare diguata est Em^a Vestra, diebus 9^a et 16^a anni praeteriti, in manus meas non pervenerunt ante diem 26 Novembris. Varia autem documenta litteras comitabantur. 1^o Decretum Sacrae Congregationis de Propagandâ fide quâ me Superiorem missionum in tredecim Confoederatae Americae provinciis ad suum beneplacitum declaravit. 2^o Benignissima suae Sanctitatis concessio et extensio universalis Jubilaei ad omnes Fideles in tredecim Confoederatae Americae provinciis. 3^o Altera ejusdem concessio quâ mihi facultas tribuitur administrandi Sacramentum Confirmationis ad normam Instructionis, quam una recepi. 4^o demum, facultates a S^{mo} D.N. mihi concessae et Sociis in hac Domini vineâ laborantibus communicabiles.

Quod litteris, quibus haec ad me transmisisti documenta, Eminentissime Cardinalis, tantam erga me benevolentiam, tantum rei Catholicae in remotis hisce orbis partibus adjuvandae studium significaveris, gratias habeo et ago maximas, cujus quidem grati animi sensus certiozem te prius fecissem, nisi longa imprimis a domo absentia, postea autem intempestiva navigantibus glacies scribendi occasionem denegasset. Deinde rogo te, ac humillime precor, ut Sanctitatis suae pedibus me sistere, ac devotissimum erga Sedem Apostolicam obsequium testificari velis; gratiasque referre, quod tam gravi munere me indignum non existimaverit.

Hi sunt animi sensus, quibus erga B^{num} Patrem, tequea deo, Cardinalis

⁶⁶ USCM, Vol. iii, pp. 376-377.

⁶⁷ *History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States*, p. 267. New York, 1907.

Eminentissime, affectus fui, ubi propensam utriusque in me benevolentiam, et sollicitam pro Sanctâ nostrâ Religione in his regionibus providentiam intelligerem. Fuere tamen aliasque, quae tum initio, tum deinceps cogitanti mihi, magnum timorem, magnam etiam moestitiam incutiebant. Videbam imprimis illud mihi munus committi, cui subeundo, ut sincere et ex intimo sensu profiteor, imparem me omnino esse sentio, nec illis animi aut corporis viribus praeditum, quibus instructum esse oportet, quicumque se ad illud fideliter administrandum acinxerit. Deinde ut Emin^{ae} T^{ae} votis obsequeretur accuratam de rebus nostris relationem desiderantis, aliqua mihi commemoranda esse non ignorabam, quae minus grata fortasse essent futura, imo quae suspicionem commovere possent minus propensae in Sedem Apostolicam observantiae. Haec tamen omnia veritati postponam, et sinceræ rerum nostrarum expositioni. Scio enim, Em. Card.^{lis}, nihil tuto aut efficaciter circa nos agi posse, nisi quae sit nostra conditio, planè intelligatur.

Imprimis igitur, ex tredecim provinciis, quae olim Regi Magnae Britanniae parebant, duae tantum fuere, Pennsylvania et Marilandia, in quibus permissum erat Catholicis tuto degere: In his etiam lege cautum erat, ne officio civili, militari, aut alio quovis frui possent. Excusso autem jugo Brittanico, novisque conditis legibus, in omnibus provinciis, Catholici sine molestia vivere et sacra peragere possunt. In plerisque tamen locis ad Reipublicae munera capessenda non admittuntur, nisi qui omnem jurisdictionem exteram, sive civilem, sive ecclesiasticam abrenuntiaverint. Ita fit, ut in plerisque his provinciis, seu Statibus, ut nunc vocant, nostri homines maneant a Republica exclusi: In quatuor tantum, nempe in Pensilvania, Delawaria, Marilandia, et Virginia, eodem ac coeteri cives jure utuntur. Haec autem beneficia, sive tolerantiae, sive juris communis, quamdiu simus habituri, non ausim pronuntiare. Timent e nostris multi, in Marilandia praecipue, A catholicis in animo esse, ut omnino a gerendis muneribus excludamur: ego autem cui satis semper fuit mala non animo praevenire, sed, ubi advenerint, utrumque tolerare, spe foveor tantam nobis injuriam haud esse inferendam: imo vero confido tam firma Religionis fundamenta in his Americanis Statibus jaci posse, ut florentissima Ecclesiae portio, cum magno Sedis Apostolicae solatio, hic aliquando sit futura. Hoc autem loco illa mihi commemoranda sunt, de quibus dixi superius scitu necessaria, ut recte res nostrae Ecclesiasticae possint administrari.

Viguit autem in his regionibus praecipue secta Anglicana; rerum sacrarum apud illos ministri pendebant omnes a Pseudo-Episcopo Londinensi: ad illum transfretabant, quotquot ordinari secundum sectae suae rationem cupiebant. Peracto autem bello, obtineri non potuit a sectae illius ministris, quamvis essent omnium frequentissimi, ut ab Episcopo Anglo, imo ab extero quovis penderent. Concessum est illis potius, ut Episcopos sibi constituerent et eligerent, quod jam ab ipsis factum est, quamvis nullum adhuc suo ritu consecratum habeant: Religionis suae administrandae sibi formam praescripserunt; religionem suam dici et haberi *nationalem* cupiunt, eo quod jam nullum alibi superiorem admittant: denique ita machinantur ut ab illis timor ille incutatur, quo nostrorum nonnullus percute dicebam.

Eminentissimus Cardinalis persuasum sibi habeat nobis gravissima omnia tolerabiliora fore, quam divinam illam Sedis Apostolicae auctoritatem abrenunciare: nec tantum Sacerdotes, qui hic sumus, sed etiam populum Catholicum in fide ita videri stabilem, ut nunquam a debita Summo Pontifici obedientia sit

dimovendus. Idem tamen ille populus aliquam a B^{mo} Patre gratiam sibi concedi, imo deberi existimat, necessariam sane sive ad juris communis quo nunc utitur conservationem, sive ad propulsandum periculum, quod timetur. Ex iis quae dixi, et ex rerum publicarum, quae hic sunt, constitutione, Emin^{ae} Tuae ignotum esse non potest, quam invidiosa illis sit omnis externa jurisdictio. Hoc igitur a Catholicis desideratur, ut nulla detur ansa Religionis nostrae adversariis nos criminandi, quasi plus aequo a regimine externo pendeamus; et ut aliqua ratio ineatur quâ in posterum Superior Ecclesiasticus huic regioni destinari possit, ita ut Spiritualis S^{ae} Sedis jurisdictio omnino servetur; et simul tollatur omnis occasio nobis objiciendi, quasi aliquid admittamus patriae Independentiae inimicum. Hoc ex praecipuis Catholicis multi, communi scripto, Sanctitati suae significare cogitabant, ac ii maxime, qui vel in generali Americanae Concilio (Congressum vocant) sedem obtinuerunt, vel in Pennsylvania ac Marilandiae conciliis legislativis cum auctoritate intersunt; a quibus tamen obtinui, ut in praesens ejusmodi scriptum differatur. Quid hâc in re statui possit, Beatissimus Pater plenius forsân intelliget, ubi animum advertet ad sextum articulum *unionis perpetuae* inter Status foederatae Americae; quo sancitur, *nemini licitum fore, qui munere quovis fungatur sub Unitis Statibus, donum aliquod, officium aut titulum cujusvis generis accipere a Rege aliquo, Principe aut domino extero*. Quae prohibitio, etsi ad illos tantum pertinere videatur, qui ad munera Reipublicae destinantur, ab adversariis tamen nostris etiam ad officia Ecclesiastica fortasse detorquebitur. Cupimus igitur, Em^{ae} Cardinalis, omni modo providere, ut fidei integritas, et debita erga Sedem Apostolicam observantia, et unio semper vigeat: at simul ut Catholicis Americanis pro Ecclesiastico regimine concedatur, quidquid salvâ Religione concedi potest. Ita minui sectariorum invidiam plenam suspicionis, ita res nostras stabiliri posse confidimus.

Significasti, Em^{ae} Card^{lis}, Sanctitatis suae mentem esse et consilium, ut Vicarium Apostolicum Episcopali characterem et titulo insignitum pro his provinciis decernat. Ut paterna haec pro nobis sollicitudo magnâ nos laetitia affecit, ita etiam aliquem initio incussit timorem. Sciebamus enim A catholicis Americanis olim persuaderi nunquam potuisse, ut vel suae sectae Episcopum admitterent, cum id tentaretur, dum Angliae Regi hae provinciae subessent: unde etiam timor nascebatur, ne nobis quidem id permissum iri. At jam, ab aliquot mensibus, conventionem factâ. Ministrorum Protestantium Ecclesiae Anglicanae, seu Episcopalis, ut nunc vocant, decreverunt se, quod ex legum auctoritate pleno suae Religionis exercitio gaudeant, eo ipso jus habere ad tales rerum Sacrarum Ministros sibi constituendos, quales sectae suae ratio et disciplina exigit, Episcopos scilicet, Presbyteros et Diaconos; cui illorum decreto non repugnaverunt, qui condendis legibus apud nos sunt designati. Cum igitur nobis eadem pro Religionis exercitio libertas concedatur, jus quoque idem, quantum ad leges nostras municipales spectat, competere necesse est.

Re autem se habente, judicabit Beatissimus Pater, tuque adeo, Em^{ae} Card^{lis}, animo perpendes, an tempus constituendo Episcopo opportunum nunc sit, qualis is esse debeat, et quomodo designandus: de quibus omnibus, non tamquam judicium meum interpositurus, sed pleniorum relationem facturum aliquam commemorabo. Imprimis de opportunitate temporis observari potest, nullam jam animorum fore commotionem, si Episcopus designetur, quod A catholici Protestantes sibi aliquem constituere cogitent: deinde ut aliquam

suae sectae apud vulgus existimationem ex Episcopali dignitate conciliare sperant, ita etiam non solum similem nobis, sed etiam ingentia commoda obventura confidimus, cum hanc Ecclesiam eo modo administrari contigerit, quo Christus Dominus instituit. Ex altera tamen parte occurrit, quod cum jam Smus Pater aliter Sacramento Confirmationis conferendo providere dignatus sit, non prius Episcopum nobis constituere necessitas postulet, quam idonei aliqui reperiantur ad Sacros Ordines suscipiendos, quod paucis annis futurum speramus, ut intelliget Eminensus. Cardinalis ex iis, quae separatim relatione distinctâ scribere cogito. Quod tempus ubi advenerit, commodius fortasse pro decenti Episcopi sustentatione providere, quam nunc pro rerumstrarum tenuitate poterimus.

Deinde, si Episcopum nobis assignare Sanctitatis suae visum fuerit, praestabitne Vicarium Apostolicum, an Ordinarium cum propria Sede constituere? Quis rei Catholicae incremento, quis amovendae Catholicorum invidiae, terrorique illi de exterâ jurisdictione magis inseviret? quem terrorem auctum iri certissime scio, si Superiorem Ecclesiasticum ita designari noverint, ut ad arbitrium Sacrae Congregationis de propagandâ fide, aut cujusvis alterius tribunalis externi ab officio possit dimoveri: nec fas illi sit Sacerdotem quemvis ad sacras functiones admittere, quem illa Congregatio non approbaverit, et ad nos destinaverit.

De modo autem Episcopum designandi nihil aliud nunc dicam, quam implorare nos, pro Sedis Apostolicae judicio dirigendo divinam sapientiam et misericordiam; ut, si minime concedendum videatur Sacrodotibus in hac Domini vineâ tot annos laborantibus illum suae Sanctitati proponere, quem ipsi magis idoneum existimaverint, conveniatur tamen de aliquâ Episcopum nominandi viâ, quâ Nostratium, tam Catholicorum, quam Sectariorum offensio possit averti.

De Duobus juvenibus ad Urbanum Collegium mittendis nihil agere licuit, donec plenius de Em^o tuae mente intellexero. Si itineris impensis impares fuerint, video quidem a Sacra Congregatione de viatico provisum iri: non tamen habeo compertum, cui demandatum sit illas impensas subministrari. Navium enim magistri in navem vectores recipere non solent, nisi naulum ante navigationem solvatur, aut certo sciant, a quo repetendum sit. Deinde, ut quae dixi de Episcopo vel Superiore designando, aliquam forte mutationem suggerent circa modum res nostras Ecclesiasticas administrandi, ita quoque consilium de educandis in isto Collegio Juvenibus poterit mutari, quod tamen minime futurum confidimus. Postremo, convenerit, ut Juvenum parentes doceantur, an Juramentum aliquod et cujusmodi ab eorum filiis exigendum sit, antequam in patriam remittantur: omnis enim cautela adhibenda est, ut, quantum fieri potest, videantur Catholici, tam populus quam ministri, in rebus tantum omnino necessariis ab exterâ potestate pendere.

Interim, dum responsum expecto, dabo operam, ut Juvenes duo summâ curâ seligantur, quales tuae litterae, Emin: Card^{is}, exigunt: spero insuper me effecturum, ut itineris impensae, saltem hinc usque in Galliam a parentibus solvantur: sin minus id obtinero, omnem in illis impensis moderationem adhiberi curabo. Intellego autem pro unoquoque juvene navigationis et alios necessarios sumptus, donec portum attigerit, summam septuaginta vel octoginta aureorum circiter confecturos.

Reliqua, de quibus instrui voluisti, Em^o Card^{is}, pro religiosâ tuâ erga nos sollicitudine, opportunius separato scripto extra formam litterarum

exhiberi posse existimavi; illud tamen hic iterum atque iterum obsecro, ut eam in facultatibus mihi concessis restrictionem tolli omni modo cures, quâ aliorum Sacerdotum operâ uti prohibeor, praeter illos quos sacra Congregatio destinaverit et approbaverit. Id enim nisi concedatur, brevi spatio magna Catholicorum pars amnino Sacramentorum expers erit, et Religionis ministeriis destituta. Unica enim, quae nobis superest spes supplementi cujusdam cito recipiendi pro Sociis extinctis, aut jam ad extremum senium vergentibus, posita est in illis Sacerdotibus, qui hic nati, anti bellum exortum in Europam educationis causâ profecti sunt, ibique sacros Ordines susceperunt. Audio horum aliquos in patriam reditum cogitare: qui quibus tamen, si advenerint, in otio erit manendum, utcumque moribus et doctrinâ comparatis ad hanc Domini vineam excolendam. Itaque, omni quidem reverentiâ, sed simul summâ fiduciâ, et ex plenâ persuasione id è re Religionis fore, rogo, Emin: Cardinalis, ut tuum apud Sanctitatem suam studium interponas, illique significes, Superiori in his Foederatae Americae Statibus omnino necesse est, ut quos Sacerdotes dignos judicaverit, hos in laborum Societatem possit ascire.

Haec habui, Em^e Card.^{lis}, quae liberè fideliterq; scriberem de rebus ad Religionem spectantibus, quibus veluti supplementum et ad tua quaesita responsum accedent, quae altero scripto commemorata reperies. Mihi jam sit permissum hanc gregis Dominici portionem, pastoresq; qui in illo sunt, meo ipsum singulari tuae pietati, paternaeq; benevolentiae commendare; precariq; ut oculos conjicias in immensas illas regiones, quae foederatae Americae finibus continentur: in diesque magis ac magis immigrantium accessionibus, et ex naturali foecunditate, incolentium numero augentur. Ubique liberè praedicari poterit vera fides, nec quidquam obstare videtur, quo minus magni ex hac libertate fructus decerpantur, praeter operariorum defectum, mediaque illis providendi. Ad te igitur, qui singulari curâ, studio et auctoritate Religionis propagationi invigilas, recurrimus, ut quae ad hunc finem meditamur, pro tuâ sapientiâ adjuvare velis, hancque regionem veluti tuae providentiae et fidei commissam intueri. Quod ad me spectat, ego summâ fiduciâ, Eminentissime Cardinalis, in hujus Ecclesiae negotiis tua consilia, tuam auctoritatem, pietatem tuam implorabo, precaborque Deum omnipotentem, ut pro animarum salute, divinaeque fidei extensione te salvum et incolumen diù esse velit. Ita vovet

Eminentissime Cardinalis

Eminas Tuas

Servus Obsequentissimus

Ex Marilandiâ, die 27^a

JOANNES CARROLL.

Februarii, 1785.

Eminentissimo Cardli Antonello.

In several of the official letters from Propaganda a request was made for certain definite information regarding the state of the Church in the new Republic. This information was asked, as we have seen, through the Nuncio at Paris, on May 12, 1784, in a letter addressed by Cardinal Antonelli to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, French Minister Plenipotentiary, at New York. Cardinal Antonelli's letter to Father Carroll, June 9, 1784, contained the same request. This information Father Carroll obtained by correspondence with his fellow-priests between November, 1784, and March 1, 1785. He embodied this information in his *Relation of the State of Religion in the United*

States. The original is here printed for the first time, from a photostat copy taken in the *Propaganda Archives, America Centrale*, vol. 2, fols. 312-314. An imperfect copy is among the *Shea Transcripts*. The rough draft is in Case 9A-F1, of the *Baltimore Archives*. As the first *Relation* of its kind to be sent to Rome from the United States, it is among the most treasured first-hand sources for the history of the Church in our country:

Relatio pro Emo Cardinali Antonello de statu Religionis in Unitis Foederatae Americae provinciis.

1° De numero Catholicorum in Foederatae Americae Provinciis.

Sunt in *Marilandâ* circiter 15,800. Ex his sunt novem mille homines liberi aetatis adultae, aut supra annum duodecimum; pueri minoris aetatis fere ter mille, totidemq omnis aetatis servi (Nigros vocant a colore) ex Africa oriundi. In *Pensilvaniâ* sunt ad minimum *septem mille*, inter quos paucissimi Africani, vivuntq Catholici collecti magis ac sibi invicem contigui. In *Virginia* sunt non *amplius ducenti*, quibus quater aut quinquies per annum adest Sacerdos: Dicuntur plurimi alii, tam in illa, quam in coeteris provinciis sparsim vivere, amni Religionis ministerio destituti. In provinciâ *Novum Eboracum* dictâ, audio *esse mille quingentos ad minimum*, qui nuper communibus sumptibus ex Hiberniâ accersiverunt virum Religiosum Ordinis Si. Francisci; diciturq optimis de moribus et doctrinâ documentis instructus esse: advenerat paulo prius, quam litteras acceperissem, quibus facultates Sociis communicabiles ad me sunt delatae. Dubitavi aliquando, an jure possem hunc pro Sacramentorum administratione approbare. Et jam statui, appropinquante maxime festo Paschali, ipsum pro Socio habere, facultatesq necessarias impertiri, quod meum consilium approbatum iri confido. Nihil certi dicere licet de numero Catholicorum, qui sunt in locis conterminis fluvio dicto Mississippi, omnique illi regioni, quae secundum illum fluvium ad Oceanum Atlanticum pertingit, et ab eodem usque ad limites Carolinae, Virginiae, et Pensilvaniae extenditur. Hic tractus continet, ut audio, multos Catholicos, olim Canadenses, qui linguâ Gallicâ utuntur, quos rerum sacrarum Ministris destitutos esse valde metuo. Transivit ad illos nuper Sacerdos quidam Germanus, sed ex Galliâ ultimo profectus, qui ex ordine Carmelitarum se esse profitetur: nullo tamen sufficiente testimonio muniebatur, missum se esse a legitimo Superiore. Quid agat, et quo statu ibi sint res Catholicae, edoctum me iri propediem expecto. Episcopi Quebecensis jurisdictio in aliquam regionis illius partem olim pertinuit: an nunc autem, cum omnes in foederatae Americae ditionem cesserint, potestatem ullam exercere velit, haud equidem scio.

2° Catholicorum conditione, pietate, abusibus, &c.

In *Marilandâ*, paucae ex praecipuis et ditioribus familiis, a primis provinciae fundamentis, fidem Catholicam a progenitoribus huc invectam adhuc profitentur: major autem pars sunt agricolae, et in *Pensilvaniâ* fere omnes, exceptis mercatoribus et opificibus, qui Philadelphiae degunt. Quod ad pietatem spectat, sunt, ut plurimum, in Religionis exercitiis et Sacramentorum frequentatione satis assidui: sed sine illo fervore, quem solet excitare continua ad sensus pietatis exhortatio: vix enim singulis mensibus, aut etiam bimestri spatio plurimae Congregationes rem divinam, et concionem sibi fieri audiunt: ita Sacerdotum inopiâ, multoq magis, locorum intervallo, itinerisq incommodis opprimimur: Haec de indigenis dicta sint: alia enim longe est ratio Catholicorum, qui magno numero ex variis Europae nationibus ad nos confluent.

Cum enim ex nostratibus pauci sint, qui non saepius per annum, praecipue autem tempore paschali ad Sacramenta Poenitentiae et Eucharistiae accedant; vix reperitur inter priores illos, qui officium hoc Religionis exerceat; quorum exemplum in urbibus mercatoriis maxime perniciosum fore timetur. Abusus inter Catholicos sunt illi maxime, qui ex necessariâ cum Aatholicis familiaritate, et exemplis inde collectis oriuntur; liberior nempe se tractandi ratio inter juniores personas diversi sexus, quam animi, aut forte etiam corporis integritas patiatur; nimis propensum studium ad saltationes, et id genus alia; et incredibilis aviditas (in puellis praecipue) legendi fabulas amatorias, quae magno numero ad nos adveniunt. Deinde, in coeteris universim defectus diligentiae in educandis ad Religionem liberis, sed praecipue servis Africanis, totiusq; illius curae ad Sacerdotes transmissio; ex quo fit, ut cum sint continuo laboribus exerciti; raroq; et non nisi ad breve tempus cum Sacerdote esse possint, in fide rudes et in moribus turpissimi plerique esse soleant. Incredibile est quantum animarum postoribus molestiae et sollicitudinis facessant.

3^o De numero Presbyterorum, studiis, et modo se sustendandi.

Sunt in *Marilandâ* Presbyteri novemdecim: In *Pensilvaniâ* quinque. Ex his autem duo sunt supra, tres alii proximum ad septuagesimum annum accedunt; adeoq; omnino impares subeundis laboribus, sine quibus hac Domini vinea coli non potest. Inter reliquos Presbyteros, aliqui admonendum infirmâ valetudine utuntur; et unus est nuper a me approbatus, ad paucos menses tantum, ut experimentum illius faciam in extrema operariorum necessitate. Aliqua enim de ipso narrabantur, quae vehementer me deterrebant ab illius operâ adhibendâ. Ego quidem illi, quantum passum, invigilabo; et si quid acciderit gravitate sacerdotali minus dignum, facultates concessas revocabo, quantumcunque incommodum multis Catholicis inde eventurum sit. Mihi enim persuasum est Catholicam fidem minus detrimenti passuram, si nulli Sacerdotes per breve tempus fuerint, quam si, ubi ita vivimus inter alterius Religionis homines, ad sacra ministeria assumuntur. non dicam mali, Sacerdotes, sed etiam imprudentes et incauti. Reliqui omnes Sacerdotes plenam laboris vitam agunt, quod unusquisque congregationibus longe dissitis obsequium praestet, adeoq; continuis, gravissimisque equitationibus, ad aegrotos praecipue, continuo fatigetur. Presbyteri sustentantur ut plurimum ex fundorum providentibus; alibi vero liberalitate Catholicorum. Nulla hic proprie sunt bona Ecclesiastica. Privatorum enim nomine possidentur ea bona, ex quibus aluntur Presbyteri; et testamentis transferuntur ad haeredes: ita faciendum suggessit dira necessitas, dum legibus Catholica Religio his arceretur; neque adhuc inventum est huic incommodo remedium, quamvis a nobis anno elapso id tentaretur.

Ad procurandos in Religionis ministerio successores, quid faciendum sit, non satis intelligimus. Est jam Philadelpiae collegium, agiturque de duobus in *Marilandâ* extruendis, ad quo admitti poterunt Catholicis aequae ac alii, tam Praesides, quam Professores et alumni. Fore speramus, ut hos inter aliqui vitam Ecclesiasticam velint amplecti. Cogitamus igitur de seminario instituendo, in quo valeant deinceps ad mores et doctrinam statui illi convenientes efformari.

Hâc factâ relatione, liceat nunc aliqua adjungere quo omnino necessaria iudico ad spiritualem Catholicorum administrationem. Imprimis ex quotidiano commercio cum Aatholicis, oritur perpetuum discrimen ineundi cum illis

contractus matrimonialis, ad quod periculum avertendum usus apud nos invaluerat dispensandi, quantum nobis permittebatur, inter consanguineos Catholicos. Ita non solum conservari Religionem, sed augeri ab experientia didicimus. Ut igitur Samus Pater facultates mihi benigne concessit, Sociis etiam communicabiles, *dispensandi in 3° mixto cum 2°*, et inferioribus consanguinitatis et affinitatis gradibus; ita humillime tam meo, quam Sociorum nomine precor, ut saltem ad Superiorem extendere velit facultates dispensandi *in 2° simplici*, tam consanguinitatis quam affinitatis. Si autem illud generaliter concedi nequit, quod propter locorum distantium maxime optandum esset, *pro triginta ad minimum viabus* precor, ut ita dispensandi mihi detur facultas. Vehementer etiam a Sociis meis desideratur, ut possit hic *dispensari in primo gradu affinitatis* ortae ex copula illicita. Hos enim impedimentum esse subsistit inter Africanos praecipue, ante matrimonium attentatum; nec tamen nisi longum post tempus, multorumq annorum cohabitationem Sacerdos impedimentum, fortuito plerumq apprehendit.

Video praeterea dispensationem celebrandi missam post meridiem, *ad unam tantum horam* extendi; cum tamen aliquando confessiones expediri non possint *ante tres horas*, quod mihi certe saepe contigit a prima aurora illud ministerium auspicanti; credebamq in ejusmodi casibus legem charitatis validiorem esse, quam ut Sacramentorum expertes domum remitterentur, qui magnolabore et incommodo, viginti, triginta aut amplius mille passus venerant, et saepe in his mulieres gravidae et partui proximae.

Hac item in re Sanctitatis suae mentem ulterius declarari cupimus.

Si quae alia occurrant, de quibus intellexero gratum fore, ut ad Emum Cardinalem relatio fiat, plene conscribam.

JOANNES CARROLL.

Die 1a Martii 1785.

The two problems which clouded his immediate horizon were the "cramping clauses" which practically robbed him of all power, as can be seen in his letter to Father Thorpe, of February 17, 1785, given above, and the question of a bishopric for the United States. The task before him and before the little band of workers he had in the American Vineyard was immense, he told his friend Father Plowden, in a letter dated June 29, 1785. "I receive applications from every part of the United States, north, south, and west, for clergymen, and considerable property is offered for their maintenance; but it is impossible and cruel to abandon the congregation already formed to go in quest of people who wish to be established into new ones." His inability to give faculties to new arrivals in the ministry was the most unfortunate part of his embarrassing situation. The presence of other priests in the country who carried on their ministrations without recognizing him as Superior, also added to the delicate position he held. Fortunately, on receiving Carroll's letter of February 17, 1785, Father Thorpe immediately acted by having the doubt settled at Rome; and on July 2, 1785, and again on August 31, 1785, he informed the Prefect-Apostolic that a blunder had occurred and that the "cramping clauses" against which "you had with great reason remonstrated should be struck out of the printed faculties and . . . were never meant to be where you found them, left by an oversight in the Secretary's office." As Carroll learned later, the formula of his appointment was based on that of a Prefect-Apostolic sent

from Rome with missionaries to Africa, and they quite naturally contained the clause that he was not to give faculties to any priest in his jurisdiction unless the same were sent of Propaganda. On July 23, 1785, Cardinal Antonelli wrote to Father Carroll, thanking him for the *Letter and Relation* of February-March, 1785, and approving his stand; and sending him a new formula of faculties, which allowed Carroll to receive priests into the country and to appoint them at will.⁶⁶ The second of these problems, namely, the appointment of a Superior with episcopal powers as well as jurisdiction, was not settled until November 14, 1789, when Father John Carroll was appointed Bishop of Baltimore.

There was more than the prefatory phrases of the man raised to a unique and important post in his *Letter* to Antonelli. The task before him was a delicate one; the field of his labors was, to use his own word, immense in extent and in possibilities. His jurisdiction, meagre as it was in its amplitude, was the only bond uniting the new Republic to the Holy See. He felt himself utterly incapable of bringing all the elements of Catholic life in the United States into strict conformity with canonical rule. The number of his priests was limited; many of them were old men, worn out with the fatigues and burdens of the harsh life the missionaries were forced to lead. The distances were many times greater in those days than now. Means of communication were slow and uncertain; and the very liberty which the new Republic had proclaimed to all the earth and the inhabitants thereof opened the way to adventurers ecclesiastic as it did to adventurers lay or civil. It was indeed a task arduous enough to terrify even one who did not possess John Carroll's courage and spirit of devotion. The five years of his Prefecture saw all these elements for good and for evil in the Catholic life of the Republic develop with a rapidity which soon dispelled any lingering doubts in the minds of his clergy on the necessity of a more compact canonical organization. Within twenty months the clergy had met again at Whitmarsh and petitioned the Holy See for a bishop. The administration of Church property was causing quarrels and scandals which were threatening the unity of the Church in the United States; the Revolution had not amalgamated the races that had fought side by side for liberty, and the spirit of nationalism in Church affairs was even then looming up as a potent source of antagonism. Religious toleration was not a law of the land in 1785, and did not become universally so until long after the Constitutional Convention of 1787. Dissension in the Church was apparent at the very time when the closest harmony was needed to start religious freedom on its noble way down the years of American life. The ranks of the clergy were thinning rapidly—death and disease were decimating the little band of workers, and if the Church was to live, vocations would need to be fostered, priests would have to be invited to come to the United States from other lands, and only one endowed with all the power of the episcopate could keep that strict control on ecclesiastical life without which there could be no surety of duration. These five years of Carroll's

⁶⁶ HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, Vol. II, p. 635.

Prefectship were as critical in their own way to the Church as was the uncertainty which ruled the political life of the nation between the Treaty of Paris in 1783, and Washington's election to the Presidency in 1789. It is a singular, not to say providential, coincidence that Washington and Carroll came to their offices at the same time. Washington was inaugurated April 30, 1789; Carroll was consecrated August 15, 1790, and our political organization was fully fashioned in the very year that our Church organization was perfected. It was a coincidence emblematic of the amity and concord "which have hitherto existed between the Church and the republic—amity and concord which, instead of being obliterated, are emphasized by the clear-cut distinction made in our fundamental law between the two spheres, the political and the religious."

PETER GUILDAY.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Danish West Indies under Company Rule (1671-1754).

By Waldemar Westergaard, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917. Pp. xxiv+359.

History, more than the Constitution, may be said to follow the flag. Historical investigation in the United States has kept pace with the expansion of American interests and the extension of American sovereignty in the Caribbean and Gulf regions. And it was very satisfying to see, within a year of our purchase of the Danish West Indies, an historical study of these islands from the pen of an American scholar.

In a sense the islands find their first historian in the author of the present volume. Not even Danish historians have attempted a thorough investigation of the sources of Danish colonial history. Excellent biographies of two of the governors of St. Thomas and some studies of special topics are found, but nothing like a complete, scientific treatment based on primary sources. And what Danish scholars, with the materials at hand, neglected, English-speaking students can be pardoned for overlooking. The English literature on our new possessions was made up practically of the work of John P. Knox written sixty years ago, and of which the meritorious portions are faulty translations from the Danish, a book by Charles Edward Taylor published in 1888, which represents the use of some archival material, Appleton Griffin's list of works in the library of Congress, which is the only special bibliography on the subject, the document prepared for Congress in 1902, and some chapters in general works on Danish and West Indian history. In view of these facts Dr. Westergaard is almost a pioneer. Even L. K. Zabriskie's *The Virgin Islands of the United States of America*, which appeared last year, does not compare as history with the work here under review.

The Danish West India Company under Company Rule grew out of the author's examination of some important documents for this subject in the Bancroft Library at the University of California. The insufficiency of printed materials led the author to Denmark where the State Archives, the Royal Library and the

Municipal Archives in Copenhagen yielded a wealth of manuscript sources. These, with the printed sources and the secondary literature, were gone through, and the results are to be embodied in three books. The first of these, which we now have, covers the period of company rule. The second will continue the history to the end of the Napoleonic Wars. The third will conclude with the present time. This first volume, originally a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of California, is supplemented by a summary of the period from 1754-1915 to meet the interest aroused by the purchase of the islands.

The Danish experiment in the West Indies is a small part of the great colonial and commercial expansion of Europe. When the English, the French, and the Dutch were making enormous inroads into the Portuguese monopoly in the East and the Spanish monopoly in the West, Denmark was in no position to play any important rôle. The prowess of the Viking Age was a tradition which had no promise of renewal. During the years when Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were held together by the Union of Kolmar, plans for American exploration had been made, but without any result. Then the separation of Sweden, political crises, religious troubles resulting from the Reformation, and economic decline reduced Danish resources to a low level. Again the promise that lay in the movements pushed by the enterprising king, Christian IV, in the early years of the seventeenth century was frustrated. Voyages were made to Greenland and Hudson Bay, companies were formed for trade with Iceland, France, and Spain, a Danish East India Company was established, and a Danish West India Company was proposed. But the king's failure in the German religious wars reacted on commercial conditions at home, and the results of these hopeful beginnings were meagre. Finally, when the *coup d'état* of Frederick III, in 1660, had given Denmark an efficient absolute monarchy, government leadership of trade and an era of peace and advantageous diplomacy made it possible for Denmark to enter the West Indies. Danish ships privately owned had already sailed to West Indian waters but now there came an opportunity to colonize. The island of St. Thomas, with an excellent harbor, was unoccupied; the relations of Denmark to the other powers would allow the Danes to retain it; and the

active support of the home government would make the plan feasible. Accordingly the Danish West India Company was established, and in the same year the settlers arrived at St. Thomas. In 1683, the neighboring island of St. John was claimed, and settled in 1717. In 1733, St. Croix was purchased from the French. In 1754, company rule ended and the Crown assumed direct control until 1916.

The history of these islands under company rule has a three-fold interest. American colonial history is a part of European history, which it constantly reflects and by which it was always determined. The similarity of chartered companies in colonial history makes a study of the Danish Company very helpful in understanding the others, and the economic solidarity of the West Indies causes the history of any portion of them to be typical of general conditions. Hence this account of the workings of the Danish Company, of the administration of the colony, of its relations to Europe and to its neighbors, and of its commercial concerns presents a valuable cross-section of universal history in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is to be noted that Dr. Westergaard's treatment takes advantage of these large possibilities of his subject.

It is not within the purpose of this review to recount the contents of the book. The reader is recommended to learn them directly. The islands are described. The fortunes of the colony are set forth chronologically through six chapters, and whatever of European history affects the islands is introduced. Then follow accounts of the slave trade, the relations of slave and planter, and of the latter to the company. These chapters (vii, viii, ix) are, perhaps, the most interesting part of the work. The last chapters deal with the acquisition of St. Croix and the final years of company rule. West Indian life is shown from every angle, economic, political, social, and religious. The economic interest, of course, dominates. The *raison d'être* of the colony was economic. One moves for the most part among planters, slaves, traders, factors, and questions of production and distribution. These are really the significant things of the book. But there is nothing of "the dismal science" about it. Things that might be caviare to the general reader—statistics of sugar and cotton, lists of exports, prices, slave cargoes and the like—

are wisely put in the appendix. The political questions are suggestive by reason of the fact that they are concerned with movements for self-government among the planters. For social history one meets slave conditions, the theater, the tavern, the newspaper. The religious world of the colonists comes in for some slight mention, the most interesting references being to mission work among the blacks and some religious statistics.

Dr. Westergaard writes most engagingly. He has enlivened his narrative with portraits of striking individuals and dramatic episodes. The figures in his portrait gallery range from Captain Kidd and the Hohenzollern Great Elector—both of whom had relation with this colony—to mutinous blacks. And if we insist rather on the readable character of the book than on its prime value as history, the reason is that the latter merit, too obvious for comment, has been recognized since the book appeared. The eagerness with which the two promised sequels are awaited is an all-sufficient praise.

The work is well documented, has a good index, and the best available bibliography on the subject. The nine maps and four illustrations are well chosen and well reproduced. The format of the book leaves nothing to be desired. The late Prof. Henry Morse Stephens, of the University of California, contributed an introduction "to set forth the results of Dr. Westergaard's labors as bearing upon the general history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."

J. M. EGAN, S.T.L.

Ten Years near the German Frontier. By Maurice Francis Egan, former United States Minister to Denmark. New York: George H. Doran Company. 1919. Price, \$3 net.

In many respects memoirs are perhaps the most fascinating department of letters, combining, as they do, the charm of romance (for anyone to be at all justified in publishing memoirs must at least have rubbed elbows with romance), with the realism of history, and affording that intimate glimpse of persons and personalities which appeals to the spark of curiosity in the least gossip-loving of us all and demonstrates the kinship of the world. Time was when we had no choice but to say "They do

these things better in France," but if many volumes of memoirs similar to this of Dr. Egan's come out of America we shall no longer be under this necessity. The author's literary ability, which was long since established, was only one of the qualifications he took to his post as minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Denmark. Ten years of diplomatic service abroad is no slight record, and when we consider that these ten years covered the period just prior to and including the four years that have come to be recognized as among the most momentous in the history of the world, and remember that they were spent at Copenhagen, "a place where every diplomat in the world went at some time or other," we cannot be astonished that, given the literary skill of the author, the chronicle should turn out to be so replete with interest.

Denmark, it is true, would seem to have been somewhat "off the map," as far as the war was concerned; it was officially neutral, although from the Prussian standpoint it was German. We have had countless books written by men and women who prior to the war were residing and even holding official positions in what became enemy territory, or who were caught in the war zone at the outbreak of hostilities, but naturally enough many of these convey the impression of having been written at too close range; their authors could not see the wood for the trees. But Dr. Egan had the advantage of an excellent perspective, and, at the same time, of being near enough to see and hear a great many important things. In the very first chapter of his book he shows that Denmark was not so far off the map as at first one might be inclined to think, inasmuch as the Prussian policy which resulted in the Great War began with the annexation by Germany, in 1864, of the Danish province of Slesvig and the Kiel Canal.

We know now what an important element this seizure was in the formation of the great fleet that was to have dominated the world, and with our dearly purchased after-sight we recognize readily enough that the seizure of Denmark would have been but a small item in the further pursuit of this rapacious policy, and still smaller, but to us how tremendous, would have been the seizure of the Danish colonies. For included among those colonies at that time were the islands of St. Thomas, St. John and Ste. Croix (Santa Cruz), in the West Indies, the first two

forming a part of what Columbus called the Virgin Islands. Now the first of these, St. Thomas, lies thirty-six miles east of Porto Rico, the possession of the United States of America and of inestimable strategic value.

When one reads things like this one realizes that the Government does not maintain in European countries a picked body of clever men merely that they may be of use to American citizens who get into difficulties in foreign parts, nor in order that they may participate not too discredibly in brilliant court functions in the name of a great and independent democracy. For this book was not written merely to furnish attractive sketches of crowned heads and diplomats and international celebrities nor to record brilliant bits of conversation—though it does both—but in order to place on record the negotiations which resulted in the purchase of the Danish West Indies by the United States of America, and it is written by the person best qualified to do so, the man who recognized the paramount importance of the step to this country and who as her accredited representative had the difficult task of influencing to this end the votes of the Danish people—for the question was put to a plebiscite.

All the difficulties he encountered are recorded here with just that saving grace that lifts the book—serious history though it is—out of the dry-as-dust category and gives it a place on the not-too-crowded shelf which holds the volumes one reads for entertainment as well as instruction, the kind of thing that Horace Walpole did wittingly and Pepys unwittingly. It detracts nothing from the reliability of the narrative that, although we know the purchase to have become an accomplished fact, the story of the preliminaries is told with a dramatic touch that makes us hold our breath with anxiety for the outcome. But through all the pages runs this note, born of the literary sense, without which how many historians are born, which breathes the breath of life into the men and women they depict and who are so far removed from us in antecedent and environment that, at the mercy of a less skilled pen, they would have been in danger of remaining mere smears of ink. It inclines one to think that not every German utterance was wholly false, and that Count Henckel-Donnersmarck, many of whose enlightening remarks are set down here, was right when he said:

"The point of view is made by literature." In this instance it is not too much to say that literature has been made by a point of view, enhanced by a sense of humor.

BLANCHE MARY KELLY.

American Negro Slavery, by Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, Ph.D. New York. D. Appleton and Company, 1919.

Professor Phillips' book is an attempt to sketch the rise, nature, and influence of Negro slavery in the regions of its concentration.

American Negro Slavery covers a good deal of ground in its five hundred and fourteen pages. There are chapters on what most of us in our boyhood used to associate with the "romantic" side of slavery, in which we renew acquaintance with such men and institutions as Las Casas, Sir John Hawkins, the Dutch West India Company and the slave-markets. Also, there are chapters on tobacco, rice, cotton, and sugar, which we recall as influences that tended to make slavery a fixture in this country. There are other chapters that recount the rise of moral scruples in Colonial times and their prostitution at a later date to political expedients. Finally, there are pictures, charming pictures indeed, of plantation life in which is fully satisfied the conventional idea of the plantation Negro as a sort of "double-shuffling" and "possum-hunting" individual.

All this is enough to show that what Professor Phillips has done is not so much to give us a new book as to furnish us with complete information with which we may correct and augment our somewhat hazy and indefinite notions of American slavery. The majority of people have obtained their conceptions of slave conditions from novels, and rather poor ones at that, and from sensational films. Even where the desire for knowledge was more pretentious the only material at hand was of a violently biased nature meant not to explore and portray facts but to exploit traditions and prejudices. There is probably no one subject in American history that is more thoroughly and more generally misunderstood than the ante-bellum situation of the Negro. The consequence is that, failing in our knowledge of the Negro's

history, we make but futile attempts to adjust him to our society.

The sanity of Professor Phillips and his adherence to historical accuracy will be revealed to many minds in his persistently implied refusal to admit that slavery was ever universally in the nation the moral issue that fancy or interest have sometimes made it. The author does not defend the introduction of slavery into this country, nor even justify its continuance. It is too late in the day to do that. He rather suggests that too many politicians have been cloaking themselves in a glory to which they are not entitled. Most men will agree that traditions in anti-slavery circles cannot always be relied upon.

With regard to the treatment of slaves Professor Phillips would urge what decency will force us to admit, that slave-owners were not always the wicked persons that they have been painted. He rather pushes the point that the South as a whole was constantly engaged in getting the good out of a bad bargain. Thus, on page 343 we read that "the slave plantation regime, after having wrought the initial and irreparable misfortune of causing the Negroes to be imported, did at least as much as any possible system in the period could have done toward adapting the bulk of them to life in a civilized community." Or again on page 401: "Plantation slavery had in strictly business aspects at least as many drawbacks as it had attractions. But in the large it was less a business than a life; it made fewer fortunes than it made men."

Such considerations do not excuse slavery. No one says that they do. But the question is: Could not the moral sense of the nation have been satisfied just as fully by economic, as by political action? Governor F. H. Pierpont of Virginia said, in 1865, that the condition of the Negroes was hard since they had "the theory of the politicians and the dogma of the divines against them." On the side of abolition, however, the politicians set themselves a task, the magnitude and treatment of which they were in most cases incapable of understanding.

Slavery was bound to disappear because of its inherent economic weakness. Certain well-known utterances prove that from the days of Washington and Jefferson considerable doubt had been thrown on the value of slavery, while the belief was

steadily growing that slavery was a detriment to the best interests of the community. One cannot but regret that the work of Raymond, Dew, Goodloe, and Ruffin was set aside in favor of the more theatrical but less substantial efforts of politicians. Had such a substitution not taken place, we might have been spared the dark days of Reconstruction, from the evil consequences of which the Negro race is even yet suffering. Surely we would have been spared that unethical course of conduct which permitted the exposure of Negroes to vagrancy, idleness, famine, and in far too many instances to death. Professor Phillips' chapters on the economic and business aspects of slavery will prove to many the most interesting in his book.

If it should be urged that in view of the circumstances a violent disruption by legislative action was the only possible way of restoring justice, it could be answered that certainly by 1850, the merely business aspects of slavery were showing that enforced slave labor was a losing game. We have it on first-rate evidence, for example, that the people of Virginia were prepared for the emancipation of the blacks long before the Civil War.

In view of the existing ignorance regarding the details of the Negro's past it is a praiseworthy thing that the author has given us his reflections in an attractive and popular style. It is a distinct relief to meet with a writer who does not interpret his "scientific" obligations in the sense that he must be heavy and unreadable. Perhaps some will object to the great bulk of the book. Of course, Professor Phillips touches upon a great variety of subjects connected with the rise and development of slavery. But there are times especially in the early part of the work when one feels that the author could have helped the reader by a little condensation. This is trivial where there is so much else of worth.

T. B. MORONEY, S.T.D.

NOTES AND COMMENT

A hundred years ago found the Church in the United States united under one archbishop, the Most Reverend Ambrose Maréchal, who succeeded Archbishop Neale on July 4, 1817, and who ruled over his vast province until his death on January 28, 1828. An ecclesiastical map of the United States in 1820, would show the Province of Baltimore subdivided into eight Dioceses: 1. That of BALTIMORE itself, which included Maryland and the District of Columbia; 2. BOSTON, which comprehended "all New England, including Maine," as the *Laité's Directory* for 1822 (p. 101), describes it; 3. NEW YORK, which included the State of New York, together with the northern part of New Jersey; 4. PHILADELPHIA, including the two States of Pennsylvania and Delaware, and the southern part of New Jersey; 5. BARDSTOWN, which was "of prodigious extent" (*ibid.*, p. 108), included the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, with Michigan Territory and the North West Territory; 6. LOUISIANA, included "the whole ancient Louisiana, as sold by France to the United States, together with the Floridas (*ibid.*, p. 111);" 7. RICHMOND, included the State of Virginia; 8. CHARLESTON, included the three States of North and South Carolina, and Georgia.

The *Laité's Directory* of 1822, devotes pages 72-126 to a description of the Church in the United States for the year 1821-22. An interesting picture of the State of the Church in 1820, might be drawn from this valuable source as well as from Shea's *History*, and from Grassi's *Notizie Varie*, of 1819. Certain salient points would need little emphasis to give them prominence in the picture. One evil of the day was prevalent enough seriously to threaten for a time the unity of the Church in the United States in 1820—Trusteeism. Trustee troubles were not confined to any one particular section of the country nor was any single bishop called upon to solve the problems they presented. The fact is that they were limited by the boundaries of no diocese; their blighting influence was felt on all (TREACY, *Evils of Trusteeism, Historical Records and Studies*, vol. viii, p. 145). Baltimore had inherited from Bishop Carroll's time a disturbing element in the German Catholics of that city as well as in Irish malcontents at Norfolk and at Charleston. Shea describes the cause as follows: "Little knots of malcontents in Norfolk and Charleston, men destitute of religion who seldom or never approached the Sacraments, actually through the Irish hierarchy, whose good faith they abused, and through Rev. Robert Browne and his confederates at Rome, influenced the action of Propaganda, and of course, not in the best interests of the Church in the United States. The Very Rev. John Rice, O. S. A., who possessed great influence in Rome, is said to have been the most active in this unjustifiable interference in the affairs of the Church in America" (SHEA, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 57).

The result of this interference was that the Holy See sided with those opposed to Archbishop Maréchal, and in July, 1820, secret bulls were issued creating the Diocese of Virginia, with the episcopal see at Richmond, and the Diocese of the Carolinas-Georgia, with the episcopal see at Charleston. Rev. Patrick Kelly was appointed Bishop of Richmond, and Rev. John England, Bishop of Charleston. "By this hasty and inconsiderate action," says Shea, "the Diocese of Baltimore constituted two portions, a thousand miles apart, Maryland and the District of Columbia on the Atlantic, and Alabama and Mississippi in the southwest" (*ibid.*, p. 58). Not only did Richmond and Charleston receive bishops who were utter strangers to the country, but so also had New York and Philadelphia. These four Bishops were nominated, Shea claims, by the influence of a foreign hierarchy, and in some cases bound in the very act of their consecration by an oath of allegiance to the British Government, at that time unfriendly to the United States.

Bishop Connolly, O. P., of New York (1814-1825) was familiar to a certain extent with the general condition of the Church in the United States; he had acted for a number of years as agent at Rome for Archbishop Carroll.

Bishop Patrick Kelly was about forty years old when he was appointed to Richmond, and at the time was President of St. John's Seminary, Birchfield, Kilkenny, Ireland. Shea sums him up as a man "of great strength and colossal proportions, but though pious, prudent, and of great integrity, he was rigid, unyielding, and haughty." A tradition is extant that he had grown tired of the burdens of college life imposed upon him, and that he appealed to his friend, Archbishop Troy, of Dublin, to secure him a Bishopric in North America. One of his letters from the Propaganda Archives (America Centrale, Vol. 40, folios 159-161), to the Father John Rice, who had aided the Norfolk malcontents, mentions this rumor.

Birchfield, Kilkenny, July 16, 1820.

Rev. and Dr. friend,

I received a day or two ago your very unwelcome favour of the 22d ult. in which you congratulate me on my elevation to the See of Virginia in America: jocosely, I suppose, as anyone's elevation to any see however accomplished he be and howsoever well acquainted with the state of religion in his church is matter of condolence rather than congratulation; how much more is that of me who have no pretensions to any of those accomplishments natural or acquired which dignify the Bishop and who, besides, am an utter stranger to the state of religion not only in that church to which you say I am called, but even in that of which I am now a member. Your letter especially in this affair of my exaltation has been to me a source of more serious uneasiness than I recollect to have experienced since the night previous to my receiving the Subdeaconship. I am determined, however, to suffer the will of God to have its course and earnestly hope that, if my exaltation contribute not to the sanctification of God's name and the coming of his Kingdom, he will by some means or other prevent its taking place.

The letter to which you allude in the first paragraph of your letter is, I suppose, that which you wrote some time last year to Father Nowlan. If any inconveniences have arisen to you from that communication, I must candidly confess, it ought, as far as my knowledge goes, to be laid at my door, and not at his. For as soon as he received that letter he sent for me and gave it me to read. Having read it, I felt offended at it, though I do not now recollect what it was in particular that provoked me: but I believe it was the report you mentioned in that letter, as then afloat in Rome of my going or having gone to America, and your desire to know whether this supposed journey of mine originated in misunderstanding with my Bishop or not. After I read the letter, Father Nowlan asked me what did I think of it. I answered peevishly: it does not concern me as I am neither going nor have gone nor do I desire to go to America nor did it ever enter my head to intrigue for a mitre. What answer, said he, shall I make Father Rice? None at all on my part, said I. So that if Father Nowlan have not since answered your letter and I cannot affirm whether he has or not, the omission ought to be attributed to me rather than him. Morisey too was at that time in Rome and it occurred to me that he might have given birth to the report with a view to injure Dr. Marum, on that account I mentioned the circumstance to his Lordship: but I have not since heard whether he made any use of the information or not. Perhaps this naked but true statement may serve to clear up what you cannot explain in the conduct of Father Nowlan. With respect to my ability to bring out with me three young clergy qualified as you deem requisite, I feel no hesitation in saying I could lead forth with me four times that number if necessary, were the means at hand of bearing their expenses out and places there provided for them on their arrival. So that if the church of Virginia require the auxiliaries you mention, you should lose no time in applying to the Propaganda for the necessary aid. Any young man proposing to go with me will be opposed by his relatives as I myself expect to be opposed strongly by mine, so that no help can be drawn from those quarters. I have not yet thought of how my own expenses are to be supplied. Adieu and believe me,

Your afft. friend and servant,

PATRICK KELLY.

Bishop Kelly's career in America was a brief and unpleasant one. He was consecrated by Archbishop Troy on August 24, 1820, "the oath of allegiance to the King of England being administered" (SHEA, *ibid.*, p. 29). Shortly afterwards he sailed for New York, and in due time presented himself to his metropolitan, Archbishop Maréchal, at Baltimore. The Archbishop left no doubt in Dr. Kelly's mind as to his position in the matter. As plainly as he could, he stated that the new bishop was unwelcome, that he could proceed or not, as he wished, to take possession of the new See and Diocese of Virginia, according to the tenor of the Bulls transmitted to him. "But to assure the tranquility of our conscience," the written protest (January 18, 1821), of the Archbishop reads, "we hereby distinctly declare to your Lordship that we in no wise give or yield our assent positively to this most unfortunate action of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide. If you carry it out, we are to be held free before God and the Church now and hereafter from all the

evils and scandals which the Catholic religion suffers or may suffer from it in these United States." The following day, January 19, 1821, Bishop Kelly set out for Norfolk. In July, 1822, he was recalled by the Holy See and was transferred to the See of Waterford-Lismore, Ireland. He died October 8, 1829.

✓ Luke Delmeyer

A sympathetic sketch of his life will be found in the *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, Vol. i, pp. 272-275. Morse attacks his appointment rather viciously in his *Foreign Conspiracy against the Liberty of the United States* (New York, 1835). In the *General's Descriptio Provinciae Metropolitanae Baltimorensis in foederati Americanae Septentrionalis Statibus*, for 1821-1822 (HUGHES, *History of the S. J., etc.*, Documents, Vol. ii, p. 959), the *praesens status religionis* for Richmond has but one word: *Confusio*. Bishop Kelly had but two priests, two churches, and 2,400 Catholics, but the task of keeping his flock in peace was beyond his powers.

In Philadelphia, Bishop Conwell had likewise inherited a legacy of disorder. He arrived in his episcopal See about the first of December, 1820, and his presence in the Pro-Cathedral the first Sunday morning was made the occasion of a public attack upon the hierarchy by that notorious disturber of the peace in Philadelphia—Rev. William Hogan, the author of the Schism which bears his name. Dr. Conwell's episcopate was a virtual martyrdom, and his recall to Rome in 1827-1828, together with his own impetuous action in returning to Philadelphia without announcement, form a very interesting, if not tragic, episode of this time. The late Martin I. J. Griffin's *Life of Bishop Conwell* (ACHS Records), contains all that need be known on the unfortunate bishop's career. His appointment to Philadelphia came about as follows: When Archbishop O'Reilly, of Armagh, died, Dr. Conwell, who was Vicar-General of the diocese, was the unanimous choice of the priests for the archiepiscopal See, but Dr. Curtis, the President of the Irish College at Salamanca, was chosen, and Dr. Conwell was given his choice of Madras or Philadelphia by the Holy See. In the light of his choice of Philadelphia, the following unpublished letter from the pen of Dr. Curtis to Monsignor Argenti, Secretary of the Congregation, is highly significant. The original is in French (*Propaganda Archives, America Centrale*, vol. 4, No. 143).

Sir,

I have the honor to receive, at this moment, your letter of the 22nd of last month enclosing the receipt regarding the advowson gift of the two parishes of Drogheda and Turfechan, which His Holiness was pleased to make to me and which had been a long time united as a source of revenue of the Primate.

You tell me at the same time that you will send me the Pallium as soon as possible; on receiving it I will heartily fulfil the duty of acknowledging this concession and the further one of the two parishes, in a letter to the Cardinal Prefect—who has been so kind as to announce them to me,—a thing I have not yet done, so as not to inconvenience His Eminence needlessly.

You add that the taxes for sending the Apostolic letters and the Pallium were sixteen Roman Crowns in the Chancellery and you ask whether you must pay this sum for me or leave it to the charge of the Sacred Congregation. Be good enough, Sir, to settle it without delay. It is a very just—a very moderate expense. I shall repay you, with the rest that I shall owe you to the end of this year, either by sending it to you directly, or paying it for you to our venerable friend Msgr. Troy—whichever you wish. All this is a slight matter and soon finished. But the same cannot be said, Monsignor Argenti, of that which remains for us to treat here. With your letter of the 15th of last month, I also received one of the same date from His Eminence the Cardinal Prefect, and with all the respect due rightly to his dignity, place and person, but not without the greatest astonishment and regret His Eminence began by supposing I was already informed that Rev. Henry Conwell—Parish Priest of Dungannon, in this diocese—had been nominated Bishop of Philadelphia by the Sovereign Pontiff. I had, in truth, heard talk of this, some time ago, but without attaching to it the least credit—persuaded that the thing was almost as impossible as to believe that he had been made Emperor of China. Nevertheless, in the course of last week, Msgr. Troy assured me, with the greatest surprise and sorrow, that it was a certain fact, and that Conwell had made it public. Those of my confrères whom I have seen lately, and many of the principal clergy—justly indignant at so dangerous and revolting an example—have begged me as Archbishop of Conwell, to represent the truth in all its nakedness to the Sacred Congregation, which had been so infamously deceived by intrigues and insidious manoeuvres and which would be incapable of choosing for the Episcopate a subject so ill-fitted, if it had the least suspicion that during the long period of years when he was Parish Priest, his ordinary custom was to travel—to rush here and there through France, England, Scotland and Ireland, outside his parish, in which he did not reside, as he was obliged to, to care for the souls entrusted to his charge; and all this without having obtained—not even asked the permission of his ecclesiastical Superiors—at least to avoid the shocking scandal.

Although I knew that these complaints and others were well founded, I had no wish to address them directly to the Sacred Congregation; on the contrary I would be content to recommend M. Conwell, as I had done in the case of Dr. McCann, because I saw that he was worthy of it—but yet I ask you to present this letter when you find it is convenient, and to confine yourself to it.

The said letter of His Eminence remarked, besides, that Conwell had asked and obtained from the Holy See permission to retain the sums which he had received for the future archbishop, during the late vacancy of the See, maintaining that they came from matrimonial charges and as he himself said, he had applied them to the Church and other pious uses; but that, before he had been instructed by the said Papal concession, he had been obliged to pay me about £100 sterling for the reason indicated and which would reduce him to misery if I did not make him some compensation.

It is astonishing how an aged priest, of 74 years, could have the audacity to utter so many falsehoods to the Holy See. It is utterly false that Conwell paid me about £100, or that the little sum he gave me—less than half of that which he received—came from marriage fees, as he invidiously said. They came, principally at least, from the annual contributions—called *Cathedraticum* or *proxies*—of the pastors of the fourteen neighbouring parishes. That

he has given the said money to the Church and other pious works, is false and even ridiculous. A vagabond or non-resident Pastor, never does anything so miraculous, although bound more than anybody to restitution. To cut short these scandalous lies, let him furnish proof of having made these pious largesses, and I promise not only to repay them, but also to give him during my life the income of this Archdiocese. However it is enough for me that the Sacred Congregation has recommended to me M. Conwell, he shall never more have occasion to complain of me, although I am poorer than he.

I have the honor to be, Monsignor,

P. CURTIS.

Drogheda, 14 Feb., 1820.

Keep God in American History, is the rather remarkable title of a little work by H. F. Atwood (Chicago, 1920). "The proudest heritage of this country," he writes, "is that all through its history there has run, like a golden thread, a deeply religious strain." The evidence brought together in support of this thesis begins with the Mayflower Compact and traces its way through the Declaration of Independence, Benjamin Franklin, Washington, Hamilton, Marshall, and Daniel Webster, and ends with a tribute to that "great patriot, Archbishop Ireland." The lesson taught us is not beside the mark: we must have faith that America has neither abandoned God nor been abandoned by God. The same Divine Providence that watched over the founders of this Republic, that guided them in the framing of our Constitution, is still with us to guide and strengthen us (pp. 24-25).

In the *Report of the General Committee on Catholic Affairs and Interests*, presented to the Catholic Hierarchy of America, assembled at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., on September 24-25, 1919, it was suggested that five Departments be created: Education, Catholic Press and Literature, Social Service, Catholic Societies and Lay Activities, and Missions. The Department of Missions, Home and Foreign, was to be created, as the Committee stated, because "the time has come when the Church of America has a special duty to become much more of a missionary Church, at home and abroad" (p. 27). Among the articles offered as a basis for this Department was the following: "We believe that the full direction of all Catholic foreign missionary activities in the world should be in the hands of the Holy See, through the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda; with an International Advisory Board on distribution, study and reports, to Rome" (p. 31). The Committee proposed that all foreign mission funds gathered in the United States should be directed and controlled by a Board appointed for that purpose. This proposal was given a voice in the Pastoral Letter dated September 26, 1919 (pp. 16-17), and the Hierarchy set forth its readiness to begin active work in foreign fields. It was to be expected that this proposal would arouse misgivings in certain quarters, particularly among those who have been directing the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, which has its General Council at Lyons, France. This Society—a distinct organization from the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide (created in 1622)—was begun at Lyons in 1822. In 1815, Bishop

Du Bourg, of New Orleans, was in France collecting alms for his vast diocese, and seven years later, a Society for the purpose of aiding all poor missions was begun. The plan was approved by Pius VII in 1823, and in 1840, Gregory XVI placed the new organization among the Universal Catholic institutions. The American Church was in large measure aided by the Lyons Society, and at the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore (1884), Cardinal Gibbons stated to the Directors of the Society: "If the grain of mustard seed planted in the virgin soil of America has struck deep roots and grown into a gigantic tree, with branches stretching from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean to the coasts of the Pacific, it is mainly due to the assistance rendered by your admirable Society that we are indebted for this blessing." Monsignor Freri, of New York City, published in 1902, a history of the work accomplished up to that date in his brochure: *The Society for the Propagation of the Faith and the Catholic Missions* (Balto., 1902). A history of the Society will also be found in the *United States Catholic Miscellany* for 1839, and Bishop England has described its work in his *History of the Propagation of the Faith in the United States* (Works, Messmer Edition, vol. iv, pp. 256-297, Cleveland, 1908). The *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, published each year since 1822, are among the most valuable source materials we possess for the history of the Church in this country being in the same category with the *Berichte* of the Leopoldine Association of Vienna. Very few complete sets of these two publications exist in the United States. An almost complete set is in the library of the Sulpician Seminary, at the Catholic University of America. The English *Annals of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith* were first published in Dublin in 1840. Later an English edition was begun in Baltimore. The last available statistics (1910) show that the Society had expended, from 1822 to 1910, almost eighty million dollars.

A special number of the *Woodstock Letters* in commemoration of the Golden Jubilee of the College at Woodstock (1866-1919) has recently been published. It is probably the first number of this periodical allowed to reach the public.

The Editor of *The Catholic Mind* has placed all students of history under obligation by reprinting (Vol. xviii, No. 8, April 22, 1920), Professor Dwight's article: *The French Clergy's Gift to America*. The burden assumed by the clergy in meeting the enormous debt incurred by France at the time of the American Revolution amounted to six million dollars.

A new periodical *The Inter-University Magazine: A Journal for Catholic Students*, has just appeared. The editor is R. H. Rastall, M.A., Christ's College, Cambridge, England. Subscriptions may be sent to Miss T. Taylor, 41 Windle Street, St. Helen's, Lancs. (Three shillings, sixpence). The editors have started out bravely to make known to the Catholic students of some twenty universities in England, Scotland, and Wales, everything of interest in the higher intellectual world. There is to be no haggling about Anglicanism, History of Dogma, or Philosophy, no sham patriotism, no purely local notes, such as those which tell us that Miss A. B. rendered the *O Salutaris* with poignant

charm, but up-to-date, practical, alive questions, like Acton, Mazzini, Private Property, Peter Finlay, S.J., and Dr. John Ryan, the American. There you are. Plenty of thin ice for the poor editors to skate on. "However," as we are blithely told, "provided we don't fall in or down, it might be better than to stand shivering on the bank; and it's far better than sitting dyspeptically in our studies." This *Magazine* will be well worth watching—having—the most sporting Catholic venture of modern times. Prosit! A shower of shillings!

During the past academic year the American Church History Seminar, under Dr. Guilday's direction, has been devoting itself to special studies in view of presenting the same within the next few years as finished dissertations for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The following students have qualified for advanced work:

REV. PATRICK WILLIAM BROWNE, Newfoundland, a former Professor of History at the University of Ottawa, and an alumnus of the Propaganda, Rome, and of Columbia University, New York City, is preparing the publication of DILHET *L'État de l'Eglise*. This valuable source he has transcribed from the Baltimore copy and he will add a translation of the same, together with an introduction and commentary.

REV. JOHN HUGH O'DONNELL, of the Congregation of the Holy Cross, Litt. B. (Notre Dame University), has already well advanced his *Historiography of Hispanic America* (1492-1821).

REV. KERNDT MICHAEL HEALEY, of the same Congregation, Litt. B. (Notre Dame University), has undertaken the topic: *Conciliar Legislation in the United States* (1791-1884).

REV. JOHN FRANCIS LEARY, of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, is specializing on the subject: *Catholics in the American Revolution* (1775-1783).

REV. JOHN CLEMENT RAGER, of the Diocese of Indianapolis, has begun the translation of the *Leopoldine Association Reports*. Through the kindness of Rev. Dr. Resek, this valuable series of letters from American prelates (1829-1860), has been entrusted to the Seminar for this purpose.

REV. EDWARD JOHN HICKEY, of the Diocese of Detroit, has gathered considerable material for his doctoral dissertation: *English Catholic Refugee Movements to America* (1559-1634).

These volumes, when published, will form the first fruits of the American Church History Seminar.

Students in American history will rejoice in the news that Dilhet's *L'État de l'Eglise catholique ou du Diocese des États-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale* is being prepared for publication. The manuscript is the possession of the Sulpician Fathers, of Baltimore. It is bound in red leather, octavo in size, and contains one hundred and twenty-eight pages of closely written material. The writing is fair, but here and there the ink has begun to fade and the paper to mold. The author of this earliest American Church History (cf. BERTRAND, *Bibliothèque Sulpicienne ou Histoire Littéraire de la Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice*, vol. ii, pp. 35-37, Paris, 1900), Jean Dilhet, was born at Toulouse on November 18,

1753. He entered the Grand Séminaire of Toulouse in 1774, and after having finished the prescribed course of studies, he was ordained and sent to Bourges, where he remained from 1778 to 1787. The following two years were spent at Avignon as superior of the philosophical department in the Seminary of that city. Towards the end of the year, 1797, he left for the United States, arriving here on January 13, 1798. His first mission was that of Rivière-aux-Raisin, in the Detroit Mission. Mr. J. A. Girardin in his sketch of the *Life and Times of Rev. Gabriel Richard* (*Michigan Pioneer Collections*, vol. I, pp. 481-495), has given us a glimpse of Father Dilhet's arduous labours in Michigan. His stay was not a long one, and in 1805, he was recalled to France. On reaching Baltimore, he cooperated with Father Nagot in founding the Petit Séminaire at Pigeon Hill, which later was transferred to Emmitsburg and is at present the renowned Mount St. Mary's College. Father Dilhet arrived at Paris in 1807, and was then sent to Limoges. In 1810, he was given the task of reëstablishing the Seminary at Puy, and it was there he died on October 31, 1811. He was well versed in the Indian tongues of the territory wherein he labored as a missionary, and gained considerable fame while in America for his eloquence. His *State of the Catholic Church, or of the Diocese of the United States of North America* is divided into two parts: the first contains the principal historical facts and personages of the Catholic Church in the United States; and the second is a geographical description of the country as he knew it both by observation and by study. It is not divided into chapters, but the captions found on almost every page assist the reader in following the story as Dilhet has written it. It begins with a chapter on the origin of the English colonies in North America and on the state of the Catholic missions there before American Independence. A second chapter tells the story of the establishment of the Diocese of Baltimore and the consecration of Bishop Carroll. A third chapter describes the foundation of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore. Then follow in order: the Diocesan Synod of Baltimore (1791); the State of the Church in Maryland, the City of Baltimore, the City of Washington, Bladensburg, Whitmarsh, St. Mary's County, Charles County, Prince George County, Montgomery County, Frederick County, Washington County. Then follows a Catalogue of the Catholic Priests in the United States. The state of the Church in Pennsylvania is well described, and other chapters are given on the Church in New York, Massachusetts, Maine, Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia. A chapter on Bardstown follows, and it is in this particular part of his "History" that we learn the details of his own labours in the Mission of Michigan. The little book is apparently complete. It closes with the following paragraph:

Nous terminerons cet ouvrage que nous ne pouvons appeller une histoire ni un essai historique de la Religion Catholique des États Unis, mais qui donnera un état de la Religion Catholique dans les États-Unis propre à nous faire bénir la providence de Dieu dans les graces sans nombre qu'Il a versé dans ce pays depuis un certain nombre d'années et à faire naître de plus grandes espérances pour un prochain avenir pour la propagation de la vraie foi et à l'extension de la véritable église qui est le Royaume de J. C. sur la terre.

Father Dilhet's *État d'Église* is not a source of the highest historical importance, but it has all the unique value of a contemporary document.

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¹Cf. CHR., Vol. v, pp. 120-128 (A-B), Vol. v, pp. 290-296 (C), Vol. vi, pp. 128-132 (D-E-F). ABBREVIATIONS: ACHS (*American Catholic Historical Society*); ACQR (*American Catholic Quarterly Review*); AER (*American Ecclesiastical Review*); AHR (*American Historical Review*); CE (*Catholic Encyclopedia*); CHR (*Catholic Historical Review*); CUB (*Catholic University Bulletin*); CW (*Catholic World*); ICHR (*Illinois Catholic Historical Review*); USCHS (*United States Catholic Historical Society*).

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PETER GUILDAY.

(To be continued.)

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THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

FOR THE STUDY OF THE CHURCH HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

Volume VI

OCTOBER, 1920

Number 3

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The Catholic Historical Review

VOLUME VI

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"CATHOLIC TRUTH AND HISTORICAL TRUTH"

The above title is taken from an article which a well-known historical critic, Mr. C. C. Coulton, contributed to the *Contemporary Review* a few years ago. As might be surmised from the implied contrast between "Catholic Truth" and "Historical Truth," the paper in question was a trenchant attack on various Catholic historians and apologists who were roundly accused of defending "Catholic Truth," *i.e.* the truth of Catholic doctrine, at the expense of "Historical Truth," or the truth of history. We have borrowed Mr. Coulton's title. But it is no part of our purpose to attempt anything like a direct answer to his charges. For, indeed, at this distance of time and place such an answer must needs be useless and impracticable. And, what is more, it would scarcely be fair to any of the parties concerned. It would be doing a sorry service to the accused Catholic writers to traverse accusations of which our readers, in all probability, have never heard. We should run the risk of being unfair to their assailant if the grounds of his accusation were not stated in full. And to do this, or anything like it, would be very hard on our readers. But apart from the particular case of these Catholic historians and apologists and their Protestant critic, this literary episode raises a broad question of more general interest, a question which may well seem to have a special claim on the attention of readers of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW. This is clearly the case, for readers of a review which claims to be at once "Catholic" and "Historical" cannot well be indifferent to the suggestion that there is a sharp distinction, if not a necessary rivalry or antagonism, between Catholic Truth and Historical Truth; or, in other words, that Catholic writers, even when they profess to be writing history, are more solicitous to glorify their faith than to tell the facts, as they really happened, without fear or favor, and so

are content to sacrifice historical truth in the supposed interests of Catholic doctrine. At first sight some may be disposed to dismiss the charge as an invidious invention of Protestant prejudice. For are we not familiar with the fact that the falsification of history has really been a more common practice in the other camp? Did not Joseph de Maistre have good warrant for his complaint that history for the past three centuries has been a conspiracy against the truth? Has not Cardinal Newman exposed the falsity of Protestant literary and historical tradition? And are not later Catholic critics still engaged in refuting these false statements and setting right the blunders of Protestant historians?

Yet, strange and startling as this charge may seem, we can scarcely afford to dismiss it in this summary fashion. And it may well be that we shall find, when we come to examine it more closely, that, though it may be somewhat strained and overstated in the hands of hostile critics, there is, withal, some real ground for misgiving lest an indiscreet zeal for the interests of doctrinal orthodoxy should tend to impair the impartiality of our historians. Indeed it could not well be otherwise, human nature being what it is. And while we can confidently claim that an enlightened zeal for Catholic orthodoxy can be happily harmonized with judicial impartiality and a scrupulous accuracy in the statement of historical facts, we could hardly expect to find that, as a matter of fact, all Catholic historians fulfil these requirements, or that Protestants and Rationalists or other outsiders have been allowed to have a monopoly in blunders, either in the perversion of facts, or in the partisan presentment of history. Nay, curiously enough, this fond vision is not only something too good to be looked for in this imperfect world, but it is scarcely compatible with Catholic orthodoxy. For it would seem to involve a sort of literary Lutheranism, in which historians would be, so to say, justified by their faith. According to Catholic teaching, on the contrary, orthodoxy in doctrine does not necessarily imply any freedom from moral lapses. And while Catholic historians are as apt to be mistaken as their Protestant brethren, they can claim no exemption from the imperfections that give rise to faults of injustice or unfairness. Our historical literature happily contains many works which we may justly regard with pride and satisfaction. But,

on the other hand, it has some pages which have been deservedly censured by the best Catholic critics.

We are not now concerned with other sources of error common to all alike, such as defective or misleading evidence, spurious documents, corrupt popular traditions. But the point is that, apart from all this, Catholic ecclesiastical historians are in some danger of being biased in their judgment and dealing less than the even-handed justice demanded of true historians. In a word, it is suggested that Catholic chroniclers, biographers and writers of church history, as a result of their zeal for the Faith and their loyalty to Holy Church, have presented a picture of the past which shows more favor to Saints and Popes and Bishops, and bears more hardly on hostile kings, and schismatics and heretics, than is warranted by evidence weighed in the unbiased balance of rigid impartiality. And, as we have said, we cannot afford to dismiss this as a groundless and gratuitous invitation of the enemy. It is likely enough, indeed, that like other charges, it is exaggerated in the incisive indictments of hostile critics. But, for the purpose of our argument, it may be well to leave this aside and confine our attention to the more measured and authoritative censure of Catholic scholars, in whose case there is no room for suspicion that the charge may owe its origin to Protestant prejudice. And for this purpose it may be enough to cite two noteworthy examples, to wit, Melchior Cano's grave words on the defects of our earlier historical literature in point of accuracy and impartiality, and Cardinal Newman's significant account of the limitations imposed upon Catholic historians by the jealousy of orthodox opinion and the stress of religious controversy.

When the great Dominican theologian, in his classic work, *De Locis Theologicis*, comes to speak of the use of human history in theology, it is only natural that he should describe the characteristics of that true and trustworthy history which can stand the theologian in good stead. And it is no less natural that he should cite some examples in illustration. This is, indeed, just what he does. But the reader may be somewhat startled to find that this Catholic divine is, however, reluctantly compelled to give the palm to pagan historians, and is fain to lament that Christian writers have not told the history of the saints with that

fidelity and rigid regard for truth with which Diogenes Laertius has written the lives of the Greek philosophers, and Suetonius has painted an impartial picture of the Roman Caesars, with all the lights and all the shadows.

In hisce vero auctoribus tametsi pietatem absolutaque virtutis officia spectare non licet, licet tamen probitatem quamdam bonitatemque naturae. Quidam enim eorum aut veritatis amore inducti, aut ingenui pudoris verecundia usque adeo a mendacio abhorruerunt, ut jam pudendum fortasse sit, historicos gentium quosdam veraciores fuisse quam nostros. Dolenter hoc dico potius, quam contumeliose, multo a Laertio severius vitas Philosophorum scriptas, quam a Christianis vitas sanctorum, longeque incorruptius et integrius Suetonium res Caesarum exposuisse, quam exposuerint catholici non res dico imperatorum, sed martyrum, virginum, et confessorum. Ille enim in probis, aut Philosophis, aut principibus, nec vitia, nec suspensiones vitiorum tacent, in improbis vero etiam colores virtutum produunt. Nostri autem plerique vel affectibus inserviunt, vel de industria quoque ita multa confingunt, ut eorum me nimirum non solum pudeat, sed etiam taceat. Hos enim intelligo ecclesiae Christi cum nihil utilitatis attulisse, tum incommodationis plurimum. Nominibus parco, quoniam huius loci iudicium morum etiam est, et non eruditionis tantum: in qua liberior potest esse censura. Nam quae morum est, haec debet profecto esse et in vivos cautior et in mortuos reverentior. Certum est autem qui fecte et fallaciter historiam ecclesiasticam scribunt, eos viros bonos atque synceros esse non posse, totamque eorum narrationem inventam esse aut ad quaestum aut ad errorem, quorum alterum foedum est, alterum perniciosum. Iustissima est Ludovici querella de historiis quibusdam in ecclesia confictis. Prudenter ille sane ac graviter eos arguit, qui pietatis loco duxerint mendacia pro religione fingere. Id quod et maxime periculosum est et minime necessarium. Mendaci quippe homini ne verum quidem credere solemus.¹

Will it be said that Cano is somewhat too severe in his censure, or that he gives no evidence to support these startling statements? So far as the lives and the legends of the saints are concerned, the answer is writ large in the herculean labors of the Bollandists, and some practical proofs on a smaller scale, and more accessible to all, may be seen in the revised lessons of the Roman Breviary.

It is true no doubt that Cano's censure can only affect the historians and ecclesiastical biographers of an earlier generation. And it may be hoped that considerable improvement has been

¹ *De Locis Theologicis*, lib. xi., cap. vi., pp. 373-374, Edition of Salamanca, 1613. (Bouquillon Library, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.)

made in these matters after the admirable work done since his time by such true scholars as the Bollandists and the Benedictines of St. Maur, who were scarcely less remarkable for their candor and impartiality than they were for their patient industry and their scholarly accuracy of statement. But apart from the fact that this improvement is largely confined to special fields of studies, its beneficent influence on our Church history as a whole is checked by the unfortunate effects of post-Reformation controversy.

On this point it will be enough to cite the remarkable admission made by Cardinal Newman in the course of his interesting correspondence with Father Coleridge on the subjects which might be treated with advantage in the pages of his new magazine *The Month*.

"Nothing," writes Newman, "would be better than an historical review, but who would bear it? Unless one doctored all one's facts, one should be thought a bad Catholic.

"The truth is there is a keen conflict going on just now between two parties, one in the Church, and one out of it—and at such seasons extreme views alone are in favor, and a man who is not extreme is thought treacherous.

"I sometimes think of King Lear's daughters, and consider that they, after all, may be the truest who are in speech more measured." Letter of July 24, 1864. (v. *The Month*, January, 1903, p. 4).

This letter brings out very forcibly the peculiar difficulty and delicacy of the present problem. In purely secular history, it is for the most part a far more simple matter. A writer who is dealing with some historical struggle in which national or party issues are involved is naturally prone to favor his own people, or his own party, at the expense of their opponents. But a simple sense of his duty as an historian will make him seek to be scrupulously fair to the other side, and keep on his guard against his own prepossessions and prejudices. He knows that the truth of history is something of far greater moment than the pride of country or the interests of a political party. "Amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas." Or he may say to his country, as the Royalist poet said to his mistress:

I could not love thee, Dear, so much;
Loved I not Honor more.

Thus the patriotic American, or English, or French historian may be tempted to give the palm to his own country. But he is restrained by the luminous evidence of truth. And when he follows this guiding light, he is sure of being rewarded by the approval of the best and wisest of his own people.

But, as we have said, the question here at issue is by no means so simple. For it cannot be said that the mere natural facts of human history are something of far higher moment than the supernatural truths of Catholic doctrine. And writers whose chief solicitude is to safeguard and illustrate the truth of that doctrine are scarcely in the same case as those who would shrink from setting forth the facts of history; from shame, or fear, or personal interest, or any other unworthy motive. Hence it comes, as we see from Newman's remarkable admission, that some serious and religious-minded men would fain have us "doctor" the crude facts of human history, and they would look with suspicion on the orthodoxy of those Catholic historians who venture to depreciate this dubious process.

This "doctoring," it may be remarked, need not be taken to imply any direct and deliberate falsification of the evidence, still less any impudent assertion of the thing that is not. For the most part, we suppose, it has reference to a too decorous reticence on the subject of scandals in ecclesiastical history. From what has been said so far, and more especially from our appeal to the weighty words of Melchior Cano and Cardinal Newman, it will be readily seen that we are not disposed to sympathise with this policy of suppression. For our own part we should prefer to see a school of Catholic ecclesiastical historians who could challenge comparison with Suetonius and Diogenes Laertius in point of strict justice and impartiality, who frankly recognize the wrong done by great churchmen and the good done by heretics and persecutors. But this preference need not prevent us from endeavoring to do justice to historians of another stamp. Nay, this very principle of judicial impartiality so strongly recommended by the Spanish Dominican has its application here, as well as in our treatment of popes and emperors, or saints and heretics. And it is to be feared that some who are hasty in their

censure of idealised history or the policy of suppression do not always bear this in mind. For, after all, it is possible to go too far in this direction.

We cannot, it is true, go too far in our censure of everything that savours of fraud and falsehood. And we may well think that it is as wrong to deceive others by the "*suppressio veri*" as by the "*suggestio falsi*," and, indeed, the one very naturally issues in the other. But it is well to remember that all suppression or withholding of facts is not necessarily tantamount to deception. And sometimes this course may be necessary not merely for the sake of religion, or charity, or reverence for those in authority, but in the interest of justice and historical truth. This point may be illustrated by a practice observed in English criminal trials, to wit, the suppression of previous convictions. Those who are familiar with our courts of justice know that when a prisoner has been tried and convicted of theft, for example, it often happens that, after all the witnesses have been duly examined, and counsel on both sides have said their say, and the judge has summed up, and the jury have deliberated and given their verdict, a prison warder goes into the witness-box and produces a damning record showing that the prisoner has many times been convicted of the same offence. A simple visitor might suppose that all this had only been discovered at the last moment. But of course the facts have been known to the authorities all along; but, by a wise rule of the courts, they have been purposely suppressed, or withheld from the jury during the trial, in the best interests of truth and justice. For it is recognized that although these facts are true and are clearly established, their disclosure at any earlier stage of the proceedings might create a prejudice in the minds of the jury and lead them to draw a conclusion in no wise warranted by the evidence. The fact that the man has often committed the crime before does not really prove that he is guilty now, and in spite of the previous convictions he may really be innocent. And yet the disclosure of true facts may have a misleading effect, and, however illogically, issue in a false conclusion and a miscarriage of justice.

The application of this example to the case of historical suppression is sufficiently obvious. For the judge who suppresses

the evidence of the previous convictions does not mean to dispute the true facts. He is only seeking to preclude the false conclusions which may too probably follow from their inopportune disclosure. And so, in much the same way, the historian may feel that he, too, is sometimes warranted in omitting to mention facts which, however true in themselves, are only too likely to lead his readers to draw false conclusions. As we have already intimated, we are inclined to regard this as a mistaken, if not a perilous policy. But be this as it may, it is well to recognize its true purpose and meaning. And though, as will presently appear, it should have no place in historical research, properly so called, it may be well to add that it is perfectly legitimate and even necessary, in certain forms of historical, or quasi-historical literature.

Thus, for example, however wrong it may be to give one side alone when we are supposed to be presenting a whole history, an avowed selection for some special purpose, is clearly allowable. The lives of the saints, to take an obvious instance in illustration, do not purport to be a history of mankind as a whole. And the hagiographer cannot be said to suppress the evil deeds of sinners. In this way, indeed, panegyric and idealized history may be allowed their legitimate place in our religious literature. All must condemn a national history which gives every victory its appropriate place, while the defeats are passed over in silence. But who would blame a book of heroic deeds, or a chronicle of national victories, compiled for the encouragement and inspiration of British and American boyhood? So, in like manner, the most resolute advocate of historical candor would surely exclude grave ecclesiastical scandals from books designed for the instruction of children.

Even apart from such special cases, some measure of selection, and consequent suppression of facts, is made necessary by the size and relative proportions of historical writings. In the spacious pages of Baronius, there is room for a detailed account of the principal figures in the story and some estimate of their personal character. But this would be out of place in a smaller work, which can only give the leading events in history. To introduce such matters as the private vices of rulers or other public men into a little sketch of this kind would give them a

wholly disproportionate importance. And it should be remembered that false proportions may really involve a misrepresentation as grave as any positive statement. This point may be illustrated by the art of the caricaturist, which generally consists in a grotesque or satirical exaggeration of some leading feature or distinctive characteristic of the victim. But, in point of fact, in the little cartoons in the newspapers, which are necessarily much less than life-size, it is only in their want of due proportion to the rest of the drawing that the grotesque features are false and exaggerated. In like manner, the historical artist who does not observe the proportions of his drawing, and the scale of color, may effectively convey a calumny when he fancies that he is only making a frank and faithful statement of established facts.

Closely connected with this question of relative proportions is the difference in *genre*, or nature, of the subjects treated in historical writings. One writer, for example, may set himself to record the history of a national literature, and he will very rightly leave on the one side all the extraneous matter that is irrelevant for his purpose. Nay, even, within what is in some respects his own province, he must be content to pass by a mass of material that can scarcely claim to be counted as literature, the *biblia a-biblia* as Lamb calls them, or "books that are not books." While if he is wise, in dealing with the makers and masters of the national literature, he will give most of his care and attention to the study of their art and their writings, in a word, to their true life work, and will not waste his time on their irrelevant activities in alien fields, still less on the possible follies and frailties of their private life. For the student of literature, or of literary history, is not concerned to know of the vices of poets; but should seek rather such knowledge as will enable him to understand and appreciate their glorious poetry.

And may not much the same be said of religious or ecclesiastical history? If the real life of a poet, the only part of it that counts for much with real students of literature, is reckoned by the days and hours that he devoted to the cultivation of his art, so in like manner, those who would understand and appreciate the true nature of Church history will give their best attention to the wondrous works and the bright example of the saints, to the faithful and laborious lives of zealous popes and bishops,

and the legislative work of councils, and the ordered hosts of religious men and women, and the glories of sacred art, and learning, and literature. For it is here, and not in the scandals and abuses, or in the unworthy lives of those unhappy pastors who were faithless and false to their high calling, that we can best read the real life story of the Church of God.

This aspect of the subject may be commended to the attention of those whose minds are too much occupied with the question of the scandals and abuses. And it may serve to show that our idealistic Church historians are not altogether without some justification.

As we have already suggested, there is a legitimate place for panegyric in our literature, though its scope is other than that of the historian. The latter, to be sure, must give us a faithful picture, with all the lights and all the shadows. But the preacher, with a more pleasing task on hand, may take up his parable, and give us glowing panegyrics of the saints, or sing the praises and glories of the Holy City of God. Lucian, in his delightful dissertation on the question, "How History ought to be Written," complained that some would-be historians of his day were mistaking their office and were putting forth panegyrics in the place of histories. If we are suffering from any analogous confusion of diverse forms of literature, just now, we should be disposed to say that it is not so much history and panegyric as historical and apologetical writings, properly so called, that are too often apt to be confounded with one another.

This unfortunate confusion of historical with apologetical, or controversial writings is, to some extent, inevitable in the circumstances. For though it is true that these two forms of literature are perfectly distinct one from another, and the dividing line is clearly marked, in point of fact, historians and controversialists have a good deal of ground in common. From the time of the Reformation, if not from a considerably earlier date, religious controversy, to a great extent at any rate, turned on disputed questions of historical fact. And the history of the chief European nations is hopelessly involved in thorny questions of theological controversy. Hence the historian, however little it may be to his liking, is compelled to be something of a theologian, and the religious apologist, in his turn, is constrained to turn historian.

Something of the same kind, it may be remarked, has happened in other fields, for instance, in English political history since the latter part of the seventeenth century. For here, too, the whole story turns on points that are still debated between opposing parties. And thus, instead of English histories pure and simple, we have Whig histories and Tory histories, wherein the historical narrative is combined with the defense of a party or a political doctrine.

It may be well to insist that there is nothing necessarily invidious in this distinction between the diverse functions of the historian and the religious, or political, apologist. For both alike have their rightful place in literature, and the one office may well be as important and honorable as the other. In secular literature, indeed, we should be disposed to assign the historian of a people a higher rank than any political theorist, or champion of party principles. But the case is altered when we turn our attention to religious history and literature. Considered in themselves, we suppose, a dogmatic treatise "*De Ecclesia Christi*," or the controversial masterpieces of such Catholic champions as Bellarmine and Stapleton, may well be works of higher value and importance than any simple history of the Church, however strictly historical and based on a patient and dispassionate study of all the available evidence. But, be this as it may, it is well to insist on the essential distinction between history properly so called and religious controversy, or apologetics, and to bear in mind that in spite of any occasional and accidental association of the diverse offices, the aims, and the methods, and the duties of the apologist, or religious controversialist, are other than those of the historian.

The several duties of the historian and the controversialist are, indeed, as distinct in their way as those of the judge and the advocate. And what is right and proper in the one case may be highly reprehensible in the other. The controversialist, or the Catholic apologist, like the advocate in a court of justice, is the champion of a cause. He sets out to establish the authority of the Church and the Apostolic See and the truth of Catholic teaching. The evidence and the arguments by which his case are supported may be scattered in many places, and beset by difficulties or involved in obscurity. And it is his object to bring them to-

gether and set them forth in such luminous order as to give them their full force and cogency. With regard to the difficulties and specious objections that may seem likely to tell against the truth and mislead the wayward and unwary, he will do his best to meet them or lessen their force. And he will be careful to avoid any false steps which may defeat his object and serve the cause of the enemy.

On the other hand, the apologist's attitude toward heretical teachers and their false doctrine is equally simple and straightforward. His sole concern with them is to show that they are without authority and that their teaching is erroneous. On other points, no doubt, apart from their peculiar tenets, the heretics may have retained much of Catholic teaching intact, they may have labored for social and moral reform, and have done good work in other ways. Moreover, in some instances at any rate, their very errors may have been their misfortune rather than their fault, arising, maybe, from a want of adequate instruction in their religion, or from the political and social disorder of the times. But all this is outside the purview of theological censorship. And it can scarcely be taken into consideration by the religious controversialist, who very naturally confines his attention to the arduous task he has in hand, namely, the vindication of Church authority and orthodox doctrine, and the refutation of heretical teaching. But it is just those things in which the controversialist has no concern, that form the proper subject matter of the historian, whose duty it is to paint with an even brush a full and faithful picture of the past, with all its varying lights and shadows, freely showing the

Fears of the brave and follies of the wise,

and in no wise seeking to hide the broken rays of spiritual truth and moral goodness that lighten the darkness of schism and heresy. Such, in the main, if each devoted his attention to his own proper province, would be the several duties of the Catholic apologist and the historian.

But, as we have said, for the reasons already noticed, these two branches of our religious literature have been involved in some confusion. Theological controversy, since the age of the Reformation, has turned on disputed points of historical fact, and Church history has consequently become more and more con-

troversial in its character. A Catholic author who sets himself to write a history of the Church in these last centuries, or to compose an historical study on some important phase in the religious revolution of the sixteenth century, will soon find that he is engaged in religious controversy, rather than simple historical research. In this way it may be said that a good deal of what is commonly called historical literature is somewhat in the case of that branch of science familiarly known as mixed mathematics. For these works, however admirable in their way, cannot be considered as history pure and simple, but belong, rather, to a new species of blended history and doctrinal controversy, in which indeed the controversial element predominates over the historical.

In some respects, it is true, the works we have in mind may be rightly regarded as strictly historical in character. For many of them are written in accordance with the best modern methods and give the reader an accurate record of ascertained facts, duly authenticated by exact references to the original sources. But the same course, it may be remarked, is adopted by any scholarly theologian who has occasion to make an historical point against his opponent. And this does not alter the fact that his work, in view of its primary purpose, is theology and not history. And much the same may be said of those books whose aim it is to present the historical evidence in support of Church authority and Catholic doctrine, and expose the errors and evil deeds of heretics and persecutors. In some cases, for example, in a monograph on the divorce of Catharine of Arragon, the whole book may be primarily controversial. In others, as in a Manual of Church History, there may be a larger proportion of purely historical matter. But in both, alike, allowance must be made for the doctrinal or apologetic aims which the author has in view, and which, naturally enough, guide him in his choice of subjects and in his presentment of the historical evidence. So far as this is a mere question of literary form, or of conventional classification, it may be freely allowed that it is a matter of very minor moment. True lovers of literature can have very little patience with those pedantic critics who condemn such great artists as Euripides, or Shakespeare, because, forsooth, they do not keep to the pure tragedy of Sophocles, but blend their tragic art with beggarly

elements which belong more properly to the comic muse. For whether we classify their plays as tragedy or comedy, or as a new blend of both, Euripides is still the most tragic of poets, and Shakespeare attains the true end of tragedy, which is to "purify by pity and terror." In much the same way it may be said that it matters not whether the books now in question are to be classified as history, or religious controversy, or historical apologetics so long as they effect a most desirable and necessary object, and vindicate the authority of the Church and the truth of Catholic doctrine.

From the same point of view, it may be urged that this is, after all, our main reason for taking any special interest in the study of Church history. In a word, it is just because the Catholic Church is the One True Church, that her story means more for us than that of the dead and buried beliefs of Egypt or Babylonia. How, then, can we well have a better or a more desirable history of the Church than one which in the very telling of the story is able, at the same time, to establish her authority and the truth of her doctrine? In the same way, it may be urged, that if, as we must allow, the teaching of the heretics is false and dangerous, this is all we need to know about them, and there can, therefore, be no reason for regretting the want of fuller and more impartial histories that might show the other side of the picture and bring out the various facts and mitigating circumstances which have been overlooked or forgotten.

To speak frankly, we fear that some readers may really be disposed to agree in this view of the matter. And, if so, we may take this as showing that the interest felt in such literature is, as we supposed, controversial, and not truly historical. In much the same way, we imagine, there are those who can take no interest in any mathematical calculations but such as serve some plain, practical purpose and could never appreciate purely abstract speculations, like Carnot's inimitable *Réflexions sur la Méta-physique du Calcul Infinitésimal*. But readers who have any portion of the historical spirit will surely see the matter in a very different light. They will readily recognize, as all must do, the high merit of many of the Church histories and special monographs, such as those we have described above, books which combine a defense of the Catholic cause with practical historical

information. But they will ask, not unreasonably, for something more than this. They will seek, like those who delight in pure mathematical speculation, to study history for its own sake. They will turn its pages for another purpose than that of making out a case, or securing a triumph over their opponents. In a word, they will seek to understand the story of mankind, and grasp the cause and the meaning of the changing movements, whether good or evil. And this, as they know full well, is out of the reach of those who approach the study in the spirit of strife and controversy.

To illustrate this point, it will be enough to notice the very different way in which the history of the Middle Ages is treated, on the one side, by contending controversialists, whether Catholic or Protestant; and, on the other hand, by patient and dispassionate historical students. We all know those gloomy religionists who look back on that rich and fertile field of human history as on a time of ignorance, "the dark ages," when the great mass of mankind was sunk in "damnable idolatry." And we know, too, that far more pleasing company of amiable idealists who paint the same period as a veritable golden age, "the ages of faith," before vice came in with the pagan Renaissance, and heresy broke out in the Lutheran Reformation, when chivalry flourished in the court, and virtue in the cloister, and true philosophy in the schools and social unrest was a thing unknown. But, on the other hand, there are students who have learned to know the Middle Ages as they really were, from the frank and trustworthy testimony of contemporary literature. And, to speak plainly, the picture reflected in that luminous and faithful mirror is something very different both from the Protestant nightmare, and from the Catholic fool's paradise. For it reflects an age, rich indeed, in faith, and wisdom, and virtue, and chivalry, and charity; but its brightness is dimmed, withal, by dark shadows of heinous vice, and heresy, and false philosophy, and its peace is disturbed by deeds of violence and turbulent upheavals.

Looking at the matter from this point of view, we may well believe that, even on the hypothesis that what may be called the apologetic, or controversial, branch of our historical literature leaves little or nothing to be desired, there is still a good deal to be done in the interests of historical truth, in the way of a

broader and more impartial study of the past. But this is by no means all. For it remains to ask whether this broadening, or extension, of historical study is not, likewise, urgently demanded in the best interests of Catholic Truth itself. We have already seen how strongly Melchior Cano insisted on the importance of this courageous and candid history which tells the whole truth without flinching, and frankly shows the faults of our friends and the merits of our enemies; and how deeply he lamented the melancholy fact that Catholic historians were behind the heathen in these matters. But we have yet to notice the significance of the place where Cano gives utterance to these sentiments. He does not say all this in a dissertation, like that of Lucian in an earlier age, on the general question as to "How History ought to be Written." But he says it in his work, *De Locis Theologicis*; and in that section of the work which is devoted to the consideration of human history as one of those sources or instruments of theology. In other words, he is speaking expressly of that kind of history which can be of use to the Catholic theologian. And he plainly implies that history which is wanting in these essential qualities of rigid accuracy and perfect impartiality will be both unprofitable and perilous.

Historical truth, as we have seen, should assuredly be sought after for its own sake, and apart from any ulterior considerations. And we should have a poor opinion of the honesty of those, whether historians or others, who are honest only because this is the best and safest policy. But there are cases in which these reasons may be used with advantage. For though falsehood must always be condemned, silence may be allowable, or even a matter of duty, where harm is likely to be done by speaking. As we have suggested above, this was very probably the motive of the "doctoring" to which Newman refers, and it may also serve to explain the conduct of some of the historians censured by Cano for failing to note the faults of those whom they praised, and the good points of those whom they regarded with disfavor. They may have thought that such silence was more prudent, lest they should lessen the authority of rulers, or the teachers of truth, or strengthen the influence of the teachers of error. But in this a perilous policy was strangely adopted from prudential motives. For nothing is more likely to discredit the authority of our

historians, and to encourage exaggerated suspicions of evil, than want of openness in these matters.

The reader may have noticed what looks like a curious inconsistency in the passage which we quoted above from Melchior Cano. For after blaming Catholic historians because they do not imitate the plain-speaking of Suetonius and Laertius, he himself forbears to mention the names of these offenders, because, as he says, it is a question of moral blame and not a mere blunder, and on such matters we must observe more care in regard to the living and more reverence for the dead. For why should the memory of historians be treated more tenderly than that of kings and bishops or other historical characters? But, the truth is he is only observing the ordinary rules that guard against the danger of detraction. *Cæteris paribus* the faults of historians must, of course, be visited as severely as those of the others. But in this case, we suppose, they were not so public, or it was not so necessary to make them known, as was the case with the faults which they had treated too tenderly.

These rules in regard to the danger of detraction must not be forgotten by historians. But in the case of most of the great figures of history, the matter is generally sufficiently public, and a frank statement of facts is necessary in the general interest of historical truth, and even, as we have seen, for the sake of the offenders themselves, since openness is the surest safeguard against sinister suspicions. With regard to the other fault of which Cano complains, to wit, the failure to notice the good points in those who are regarded with disfavor, the moral duty of the historian is yet more obvious. It would clearly be a crime against truth and justice to charge a heretic, or a persecutor of the Church, with bad deeds which he had never committed. But this is not the only way of making him out to be blacker than he really was. For if his real crimes are fully set forth, and everything that can be said in his favor is studiously suppressed, the disproportionate delineation of his character is equivalent to a calumny, and the *suppressio veri* carries with it an effective *suggestio falsi*.

But in this matter, we confess, we are not so much concerned with the danger of doing injustice to the memory of heretics or persecutors by exaggerating their errors, or painting them

blackier than they were. While the names of so many great and good men are made a byword and treated with scorn and contumely, we need not be too greatly troubled if the censures passed, for example, on Luther and his writings, are not in exact proportion to his merits, or demerits. But there is another, and a very different, reason for regarding the want of strict historical justice in our treatment of heretics and heretical writings with grave regret and misgiving. To put it briefly, it is not only a due regard for the requirements of historical truth and candid criticism, but yet more a solicitude for the purity and integrity of Catholic teaching that moves us in the matter.

It is a large and a deep subject to discuss at the close of the present paper. And we must be content to touch upon it in a few words. But it may be enough to note that the defense of Catholic Truth involves something that goes far beyond particular controversies with Luther and Calvin and the vindication of ecclesiastical authority against the religious revolution of these latter centuries. In a word, we have to do with the larger question of Divine Providence, of the distribution of grace throughout the world, and the possibility of the salvation of souls among those who are unhappily cut off from the visible body of the Catholic Church. All these deep matters, to name no others, are involved in the historical treatment of the Reformation story. And it is disheartening to notice the narrow party spirit with which some superficial writers approach this grave problem. It would seem as though it mattered nothing to us how far the unhappy Reformers went in their errors, or how much of Catholic truth they retained in their system. Nay, some would even seem to think that the worse we can make them out to be, the better it is for our case, since it gives us a more crushing victory. And, on the other hand, the suggestion that the rupture may have come as the result of a gradual growth of abuses, and a neglect of adequate instruction of the people in religion, is apt to be regarded as an attempt to palliate the crimes of the Reformers. But the real problem to be studied is something broader and deeper than the exact measure of guilt in any one man. And it is only by a patient and dispassionate study of all the available evidence, in the light of the Catholic doctrine on Divine Providence and the distribution of grace, that we can hope

to arrive at any satisfactory solution. To go back to the question with which we set out, there is a strange fallacy involved in the suggestion that there can be any discrepancy or antagonism between Catholic Truth and Historical Truth. Doubtless there are many human systems that cannot afford to face the fierce light of history without some protecting screen or some reflecting medium. And their advocates may well wish to doctor the crude facts and mitigate their force. But the champion of the Catholic Church should not stoop to such unworthy weakness. "Whatever record leaps to light she never shall be shamed." It is her place to live in the light, while those who assail her shall perish in the darkness.

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THE PREFACE OF THE "ACTA SANCTORUM"

On the page preceding the text of the first volume of the *Acta Sanctorum*, we find in bold type the following appeal:

Kind Reader, I beg you not to read the following acts or, if they do not meet with your immediate approval, not to pass hasty judgment upon them until you have given due consideration to what I have set forth in the Preface, particularly in the third chapter.

We may infer from this appeal that Bollandus anticipated the unjust criticism from which the *Acta Sanctorum* would suffer owing to ignorance of the design of the work, and of the authority claimed for its contents. Hence in the Preface he explains in detail the plan he proposed to follow, and the credence the events related deserve, thus making acquaintance with the preface essential to an intelligent understanding of the work, and laying down sound principles of historical writing which the lapse of three centuries has only served to vindicate and strengthen. The length of the preface precludes its presentation as a whole; we venture to give the main elements of the second and third chapters, largely in the words of Bollandus himself, in order to encourage acquaintance with the original, and to create a deeper interest in the *Acta Sanctorum*, an "Opus Magnum," too little appreciated and too seldom invoked.¹

The second chapter is devoted to an explanation of the order in which the material is to be presented. It is difficult for us to appreciate the problem which confronted Bollandus prior to the publication of the *Acta Sanctorum*. Before him was a vast mass of undigested material. All this had to be appraised, its value in the work fixed, and then a plan evolved by which it might be presented in the most effective manner. Some of his predecessors in the field of hagiography had followed no order at all in giving the lives, some had followed an alphabetical order, some the order of time, and some the order of feasts in the Roman liturgy, writing the lives promiscuously when the feasts of several saints fell on the same day. Bollandus determined to

¹ "Neither of our own great historians of the Middle Ages, Gibbon or Hallam, have as far as we have been able to discover, ever consulted them." GEORGE T. STOKES in the *Contemporary Review*, Vol. xliii (Jan., June, 1883), p. 78.

follow the order of the Roman calendar,² and when the feasts of several saints fell on the same day, to follow the order of time, as far as this could be ascertained.

First on a given day, I recount in the order just explained, the names of the saints revered on that day or whose memory is in any way celebrated, adding, when known, the place where they lived, and the dignity or office they held, *e. g.*, St. Guadentius, Bishop of Novara in Italy; St. Leo the Tribune, Martyr, in Bulgaria. By this method it is possible to see, at one glance, the saints treated on that day and the order in which they are treated.

Next he placed the names of saints whose lives are omitted or deferred to another day. When a saint has not been duly canonized or declared a saint by popular acclaim, before the process of canonization was introduced, his life is omitted but the name is given. Bollandus admits that he is liable to err and probably has erred in this matter and appeals for correction. The occurrence of several feasts of the same saint made it necessary to confine the life to one day, and on other days to give merely the name of the saint, with a reference to the day on which the life is given.

The Preface then continues as follows:

In the third place come the prefaces, or prolegomena, the dissertations preceding the individual lives. In these I set forth the place in which each saint enjoys particular veneration, where he was born, or where he spent his life, or the place which he has hallowed with his relics. I indicate the time in which he lived, from definite proofs where they are available. I establish the public recognition of his sanctity, from the acts of canonization, from Martyrologies, the testimony of ancient writers, churches dedicated to his memory, authorized translations of relics and from other remains. I mention by whom the life was written, at what time, by whom it was approved and cited, and from whom it

² This order is opposed by L. Duchesne in the *Bull. Critique* (June, 1888): "Le premier obstacle, c'est l'ordre même de la publication, qui suit le calendrier au lieu de grouper les souvenirs hagiographiques suivant les temps et les lieux. Il est ainsi presque impossible de réunir et de comparer des textes, des traditions, tout à fait analogues de provenance et de formation qui s'éclaireraient par leur rapprochement même. Deux saints du même temps et du même pays, qui ont eu peut-être le même biographe, ou, en tout cas, des biographes étroitement apparentes d'esprit, sont exposés, pour peu que l'un mort le 1^{er} avril, l'autre le 1^{er} octobre, à passer à deux cents ans de distance devant le tribunal de la critique Bollandienne. C'est la loi de l'ouvrage: 'dura lex sed lex.' Dans cent ans seulement, quand il sera fini, les arrière-neveux des Bollandistes actuels pourront y changer quelque chose." The calendar order is eloquently defended by Pitra, *Etudes sur les Bollandistes*, Chapter VI.

was secured.³ On this last head (since I consider it of the greatest value as a testimony of gratitude and an earnest of good faith) I take especial care to publish no life at all, without specifying from what church or convent it was received, expressing also the names of individuals who loaned manuscripts or by their own hand transcribed the acts even of one Saint from the manuscripts of others. Some preferred that the lives they had prepared for the public be brought to light in this bulky work, rather than range about separately as on a fragile bark; to them justly belongs the credit as likewise to those who translated the lives or miracles of saints from Greek or some other foreign tongue. I take especial care to specify what I found in the effects of Rosweydyus, and I do this the more scrupulously since there have been some who thought or at least tried to convince others, that no life has been published by me which had not previously been secured by him. Those friends know better who supplied most of the material after his death, and daily supply it. A considerable part of the work or rather the whole of it is due to him, as he collected much material and originated the work, a thing which might not have occurred to me or which the superiors of my order might not have allowed me to undertake.

In the fourth place I publish the lives, in the original form in which they were composed by the authors, carefully compared with the original manuscripts when they were available. If they did not exist originally in Latin, I specify who translated them; where I do not specify this, and they have been translated from Greek, Italian, French, Spanish or German, they have been translated by me. If several lives of a saint exist hitherto unpublished, particularly when written by men of note, I publish them all here unless they are compendiums one of another. When I am in possession of the original acts, I generally omit the accounts of Metaphrastes and recent writers.

To these lives and miracles I subjoin short notes, where the need arises, by which are shown the more important variant readings noted in the manuscripts. If the names of cities or other places occur which do not seem sufficiently explained in the text, I briefly note where they are situated. If there are any foreign words, or words little used and hence obscure, I explain them briefly. If there is any point of time differing from the accepted chronology, or which does not seem quite clear, I explain it if it has not been done in the prolegomena. If there is anything not in agreement with the decisions of theologians, I either give an explanation, or, as far as I may, excuse it, or even point out how it may be corrected. Finally when other acts of the Saint exist written by

³ *Acta Sanctorum*, Vol. vii, of October, Page v, d: "Servavimus quoque religiose et porro servabimus quam sibi praescripserat regulam Bollandus (xxviii) ut quae citaret auctorum loca, ipse vidisset, nihil aliena fide proferret; si auctores non fuissent ad manum, apud quem eos citatos reperisset, indicaret."

other authors or related by historians, in addition to the life which I publish, I advise whether there is anything omitted here or not in agreement.

The advisability of adding these notes was questioned by many, and on the ground that they would be displeasing to learned men, Bollandus was induced to curtail them for the first four days.

Then . . . I began to consider for whom I was publishing this work. Did I wish only the most learned men to peruse it? and not rather the entire body of educated men? . . . If I wished only men like Petavius and Sirmondus to read my works, it would be sufficient to have only ten or twelve copies executed, for there are not now and perhaps for a long time will not be ten men of equal learning.

After a few remarks on the technique and style of the work and the need of a supplementary volume,⁴ a section is devoted to the question of indices.

Writers who frame appropriate indices derive the most abundant and the most gratifying return from their labors. Readers who have not leisure to peruse the entire work determine from the indices what they can derive thence for their own purpose; those who have read the work, are aided by them in finding certain points which they need, and which they do not remember with sufficient accuracy. Rosweyodus promised thirteen indices gathered into one separate volume embracing all the months. The plan of giving each volume its own index appealed more to me, since it is very annoying to be compelled to take up another volume to find something noted in the index. Finally since all the volumes do not come out together, if the earlier volumes were entirely without indices, there would be cause to fear that the advantage of the indices would be little or nothing. There are in all six indices, but they embrace practically the thirteen of Rosweyodus. First the index of saints in alphabetical order, not of all the saints of whom mention is made in the entire work, or in the particular volume, but only of those whose feasts are celebrated on the days which the volume includes, or whose feasts are recorded and set forth by us. Not merely the name is given but the day which is hallowed by his memory is prefixed. Then the rank or state in life, the office or triumph of each is indicated, whether they were monks, bishops, widows, abbots, priests, soldiers, martyrs, etc., and finally the place which they made famous by their lives or by their deaths, or the translation thither of their relics, or the glory of their miracles, *e. g.*, XIII, Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, in France; XIV, Accursius, of the Order of Minors, Martyr, in Mauretania.

⁴ The need is now filled concurrently with the publication of the *Acta Sanctorum* by the *Analecta Bollandiana*, begun in 1882, and now being resumed by the Bollandists after the recent world war. See pp. 334-342 of this issue.

In this index are also contained the details of authorship and a short conspectus of the life of each saint.

The second is the chronological index, a sort of prelude to the more accurate work on chronology I have in mind. In this are embraced by centuries the chief dates of the saints in each volume. . . . These two indices are prefixed to the work since they afford a guide to readers in using the text intelligently. The other indices are placed after the work.

The first of these is the historical, including the names of all individuals (except the names of saints whose lives are given) found in the volume, the second the topographical, containing the names of places mentioned, with the exception of those generally known, the third the grammatical, containing foreign or obscure words, the fourth, the moral, containing material for use in sermons or moral discourses. The chapter ends with an explanation of the things he purposely avoided in the work, and a forecast engaging in its optimism, of the works he intended to compose on the completion of the *Acta*.

From the third chapter of the preface we learn the historical method Bollandus proposed to follow in the *Acta Sanctorum*.

I promise, [he writes], to publish whatever I have found committed to writing concerning the lives of the saints, to add nothing, to change nothing on my own responsibility, to abridge nothing, but to publish everything without curtailment or alteration, as far as I am able. . . . If there is anything which can be refuted by the universal authority of reliable witnesses, and which I can declare from the whole form and manner of narration, to be invented, I omit it, not failing however, to advise the reader. . . . In many lives it happens that though certain things seem contradictory, they cannot be refuted absolutely, since they are not in opposition to the mysteries of the Christian religion, or other authoritative accounts of approved credibility. I publish these therefore, explaining, as far as I can, what belief they merit.

Since an important element in the trustworthiness of an account is the identity of the author, I shall here set forth of what character I should desire them to be who wrote the acts of the saints, and the character of many who did write, employing a method very liable to error. I shall then determine to which class my accounts belong, and whether men may not justly scoff at what does not suit them, and class it with fables.

To the first and highest category of historical writing (I speak not of those who derive their material from on High, either by direct inspiration of God, or by dictation or instruction through an angel or other heavenly agent, I speak of those who write after the manner common to mortals), to this then, the leading class, belong those who commit to writing events at which they were present and which they

saw enacted. . . . They hold the second place who have not themselves seen what they relate, but have received it from men who viewed it with their own eyes. . . . The third class is composed of those who relate not what they have received from the eye-witnesses themselves, but from those to whom the eye-witnesses related it. In the fourth class must be placed those who have collected their facts from historians who belong to one of the classes enumerated, or from reliable remains of donations, wills, agreements, or from other accounts. All these assuredly deserve credence, provided they are upright men, of discretion, and provided their writings are incorrupt and unfalsified. If you suspect that a man who writes that he was present at an event, was not sufficiently free from the desire to deceive, either because he was a heretic, or an obstinate partisan of the side he advocates, it would be rash and ill-considered to place unreserved faith in him. This is the reason why Eusebius, Socrates, Zozomen, and Palladius frequently are not believed, because they took sides with heretics or schismatics, or certainly with factions and sometimes advance their cause with the pen. . . .

If all the extant writings on the saints were of such a character that they could be reduced to these four classes, I would not have to expend much effort in estimating their credibility. There are some, however, of a worse character so that one might well doubt what belief should be attached to them. All the acts of the saints of old were not written, and of what were written, some have been destroyed, some lost, some corrupted and changed. Sometimes rulers have not allowed the acts of martyrs to be committed to writing and sometimes no one was present with sufficient zeal for religion to secure them or with sufficient knowledge to write them.

This is true not only of the acts of the martyrs but also of the acts of other saints. The deeds of many were not committed to writing immediately after their departure from life, either because envy interfered, or because they were not immediately invoked in prayer, or because the rulers of the Church forbade them to be hastily written and spread abroad or because a suitable writer was lacking. What was faithfully written down in olden times, particularly the acts of the martyrs, was probably scattered and destroyed by the fatal decrees of Diocletian. . . . It must not be concluded that only the sacred scriptures were consigned to the flames at that time, but all writings tending to advance and strengthen the Christian religion, incite piety, and encourage constancy. Since the sacred scriptures were in the hands of many, copies of them could easily be saved, but not thus with the copies of other books which were kept by the bishop alone or by the custodians of the sacred fabric. As soon as the edicts were suddenly and unexpectedly promulgated, Eusebius tells us that hands were laid on the bishops and holy men; the rest could conceal what they wished and withdraw it from the rage of godless men. Much of what survived at Rome and elsewhere perished later by the invasion and devastation of

barbarians, or by the chance burning of houses and town. In this manner many lives of other saints which it is evident were once correctly written, also perished.

This is the reason why the belief in many lives is now uncertain. In the first place since the original acts of the saint were destroyed, but the names of saints survived and were adorned with miracles, it became necessary to write their acts some centuries after their departure from life, either from old accounts or since they generally did not exist, from the mere vocal accounts of the people, handed down by their ancestors. But as Saint Augustine says: "History sometimes lies, but much more frequently tradition." It must be employed, however, when no other material is at hand, but there is need of discretion. When this is used sincerely and carefully, facts are established with honor to the saints and fruit to mortals. It must conduce to the increase of their glory that the celebrated deeds which are on the tongues of men be written down seriously and carefully, and it must be of utility to many to be able to read what saints are revered even in the most remote places, what the opinion of men on them is, and what the memory of their deeds.

After a digression on the subject of miracles, he resumes:

To return to the subject, many lives have been thus written from the folklore, of many ancient martyrs of many of the apostles of Gaul, of many of the saints of the nations just mentioned and, strange to say, of many Italians. The learned men who collected these acts had nothing to follow but folklore, which was said to have come down from ancient times. If they happened upon some ancient document, however meagre, like a light held out to a hopeless man in a dense fog, by it they directed the entire course of their narration. Some, however, make so much of this ancient folklore as to place it on a par with the apostolic traditions, calling old popular persuasions, traditions, though they differ essentially. The apostolic traditions do not rest upon popular report but upon solid proofs, though handed down by word of mouth and not in writing. Popular traditions, however, often unworthy of the belief of children, resting on a slender or even a false basis, are greatly increased by additions but gain little strength by these additions. Even when facts are narrated by a trustworthy man they are wrongly understood by some, and related in a worse fashion to others, so that they travel very far with added errors. It is a peculiarity of rumor that it acquires strength as it progresses, and is more tenacious of the false and the wrong, than of the true and the right. Often what I have related to another returns to me the same day amplified in many ways and so changed that I do not recognize what originated from myself, until by questioning the author of what was related, I learn what was added and by whom. If with learned men of the highest reputation for sincerity, some vagary of thought or some unwarranted interpretation causes this, what will occur in the case of an unlearned and uncultured people?

Some acts not composed from vague, popular rumor but written learnedly and with authority at one time, have been tampered with later to injure the Catholic religion or the character of the saint. This makes necessary a careful collection of all the ancient manuscripts to detect the error. Even if they are in agreement they must be investigated in the light of the teaching of the Church and if there is any opposition they must be rejected.

Other writers have undertaken to abbreviate the original acts of the saints. They restricted the accounts of virtues to a few words, but on occasion amplified the accounts of miracles, including descriptions and explanations which throw the whole account into question. This is particularly intolerable if copyists, without any literary equipment, insert circumstances of this kind or discard what they consider common and trite.

Finally lives have been entirely invented, some, of wicked men, by heretics and some by Catholics as an exercise of style. Heretics have not only corrupted the acts of saints, to claim them for themselves, they have proclaimed saints the most wicked men of their persuasion, and declared their just deaths martyrdom. . . . This is a common form of deceit with sectaries.

Other lives have been written by Catholics, containing not the deeds which the saints performed, but what they could have performed. It has been an ancient custom and it exists today, for men not without learning, to compose the lives of kings and heroes, and relate their wonderful exploits, with fictitious names, in order that readers may be taken with a desire to read them further. This may be tolerated if the names are entirely fictitious, but do they not impose upon serious readers when they attach to a king who is well known deeds which he never even thought of performing? This foolish writing dulls the force of the exploits worthy of praise. To me it seems the height of boldness for men unseasonably funny, not to say impious, to dare thus to trifle with the deeds of holy men. Thus a silly trickster falsely assuming the name of Turpinus, a holy bishop, wrote the life of Charlemagne, thus also the acts of the martyr Reynoldus and others have been soiled by the license of a scurrilous style. There are others not deserving perhaps such bitter censure who offer directions to correct morals and excite piety under the name of a saint in order to give them greater force and cover them with the honey of most attractive fiction to insure more ready acceptance. I do not approve of this kind of writing, since readers form a false idea of saints, or if it is stated that the account is fictitious, suspect that the other deeds of the saint are likewise fictitious, and sometimes doubt whether those who are venerated as saints ever existed. Even if this should not occur, a falsehood should never be used as an incentive to piety. God is Truth.

All untruth is hateful to Him, whether of word, deed or script. Any one who desires to exercise his pen has at hand excellent material in sacred and profane history.

With these principles established, some one may ask to what class of historical writing my work belongs. . . . I say then, first, that there are in this work no lives which any one may have the slightest suspicion of being entirely imaginary, as they are always based on the testimony of some Martyrology, or other unassailable authority;⁵ second, that there are no lives which by any probability were corrupted by heretics or other men with evil intent.

Then he enumerates the various classes to which the lives belong.

1. Those related by eyewitnesses. "These were not deliberately invented after many centuries, but were consigned to writing by wise men who had seen the events, and most faithfully preserved them to our own day. Neither should captious men accuse the monks of being stupid and lazy, men by whose industry, to tell the truth, not only the sacred documents of ancient piety, but all the monuments of ancient learning have come down to us, as even many heretics themselves do not deny."

2. "There are in this work many authors who did not themselves see what they related, or did not see everything, (though those whom we call eyewitnesses did not so carefully view everything that they also did not learn from others), but learned most from the accounts of those who saw them enacted."

3. "There are also several who wrote not what they saw or heard from eyewitnesses, but, since they were separated by a long

⁵ A change in the character of the lives admitted and an extension of the textual criticism was introduced by Father De Smedt in Volume 1 for November (1887). *Praef.* "Quibus in rebus duo sunt observanda per quae hic primus tomus mensis Novembris a multis praecedentibus tomis distinguitur ac reliqui, si Deo placet, distinguuntur. Primo quidem omnia acta et documenta manuscripta, quae de sancto cujus est causa, reperire potuimus, operi inseruntur. Non tantum acta sincera, sed etiam interpolata, apocrypha, et fabulosa, ita ut quidquid de sancto per seculorum decursum sub forma actorum aut vitarum scriptum noverimus, cum lectore communicemus. . . . Alterum signum huic tomo quasi proprio caractere impressum, mutata est ratio edendi sanctorum Acta et Vitas, quam moderni temporis usui atque exigentiae informiorem reddidimus. Quae enim numquam antea in lucem publicam edita fuerant, ea non ex fide unius alteriusve codicis manuscripti quem vicina aliqua bibliotheca aut proprium museum suppeditabat, edendi curavimus, sed omnium antiquorum codicum quos invenire potuimus subsidio cunctas unius textus varias lectiones colligimus, collectasque exemplo principali subjunximus."

distance what they had learned from men to whom the eyewitnesses had related it."

4. "Finally there are many who revised what was written by writers of the above class, in a new order and a new style, or who composed the lives of saints from old and authentic documents, or from reliable historians. These I imitate whenever I do not find the acts of any saint, but only their memory found in the fathers, or historians or martyrologies."

"I do not think that belief in these lives can easily be destroyed by anyone, except that perhaps not a few things may occur to the reader which may be added to what I have published."

5. "There are some lives written from popular report a long time after the death of the saint, or from documents not so authentic or reliable."

6. "The last class of lives are those contracted from the original, or certainly interpolated in various places. This indeed has sometimes been cleverly done by learned men, but I should prefer that they had made separate notes of their observations, additions and corrections, which they have woven into the original account. This class has a very wide range, and like the former, demands a close examination."

Some, the Preface states, do not reject all the lives; they attack the last two classes. They declare that they cherish the lives of the saints, meditate upon them, and derive from them much to excite virtue in their own minds and in the minds of others. But they desire none to be edited that are not carefully investigated and based entirely on truth, which can not only be destroyed, but not even impugned. . . . Men who think thus should devote their zealous labor to illustrating or composing anew the lives of the saints, or rouse up others like themselves, men of sharp and accurate judgment, accomplished in writing, to apply themselves to restoring the acts to their former splendor.

If this may scarcely be hoped, and if by the total destruction of the legitimate acts of certain saints, only those exist written from uncertain popular report, or from legends crudely interpolated . . . and if it is certain that they were considered saints by the consent of several centuries, revered with gifts, votive tablets, and rites by the order, or with the approval or at least with the knowledge of the Roman Church the judge of holy things and the mistress of holiness, what shall we do with acts of this kind? You wish them omitted, or cast into obscurity, or

rather into the fire. Rightly so if there is in them anything in opposition to the orthodox faith or the right regulation of morals. And would that those who are so strict with the lives of the saints would visit with the same censure or rather exterminate very many books which entail a not light corruption of morals.

If there is anything in the acts which is not in opposition to traditional revealed doctrine, and which does not seem to corrupt the minds of readers with the lure of vice, but which is in opposition to all the historians or to several highly approved ones of the time in which the saint lived, whatever it is I allowed it to be expunged or myself made a note on it. But if there is anything which does not agree with only one ancient account, it is not just to prescribe it for that reason, since writers, ancient and modern, frequently disagree among themselves, even those who write the events of their own day, and who are present at the events themselves. I do not see why more reliance should be placed on Ammianus Marcellinus, the enemy of the Christians, or another of the same character, than on any Christian writer however crude and unskilled. Though the latter might be, as they say, too credulous, the former cleverly keeps silence through envy, or viciously minimizes the glories of our saints.

Suppose it were evident that the lives whose falsity you suspect most were written by a contemporary of the saints, an eyewitness of all the events, a good man, a Christian or a pagan, but in the same manner in which they now exist, would you then reject and condemn them? Not at all, you say. But they are written without elegance. But with truth. Simply and without finish. But sincerely. What they relate is uncertain. But see, you say, it is attested to. They should have been cast in a more orderly fashion. The author would not or could not. What then do you think? Should they be published or given to the flames? Publi hed, I hear. Some concession at least must be made to antiquity. Truth does not need disguise or adornment. It is sufficient unto itself, to attract good men, bare, and without external embellishment. But he places do not agree nor the dates and writers of the same period do not mention events like this. You will consider that some explanation must be employed or some excuse, as a solution, rather than that you should entirely reject what is clearly evident was composed by an author of this kind. Employ now the same excuses, explanations, and solutions and lives of this kind will have their proper authority and probability. . . . Suppose there is a mistake in a place, a date, or a similar circumstance, must the whole account therefore be suppressed? Even though they are eyewitnesses who make this mistake in the narration? O severe judge! If the law were laid down that it was not allowed for anything false or improbable to be in history, no history would be written, no old writings would be tolerated, except those dictated by God.

You say that heretics will laugh at these things. What then! They laugh at the most sacred mysteries of our faith. They even laugh at

some books we know to have issued from the Holy Spirit; they laugh at many praiseworthy acts of pious people; they laugh at lives written by eyewitnesses the wisest and the holiest. We do not write for them. It would not be difficult to confound their impudence, but they are not worth it. . . . We write for pious and upright men to whom these lives will furnish an incentive to virtue. But all heretics will not laugh at my labor. There are among them certain lovers of antiquity, and hence less removed from the kingdom of God, who will rejoice that many things, however, covered with dust are being brought to light, things which they may use for the improvement of the human literature they are forming, in Italy, Phil. Cluverius, in England, Wm. Camden, Usher, Vossius, Meursius, etc. Would that by this reading their minds may some day be moved to give their hands and hearts and pens to the service of Catholic love and harmony.

Catholics themselves will disdain them. Yes, as people too generously fed with honey. . . . If any have stomachs so delicate that these lives will cause distress, let them refrain from reading them; they have other things to read. All foods do not agree with all guests. . . . The reader has my opinion about each life. If anything does not seem suited to his taste, he can pass it by. . . . If anyone's taste is too delicate it should be corrected, lest if it persevere he should refuse healthful even necessary medicine. Finally, if this argument has any value, how many become weary of sermons, the use of the sacraments, the reading of pious books, and of prayer? Must these then be withdrawn and abandoned? The mind must rather be aroused and turned in the opposite direction in order that it may attain its proper equilibrium. No man who approves everything, no man who approves nothing, can be free from error. Ignatius the founder of our Society, once lost his relish for books which treat of sacred things; he demanded silly books, which dealt with wars, even imaginary ones, and of things suited to the pleasure-loving character of the world in order to distract his mind by reading and beguile the weariness of sickness. When he overcame this disgust he could scarcely be satisfied with the reading of the same pious books. Finally he bore the fruit, to the advantage of the entire Church. This will also happen in this case perhaps, taking its rise from that from which the mind greatly shrinks.

You say "It cannot at least be denied that many ridiculous things are contained in the acts." I am not so austere as to deny myself laughter, or all signs of hilarity, yet though I am engaged daily in these acts, I never remember having been moved to laughter by them. I admit that the stubborn efforts of evil spirits, to weaken the constancy of the saints in prayer and other virtues are ridiculous, but I deny that it is ridiculous to relate them. If any one cannot restrain himself, let him break into smiles and laughter if he wishes. But he must not think that from this folly of his is deduced an argument of any value in affecting these acts which in the case of many more elicit salutary tears as they

ponder on the great deeds of a saint, accomplished by divine aid, deeds of men of the same rank and station as ourselves, cowardly degenerates, though so far removed in time and place.

Granted that they are not ridiculous, surely many things are incredible. Why so? Because they exceed the accustomed range of human events. Are they declared to have been done by human effort? and not by God or His help? What is impossible to Him? If Livy or Sallust related that this had happened, I suppose you would believe it but would declare that it was done by means of demons. Have they more power than the immense divinity of God? So if anything wonderful is related as done by Him, you would pronounce it incredible, if by them you would immediately have faith in it? You say God could do this, but whence is it proven that He did do it? Whence would it be proven if Livy related it? By human faith, I suppose, which has place here. You ask where is my proof that God did anything that is related? Where is your proof that He did not do it? I produce an authority who asserts it; have you one who denies it? If you have, whose statement is more convincing? If you have not, and admit it could be done, consider if it is not rash to deny unreasonably that it was done. You say there was no reason for working a miracle. How do you know this? It is not written. Are all the causes of everything written? One perhaps is given, but it is not approved by you. I suppose you have scrutinized all the designs of God. You do not know, you do not know the goodness and munificence of Him on Whom you place bounds, beyond which it would be unbecoming for Him to gratify mortals.

You fear that these lives will beget false ideas, troublesome errors, and almost foolish superstitions which, once thoroughly implanted and established, cannot be rooted out even when the truth is discovered and proclaimed on the best authority. This fear is groundless. Certain things were lately corrected in the Martyrology. Who did not embrace the truth promptly and without reserve? It is not a dangerous error to be ignorant of the birth or date of a saint, or some particular of his life, some of which details even the sacred scripture conceals. . . . Consider the discussions among the French not on a miracle or two, but on saints who are publicly venerated. Learned men held the opinion that Denis the apostle of Paris was sent to France about 250 A.D. and profess a public veneration for him. Others hold that he never existed, and in his stead publicly venerate Denis the Areopagite. Is this a trifling controversy? One side must be in error. Yet the prelates of the Church are not disturbed, nor even the Roman Pontiff, the head and father and ruler of all, since the error is not of such a character as to affect piety or any other virtue. That holy bishop is not offended because the honors due to him are offered to the Areopagite, nor does the Areopagite attempt to snatch them from him since both know that all honor to them redounds to the glory of God. If some day it should come to light that the people of Paris were without question converted not by the Areopagite but

by a younger man, they will readily give their assent to the truth, released from the darkness of centuries.

This remarkable Preface, which must always have a place in the history of historical method, and of which we have translated only those parts descriptive of the method followed by Bollandus, concludes with the following vindication of his work: "Finally the Church orders that certain lives be corrected and you bring them to light. In what does correction consist? In hiding a thing in darkness, sinking it in the mire, destroying it by fire? and not rather in taking care that what seems crooked and is so be made straight and known so; this is what I do. I am confident that my work will be approved by the whole Church, and particularly by the moderator of all, the Roman See. I designate the lives I think legitimate; those I think deficient and to what extent, and those that should be corrected and in what way, but always with so much diffidence, that I admit it is not often clear to me how the errors I suspect should be corrected and appeal to others to suggest what appears to be more to the point."

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THE MARTYRDOM OF FATHER JUAN DE SANTA MARÍA

I. Introduction

The recent discovery of two important manuscripts gives occasion to discuss anew an interesting and much debated point in the history of Spanish exploration in New Mexico. I refer in general to the Rodríguez-Chamuscado Expedition, 1581-82, but more in particular to the circumstances surrounding the martyrdom of Father Juan de Santa María in 1581. The manuscripts referred to are: (1) An account, or *relación*, of the Rodríguez expedition, written while the expedition was in progress, by a member of the party, Hernan Gallegos; (2) A commentary on, or *crónica* of, the early exploring expeditions of New Spain and New Mexico, written by Baltasar de Obregón, a man experienced in frontier exploration, and a contemporary of Gallegos.¹

Hernan Gallegos, a native of Seville,² went with the Rodríguez party in the capacity of scrivener and explorer.³ He was therefore well qualified by his position to write the above *Relación*, which, without doubt, is the "book, written by his hand, in which he gives an account of all this journey which he has made, and which he has delivered to His Excellency," as he stated in his testimony to the viceroy upon the return of the expedition to Mexico.⁴ Gallegos says concerning his *Relación*, "todo lo en el

¹ HERNAN GALLEGOS, *Relación y concudio de el viage y subseco que Francisco Chamuscado con ocho soldados sus companeros hizo en el descubrimiento del Nuevo Mexico en Junio de 1581*. (Archivo General de Indias, Patronato, 1-1-3/22); BALTASAR DE OBREGON, *Crónica comentario ó relaciones de los descubrimientos antiguos y modernos de N. E. y del Nuevo Mexico*, 1584. (Archivo General de Indias, Patronato 1-1-3/22). Use of these documents, copies of which are in the Edward E. Ayer Collection in the Newberry Library, Chicago, was made by HERBERT E. BOLTON in his *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*; but otherwise they have never been used in any form whatsoever. It was the writer's good fortune to be the first to make a detailed study of the expedition with which they deal, and with these documents as a basis, a master's thesis was prepared in Dr. Bolton's seminar in the University of California, May, 1917.

² OBREGON, 93. The Gallegos and Obregón documents referred to are to be found in the writer's thesis, *The Rodríguez Expedition into New Mexico, 1581-82*. All references to the *Declaración* of Bustamante, the *Declaración* of Barrado, the *Relación Breve* of Escalante and Barrado, and the *Relación* of Espejo, and the *Report of the Viceroy*, are to be found in BOLTON, *Spanish Exploration*, which contains the English translation of the documents.

³ GALLEGOS, *Relación*, 3a; 81.

⁴ GALLEGOS, *Declaración* (Col. Doc. Indé., XV), 95.

contenido es verdad," and indeed this may be assumed, "for it was written while he was passing through that land."⁵ That the account was written while the expedition was in progress is substantiated by another statement of the author, "and so going in the service of the expedition, in the little time that I had, I wrote the account of the expedition and the notable happenings that took place on it."⁶ Gallegos claims to have written the *Relación* not only to perform his duties as scrivener of the expedition, but also, as he says, "to aid and encourage many persons of New Spain."⁷

Baltasar de Obregón, the author of the *Crónica* noted above, had been a member of the Ibarra exploring expeditions in Sinaloa and Sonora (1567-1570). It is quite evident that the major portion of his account of the Rodríguez expedition was taken from Gallegos's *Relación*. This is supplemented, however, by much first-hand information which Obregón had secured concerning both the Rodríguez and the Espejo expeditions. His purpose in writing the account was, as he states, "to serve your majesty in seeing, studying, and exploring, five hundred leagues of land beyond the Province of San Felipe de Nuevo Mexico."⁸ In other words, it was to promote further exploration.

These new documents, taken with other contemporary evidence, prove indubitably that Father Santa María was killed by the Indians of the Sierra Morena, or Sandía Mountains, *prior to the return of the soldiers* to Mexico, and not after the departure of the soldiers, as is commonly represented.⁹ They prove also

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ GALLEGOS, *Relación*, 5.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁸ OBREGON, 148.

⁹ Hitherto our sources concerning the Rodríguez expedition were the following:

(1) The testimony given in Mexico to the viceroy by the returned soldiers of the expedition, Gallegos, Bustamante, and Barrado, 1582 (*Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XV, 80-97); (2) The report of the viceroy to the king, based upon the above depositions, 1583 (*Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XV, 97-100); (3) The *Relation* of Antonio de Espejo, 1583 (*Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XV, 101-126), upon which is based the Espejo account as found in Mendoza's *History of China*; (4) Father FRANCISCUS GONZAGA's *De Origine Seraphicas Religionis Franciscanas*, 1587, which has been cited by Father Engelhardt (*Franciscan Herald*, July, 1919, p. 288, note 24), but otherwise has escaped notice. I consulted the work in the British Museum, in London; (5) MENDIETA's *Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana*, a notable work written at the end of the sixteenth century; (6) ZARATE SALMERON's *Relación de todas las cosas que en el Nuevo Mexico*, 1626.

that Santa María separated from the exploring party in opposition to the wishes of the soldiers and the religious; and, finally, that instead of deserting the friars, as they have been accused, the soldiers were eminently successful in exploring a wide expanse of New Mexican territory. Before entering upon a discussion of the points in question, a brief account of the expedition, based on the new documents, will be of value.

II. Sketch of the Rodríguez Expedition

One of the Spanish outposts on the northern frontier of New Spain in 1580 was Santa Bárbara, or, as it is sometimes called, the Mines of Santa Bárbara. Here lived a small group of men, who were very desirous of advancing into the unexplored territory beyond the Christian habitations. Information concerning that land had been obtained by various means, principally by expeditions made short distances beyond Santa Bárbara against marauding Indians. In addition, the story of Cabeza de Vaca had left a vivid impression upon the minds of the frontiersmen.

This interest culminated in the granting, by the viceroy, of a license to Fray Agustin Rodríguez to visit the pueblos of New Mexico. He was authorized to take with him as many priests as he desired, and twenty soldiers, "for the safety of their persons, and in order that they might be able to preach the Holy Gospel."¹⁰ The commission to raise soldiers was granted to Francisco Sanchez, commonly called "Chamuscado," who in turn chose eight men with whom to make the expedition.¹¹ For the conversion of the natives two other religious were named. They were Fathers Francisco López and Juan de Santa María. All three friars belonged to the Order of Saint Francis and came from the monastery of San Francisco, in the city of Mexico. Father Francisco López, who was named as Father Superior, was a native of Seville, and came of noble parentage. Father Juan de Santa María, a native of Catalonia, went as companion to Father López. Both were "theólogos," or members of the theological college. Fray Agustín, a native of Niebla,¹² was a Franciscan lay-brother. All

¹⁰ *Report of the Viceroy*, 158.

¹¹ GALLEGOS, *Relación*, 3a; 6-7.

¹² OBREGON, 92-93. Gallegos and Obregón state that Rodríguez was a native of Ayamonte, and that Santa María came from Valencia. I find, however, that TORQUEMADA, VETANCURT, WADDING (*Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*), and GONZAGA, agree that Rodríguez was born in Niebla, and that Santa María was a Catalan.

sources agree in extolling the learning and piety of the two "theólogos," and especially Father Santa María, who possessed, in addition to his other attainments, a profound knowledge of astronomy.¹³

Preparations for the expedition were made at Santa Bárbara. The three religious and nine soldiers were provided with good offensive arms, supplies, horses, and articles to be bartered among the natives. In addition there accompanied the expedition seventeen Indian servants, two Indian women, and six hundred cattle, goats, sheep, and hogs.¹⁴ Everything was furnished at the expense of the viceroy. The equipment of the expedition makes it appear as though it was intended not merely to explore, but likewise to establish permanent missions, an inference which is borne out by what the friars did in New Mexico.¹⁵

All arrangements having been completed, the party set forth from Santa Bárbara on June 5, 1581.¹⁶ The route pursued was briefly the following: Down the San Gregorio River to its junction with the Conchos River,¹⁷ thence down the latter river to the confluence of the Conchos and the Río Grande near the present Presidio del Norte.¹⁸ The first leg of the journey of about seventy leagues of desolate and barren land, and the most difficult to cross, was completed in thirty-one days,¹⁹ or on July 6. The Spaniards had guides who conducted them through both the Conchas and Cabri Indian tribes.²⁰

Leaving the Conchos-Río Grande junction, the explorers next traveled up the latter river for 121 leagues,²¹ which were covered in forty-five days. It was on August 21,²² that they came to the first inhabited pueblo of New Mexico, called by the

¹³ Mendieta says "astrology," but he clearly implies astronomy.

¹⁴ OBREGON, 94.

¹⁵ GALLEGOS, *Relación*, 5.

¹⁶ ESCALANTE and BARRADO, 154.

¹⁷ GALLEGOS, *Relación*, 7.

¹⁸ OBREGON, 101.

¹⁹ ESCALANTE and BARRADO, 154.

²⁰ OBREGON, 103; GALLEGOS, *Relación*, 8.

²¹ This is the distance computed from Luxán's account: Diego Pérez de LUXAN, *Entrada que hizo en el Nuevo Mexico, Anton de Espejo en el año de 82* (Archivo General de Indias, *Estante 1, Cajon 1, Legajo 3/22*).

²² They left the junction (Presidio del Norte) on July 6, and arrived at San Felipe on August 21. ESCALANTE and BARRADO, 154-155.

Spaniards San Felipe, and located in the present San Marcial region.²³ The discoverers continued their march up the river, which they called the Guadalquivir, finding many settlements located upon its banks. They named the pueblos that they found and described them, but in a very meager fashion. Some of the pueblos I have been able to locate definitely; of others I have been able to determine the probable location; but still others are quite uncertain.

The progress of the explorers through the Piros and Tigua Indian nations is described in detail in both the Gallegos and Obregón documents. It serves my present purpose, however, to note only that on September 2, 1581, the Spaniards departed from the last of the Tigua pueblos, Cáceres,²⁴ which has been located on or near the present site of Bernallilo.²⁵ Two days were spent among the pueblos of the Queres on the Río Guadalquivir; then, having arrived at the mouth of the Santa Fé River, the explorers made their first side-trip up the valley of this stream. Four pueblos were discovered in this valley, the date of the event being September 6.²⁶

Upon the arrival of the expedition in the Santa Fé region, Father Juan de Santa María became anxious to return to Christian lands to render a report of all that had been discovered.²⁷ His determination met with bitter opposition from the religious as well as from the soldiers. They argued that it would not only be foolhardy and dangerous for him to go alone, but that his death would be of serious consequence to those left behind, for it would serve to disillusion the natives, who regarded the Spaniards as immortals. In addition, they said, his report would be but fragmentary, for there remained much of that land to explore. Notwithstanding this opposition, Father Santa María persisted in his plan, and, without the permission

²³ "The region of San Marcial not only indicates the southern limit of the pueblos of the sixteenth century, but it seems also that the many-storied pueblo type of architecture at no time extended farther down the Rio Grande Valley," BANDELIER, *Final Report*, II, 252.

²⁴ GALLEGOS, *Relación*, 65-86.

²⁵ HACKETT, CHARLES W., *The Location of the Tigua Pueblos of Alameda, Puaray and Sandia, 1680-1681* (in *Old Santa Fé*, II, 381-391, April, 1915).

²⁶ GALLEGOS, *Relación*, 49; 65-66; 86.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 49.

of his Father Superior, took leave alone, on the Eve of Nuestra Señora, or September 7.²⁸ Since the pueblos of the Santa Fé, or Atomilco Valley, as it was called by the soldiers, were discovered on September 6, it is certain that Santa María must have set out from that valley and not from Galisteo, as was stated by Zárate Salmerón.²⁹ He probably passed through Galisteo, however, and the failure of the Indians to tell of the padre's death, when later the explorers went through the Galisteo to the buffalo country, can be attributed to their fear of the Spaniards' vengeance.

After the departure of Santa María the explorers returned to the Río Grande and continued their journey up the river to the Tewa country.³⁰ Passing through the Tewas, they traveled as far north as Taos,³¹ a pueblo of the northern group of the Tiguas. Then, retracing their steps, they went down the Río Grande until they came to the valley of the Galisteo River. From this region, on September 28, they departed toward the east into the buffalo country.³² After a long and difficult journey over the vast plains, the explorers returned by their former trail to the pueblos of Galisteo.³³

Here they learned from the natives that Father Santa María had been killed.³⁴ His departure had occasioned great excitement among the natives, for they feared that he went in quest of more Spaniards. So, on his third day out,³⁵ after he had gone

²⁸ OBREGON, 142-143.

²⁹ ZARATE SALMERON, Gerónimo de, *Relación de todas que en el Nuevo Mexico se han visto y sabido así por mar como por tierra desde el año de 1538 hasta el de 1626* (in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 3d. ser., IV, Mexico, 1856. Translated into English by C. F. LUMMIS, in *Land of Sunshine*, XI, 1899, 336-340).

³⁰ GALLEGOS, *Relación*, 66.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*, 37. OBREGON, 130.

³³ *Ibid.*, 138.

³⁴ GALLEGOS, *Relación*, 79.

³⁵ Since Father Santa María left his brother friars on September 7th., the date of his martyrdom would be on or about September 10, 1581. Several clerical writers assign different dates to the deaths of all three friars. VETANCURT (*Menologio*) states that Father Santa María was martyred on June 9, 1581, Father López on December 21, 1581, and Fray Rodríguez on December 28, 1581. ARTURO Á MONASTERIO (*Martyrologium Franciscanum*) gives the same days and months as Vetancurt, but no year. WADDING (*Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*) gives 1580 as the year of the deaths of all three friars. Gonzaga's only reference to the matter (p. 105)

about five leagues, the Tiguas of the Pueblo of San Pablo,³⁶ in the Sierra Morena, set upon and killed him.³⁷ Hearing this story, the Spaniards attempted to keep it a secret, for they did not want the natives to learn of their vulnerability.³⁸ Nevertheless, the natives determined to kill the remaining Spaniards. A conflict was imminent, and was only averted by the intercession of the two friars, who desired to foster the good will of the natives, so that they could remain among them.³⁹

Notwithstanding the hostility of the Indians, the Spaniards did not lack the temerity⁴⁰ to visit the pueblos as far west as Acoma⁴¹ and Zuni⁴² and the Salines⁴³ to the east of the Manzano Mountains. From the Salines they returned to Puaray, on the Río Grande, near Bernalillo, where preparations were made to return to Mexico. The two religious refused to return with the soldiers, for they were determined to remain among the natives.⁴⁴ The soldiers were compelled reluctantly to acquiesce and, after promising to exercise all possible haste in returning to Mexico, and to send back help, they left Puaray on January 31, 1582.⁴⁵ Chamuscado died on the way and was buried near Jiménez. The rest arrived safely in Santa Bárbara on May 15, after an absence

is that Rodríguez was martyred in 1580. The Gallegos and Obregón documents state clearly that Santa María was killed in September, which disposes of the June dates. Likewise the assigned dates of the deaths of the other two friars are disposed of by Gallegos's statement (p. 73) that the soldiers left the two friars at Puaray on January 31, 1582.

³⁶ ZARATE SALMERON, *Land of Sunshine*, 341.

³⁷ GALLEGOS, *Reclación*, 49-50; Obregón, 142-143. The Manzano Mountains have been identified with the Sierra Morena.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ GALLEGOS, *Relación*, 54-55; Obregón, 146.

⁴⁰ The soldiers have been unjustly criticised and branded as cowards, especially by Mendieta (p. 401), who ventures the opinion that Hernando Cortés would not have turned back, as he accuses the soldiers of doing. He blames them for the deaths of the friars, whereas the obstinacy of the friars and their zeal for martyrdom was alone responsible.

⁴¹ "In 1888 Mr. Cushing discovered the name of Francisco Chamuscado on the Inscription rock," BANDELIER, *Final Report*, II, 331. Those annalists who accuse the soldiers of turning back immediately after they reached the Tiguas, are contradicted by this alone. GALLEGOS, *Relación*, 90.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 91.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 57-58; BUSTAMANTE, 149; ESCALANTE and BARRADO, 157.

⁴⁴ BUSTAMANTE, 159; OBREGÓN 147; GALLEGOS, *Relación*, 71-72.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 73.

of nearly eleven months. Leaving their comrades in that villa, Gallegos and Bustamante departed for the city of Mexico, at which place, on May 16, 1582, they went before the viceroy and rendered formal reports of the expedition.

Meanwhile, the two friars left in New Mexico, Rodríguez and López, had been brutally murdered by the natives. Concerning their deaths Gallegos and Bustamante made no mention, for indeed they were entirely ignorant of their fate. Hernando Barrado, one of the soldiers, however, arrived in Mexico City at a later date, and on October 20, gave the viceroy a report concerning the death of the two friars.⁴⁶ He stated that when the soldiers returned to Puaray, they left with the religious three Indians: Gerónimo, Francisco, and Andrés. Three months later, while in Santa Barbara, Barrado met Francisco and learned from him that the natives of Puaray had killed Father López, and that, being frightened, Francisco Gerónimo, and Andrés ran away. While they were running they heard outcries in the pueblo, by which they judged that Fray Agustín was being killed also. Barrado testified that Gerónimo gave him the same story as Francisco. Mendieta, Torquemada, Zárate Salmerón, and other annalists give substantially the same version, but with many embellishments and additional details. A year later Espejo learned that the two remaining friars had been killed in Puaray, thus confirming the story.⁴⁷ Obregón's sole allusion to this matter is his laconic statement that the Indians killed the friars for the articles that were left with them.⁴⁸

In the foregoing sketch of the expedition the points of especial import to be noted are those attending the martyrdom of Father Santa María, particularly in relation to the subsequent movement of the soldiers and the two remaining friars. The soldiers did not turn back *prior* to the death of Santa María, as writers have maintained, but carried back with them complete knowledge of the affair and reported it to the viceroy. Santa María's action in departing at the time when he did was not only ill-advised, but was strongly opposed by both the soldiers and

⁴⁶ BARRADO, 151-153.

⁴⁷ ESPEJO, *Relation*, 179.

⁴⁸ OBREGON, 147.

religious. In no other place, so far as I know, is given the exact date of the departure of Santa María for Mexico.

III. The Testimony of Gallegos and Obregón Substantiated by Other Contemporary Accounts

The Gallegos and Obregón manuscripts are so detailed and concise on the above points, and they are so strongly substantiated by other contemporary accounts, both religious and secular (which have been either rejected or overlooked in the past) that their validity cannot be doubted.

1. *The Espejo Account*.—Even without the circumstantial testimony which we have at hand in the Gallegos and Obregón manuscripts, the evidence hitherto available, especially the *Espejo Relation*,⁴⁹ should have sufficed to establish a true account of Santa María's martyrdom, but it did not. Prior to the departure of his expedition to New Mexico, Antonio Espejo knew of the death of Santa María, and of the remaining of Rodríguez and López after the return of the soldiers.⁵⁰ The Franciscan authorities in Mexico also knew of Santa María's death, for Espejo says, "And thus they remained with the three Indian boys and a half-breed, whereat the Order of Saint Francis was greatly grieved, regarding it as certain that the Indians would kill the *two* friars and those who remained with them."⁵¹ The Franciscans, therefore, wished to succor the religious, and for this purpose Father Beltrán offered himself. This information was verified later, Espejo tells us, for when his party came to the Tiguas, in the Pueblo of Pualas (Puaray), they found that the Indians of that province had killed Father López and Fray Rodríguez. Later, in the province of the Maguas, Espejo learned that Father Santa María had been killed "*before Francisco Chamuscado went to the pacified country.*"⁵² Thus the avowed purpose of the Espejo expedition, which entered New Mexico one year after the Rodríguez party, was to learn the fate of Rodríguez

⁴⁹ *Relación que yo Antonio Espejo con catorce soldados y un religioso de el orden de San Francisco a las Provincias y poblaciones de la Nueva Mexico* (Col. Doc. Ind., XV, 101-126. Translated into English in BOLTON, *Spanish Exploration*, 168-192).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 168-169.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*, 181.

and López. It seems strange then, after Espejo accomplished the object of his undertaking and rendered his report, that this report, in so far as it relates to the martyrdom of the three friars, should be overlooked or rejected.

This mistake, however, came later, for the *Espejo Relation* found contemporary acceptance in being made the basis of "El Viage que hizo Antonio de Espejo," as found in Mendoza's *History of China*, 1585. Richard Hakluyt, another contemporary, incorporated bodily into his *Voyages* the Mendoza version as based on the *Espejo Relation*.⁵³ Moreover, in 1586, Hakluyt had printed in Spanish, at his own expense, a small booklet entitled, "El Viage que hizo Antonio de Espejo en el Año de Ochenta y Tres," the Mendoza version. This indicates the importance he attached to this account.⁵⁴

2. *The Gonzaga Account*.—Another contemporary account which substantiates the Gallegos and Obregón manuscripts is Father Francisco Gonzaga's *De Origine Seraphicae Religionis Franciscanae*, published in Rome, 1587. Here is a clerical annalist who likewise gives a true version of the points in dispute. The details of the expedition, and especially the martyrdom of Santa María, are correctly given by Father Gonzaga. In brief we learn the following from his account: Santa María having determined to return to Mexico to give a report concerning the newly discovered lands and the natives, left the soldiers and the two friars, and started upon his journey *alone*. After he had traveled three days, and while sleeping, he was killed by the

⁵³ "In Hakluyt's *Voyages* is given a version of the Rodríguez Expedition with that of Espejo in Spanish and in English, taken from Gonzalez de Mendoza's *History of China*, edition of Madrid, 1586, which I have not seen. Laet, *Novus Orbis*, took the account from the edition of 1589. I have the Italian edition of 1586 and the Spanish of 1596, neither of which contains this matter. Neither does Brunet, or any other bibliographer that I have consulted, note any such difference in editions, though of course I have no doubt that such a curious difference exists," BANCROFT, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 179, note 7.

⁵⁴ A copy is to be found in the British Museum, which, I find, differs in no respect whatsoever from the Hakluyt Society edition of Mendoza (London, 1854), or the account to be found in the various editions of Hakluyt's *Voyages*. This seems to remove Bancroft's apprehensions on this matter. (See note 53.) Father Lorenzo, Pérez quotes the *Espejo Relation* at length (*Archivo Ibero-Americano*, Año III, Num. XIV, 242-249), but he evidently admits his lack of confidence in his source, for he immediately follows it with contradictory statements from the Torquemada account, and he makes no attempt to criticise these sources.

Indians by having a large stone placed upon him. After the father's death, "the Spanish soldiers who accompanied the friars returned to their land (*i. e.*, Mexico) to render a report to the viceroy concerning their discoveries. But the two friars, López and Agustín, animated by the zeal of saving souls, remained for that task."⁵⁵

3. *The Testimony of the Returned Soldiers and the Report of the Viceroy, 1582.*⁵⁶—The testimony of the returned soldiers, Bustamante, Gallegos, and Barrado, together with the report of the viceroy, corroborates that which has been set forth above. The depositions of these two soldiers merely state that "the religious" (*los dichos religiosos*) remained in Puaray with the Indian servants when the soldiers returned to Mexico.⁵⁷ There is no mention of Father Santa María. In light of what we now know, "*los dichos religiosos*" refers only to the two friars, López and Rodríguez, and does not include Santa María, as many writers thoughtlessly suppose.⁵⁸ It is true that Barrado testified that the Indian Francisco heard outcries (after the murder of López), and judged that "the *rest* of the religious were being murdered,"⁵⁹ but this was an error. The justification for this conclusion is the fact that the viceroy, who was conversant with the details of the expedition, and got his information from Gallegos, Bustamante, and Barrado, rendered a true account, based upon the depositions cited above. The viceroy reported to the king that "Fray Agustín Rodríguez decided to remain in one of the pueblos with a companion." And again, "One of the Indians who remained with the friars testified that one had been killed in his presence, and fleeing, he heard an outcry by which he judged that the other friar was being killed."⁶⁰

IV. Erroneous Later Versions

Thus Gonzaga, Espejo, Bustamante, Barrado, and the

⁵⁵ GONZAGA, 1279.

⁵⁶ *Testimonio dado en Mexico sobre el descubrimiento de doscientas leguas adelante de las Minas de Santa Bárbara, Gobernacion de Diego de Ibarra; cuyo descubrimiento se hizo en virtud de cierta licencia que pidió Fray Agustín Rodríguez y otros religiosos Franciscos. Acompañan relaciones de este descubrimiento y otros documentos. Años de 1582-1583 (Col. Doc. Intd., XV, 80-100).*

⁵⁷ BUSTAMANTE, 149.

⁵⁸ Benjamin Read is one of these. See his *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, p. 13.

⁵⁹ BARRADO, 152.

⁶⁰ *Report of the Viceroy, 158-159; BUSTAMANTE, 149.*

viceroy, all contemporary writers, are all in accord with the Gallegos documents. It is curious, therefore, that many later versions, beginning with Mendieta, are either silent on the above points or are in direct contradiction to them. These errors have persisted from the sixteenth century to the present day, from Mendieta and Torquemada to Father Engelhardt. As recently as July, 1919,⁶¹ the author of *Missions and Missionaries of California* commits himself to the version of Mendieta and other early annalists. Father Engelhardt quotes Bolton's *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, but fails to note the errors on this point in the older authorities that Bolton corrected. Following is a consideration of these versions and their treatment of the martyrdom of Father Juan de Santa María:

1. *The Mendieta-Torquemada Account*.—Mendieta, who was copied by Torquemada, wrote his *Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana* in 1596. This history, therefore, cannot properly be considered a contemporary account of the Rodríguez expedition. The soldiers are represented by Mendieta as turning back at Puaray, leaving the missionaries to explore one hundred and fifty leagues farther into the Indian country, after which Father Santa María set out alone on his attempt to reach Mexico to make a report and to summon help.⁶² After he had traveled three days some Indians took his life in a novel fashion. While he was sleeping beneath a tree, the savages placed a heavy stone upon his head, and then left him to die of suffocation.⁶³ How this error pertaining to the return of the soldiers prior to the death of Santa María crept into the Mendieta account is indeed puzzling. He may have used the Gonzaga account, which gives the same details concerning Santa María's death, but for some unknown reason Mendieta makes no mention of the fact that the soldiers were cognizant of this affair.

2. *The Zárate Salmerón Account*.—The essence of the Zárate Salmerón account is essentially the same as that of Mendieta, but contains added errors. It is, briefly, the following: The

⁶¹ *Franciscan Herald*, July, 1919.

⁶² Why should Father Santa María have found it necessary to return to Mexico to render a report and get assistance if the soldiers preceded him? Their departure would have made his mission unnecessary.

⁶³ MENDIETA, 401.

soldiers, because they feared that their numbers were too few to venture into the Indian country, deserted the three religious at Puaray, in the Tiguas country. Then the friars, alone and unprotected, proceeded to explore the pueblo region. Finally, having arrived at Galisteo, and witnessing the docility of the Indians, they agreed that one of them should return to inform the prelates in Mexico concerning their discoveries, and to ask for more missionaries. Father Juan de Santa María volunteered for the journey. He was a great astronomer, and calculated by the stars how they might have traveled by a more direct route. He set out behind the range of Puaray (the Sandía Mountains) to go by way of the Salines, and from there to cut straight across to El Paso.⁶⁴ In addition to being more detailed than Mendieta, Zárate Salmerón supplies the information that it was the Tanos nation, at Galisteo, where Father Santa María started upon his journey; and that it was the Tiguas of San Pablo who murdered him.⁶⁵ It is interesting to note that the Mendieta and Zárate Salmerón accounts are in agreement, at this point, with the Gallegos and Obregón manuscripts. Notably that it was three days out,⁶⁶ a distance of five leagues,⁶⁷ and in a pueblo of the Sandía Mountains, that Father Santa María was killed. But Zárate Salmerón, like Mendieta, erroneously places Santa María's death after the departure of the soldiers.

3. *Later Accounts Based upon Mendieta and Zárate Salmerón.*—The Mendieta-Torquemada and the Zárate Salmerón accounts have enjoyed a large following, and largely through them the errors which I have pointed out have persisted for so many years. Vetancurt,⁶⁸ Arlegui,⁶⁹ Sigüenza,⁷⁰ Bancroft,⁷¹ Twitchell,⁷² and

⁶⁴ ZARATE SALMERON, *Land of Sunshine*, XI, 340-341.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*; "Zárate Salmerón places Santa María's death some place east of the Sierra de Sandía and three days' journey south of Galisteo, or at San Pablo. Niel changes the name to San Pedro. This is the old San Pedro of today. Three days' journey south of Galisteo would bring one to San Pedro or between San Pedro and Chilili" (BANDELIER, *Final Report*, II, 113).

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ OBREGON, 193.

⁶⁸ VETANCURT, AUGUSTIN, *Crónica de la Provincia de Sto. Evangelio de Mexico*.

⁶⁹ ARLEGUI, JOSEPH, *Crónica de la Provincia de S. Francisco de Zacatecas*.

⁷⁰ SIGÜENZA Y GONGORA, *Mercurio Volante*. (British Museum, Add. MSS. 17563, f. 94.)

⁷¹ BANCROFT, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 79.

⁷² TWITCHELL, R. W., *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*.

Father Engelhardt have accepted the same erroneous version that we find in Torquemada, who has been shown to have copied Mendieta.⁷³ Bancroft tried to straighten matters out by charging Espejo with confusing facts; he says that the soldier's return was confused with that of the three Indians who came later.⁷⁴ Benjamin Read does not commit himself so wholeheartedly to Torquemada, but he misinterprets the declarations of Bustamante and Gallegos, and thus falls into the same errors.⁷⁵ Zárate Salmerón's account has been taken almost verbatim by Davis⁷¹ and Prince,⁷⁷ and Bandelier accepts as authentic the Davis version.⁷⁸ It was Bolton, in recent times, who presented this matter correctly. But as he did not have occasion to do more than record his conclusion, this paper has seemed worth while.

J. LLOYD MECHAM,
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⁷³ Icazbalceta establishes the truth of Torquemada's plagiarism in his introduction to MENDIETA'S *Historia Eclesiastica Indiana*, Mexico, 1870.

⁷⁴ BANCROFT, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 79, note 7.

⁷⁵ READ, BENJAMIN M., *Illustrated History of New Mexico*.

⁷⁶ DAVIS, W. W. H., *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*.

⁷⁷ PRINCE, L. BRADFORD, *Historical Sketches of New Mexico*.

⁷⁸ BANDELIER, *Final Report*, II, 228.

MISCELLANY

I

TITULAR SEES OF THE AMERICAN HIERARCHY

(Contributed by Right Rev. Owen B. Corrigan, D.D.)

Although the normal constitution of the hierarchy has always been built on the idea of local jurisdiction of the bishops, yet there are indications, even in the early history of the Church, of many who did not enjoy what is usually called ordinary jurisdiction. Besides those who were endowed with the episcopal character, in order to assist the local bishops, there were those who had been driven from their dioceses by infidels or by heretics, or who for other reasons could not reside in the places to which they had been appointed. The inroads of the Saracens in Asia and Africa were responsible for the vacation of hundreds of sees. During the Crusades, the Latins, who established new Christian communities, composed of people of European nationality and belonging to the Latin Rite, procured the erection of new dioceses for their benefit, and these in turn, when the Turk regained the ascendancy, increased the number of abandoned sees. The final development of the list of sees, called *in partibus infidelium*, took shape, at first, from the attempt of the Holy See to keep up the succession of bishops in these dioceses, in the hope of reconquering their territory from the infidel. When all hope of such redemption was given up, these titles were still conferred on those who were chosen to assist the diocesan bishops in their labors. After the fourteenth century the large increase of population in the great centers rendered such assistance particularly necessary. In the sixteenth century the Holy See inaugurated the policy of endowing with the episcopal character the Nuncios and other Prelates, delegated to represent the Pope in his relations with the different nations, so that they might be on an equality with the diocesan bishops of the countries in which they were ambassadors.

The foundation of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, in 1622, gave a great impetus to the missionary work of the Church in China and Japan, and elsewhere, a great increase in the number of bishops became necessary and those received their titles from the ancient abandoned sees.

Only about 1850, was any attempt made to compile a list of such sees. Moroni had already, in 1840, begun the publication of his voluminous *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Erudition*, and to him was confided

the work. He acknowledged the great difficulties that attended this scheme, even after a thorough examination of all the sources at his command.

Since 1851, the *Annuario Pontificio*, published every year at Rome, has such a list, but it does not purport to be full. On the contrary, it contains only those which are in general use. Names of dioceses disappear and are listed again when they are actually occupied. "Hetalonia," for instance, was omitted for a number of years until it was given to the late Bishop Currier at his own request after he resigned Matanzas. He asked for it because it had been the title of the bishop who ordained him.

Until 1882, these titles were given as *in partibus infidelium*. The story goes that the King of Greece complained to Leo XIII that he and his people were injured by this appellation, saying to the Pope, "We are not infidels, we are Christians; we are Catholics." Leo XIII, by a decree of Propaganda, of March 3, 1882, ordered that the formula *in partibus infidelium* should be no longer used and that future appointments should be made as "titular bishops."

The *Annuaire Pontifical Catholique* published by Battandier, Paris, in the issue of 1916, published a very complete list of the titular sees and titular bishops. It is the work of the Rev. Jules Bigaouette, a Canadian priest, and, although it does not claim to be perfect, it displays a wonderful patience and sagacity, containing as it does the names not only of the sees but of the bishops who have held the titles, as far back in some cases as the fourteenth century. Our sketch is simply an abstract of the introduction to their list.

TITULAR SEES ARE CONFERRED

1. On Cardinals, who, being only priests, are promoted in Curia to be bishops. An instance is that Cardinal Pompili, being named, in 1913, Cardinal Vicar, a position that required him to be a bishop, was consecrated titular Archbishop of Philippi, which, as the *Annuario* tells us, he gave up after his consecration.

2. On Nuncios, Apostolic Delegates and other dignitaries of the Curia, unless they are already diocesan bishops, and under the present custom they, in that case, are translated to titular archbishoprics. Cardinal Falconio, for instance, when appointed Delegate Apostolic, resigned his diocese in Italy and became Archbishop of Larissa.

3. On Coadjutors and Auxiliary Bishops.

4. On Vicars-Apostolic and, sometimes, on Prefects-Apostolic in missionary countries.

5. On Bishops who resign their dioceses, although this is not always

done. Sometimes the Holy See refuses to do so, and sometimes the bishops do not want it.

Our list, which we trust will be found interesting, is confined to those who have been connected with the Hierarchy of the United States, and we have tried to make it reasonably complete.

1. **ABDERA** (in Thrace),
Rt. Rev. N. O. Perche,
Coadjutor of New Orleans, 1870.
2. **ACMONIA** (in Phrygia),
Rt. Rev. John B. Morris,
Coadjutor of Little Rock, 1906.
3. **ADRAMYTTIUM** (in Proconsular Asia),
His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons,
when V. Ap. of N. Carolina,
1868.¹
4. **ADRIANOPLE**, Abp. (in Thrace),
Most Rev. Michael Heiss, trans-
ferred from La Crosse to be Coad-
jutor of Milwaukee, 1880.
5. **ADRIANOPLE**, Bp.
(1) Rt. Rev. Thomas Kennedy,
Rector of the American College
in Rome, 1907.
(2) Rt. Rev. Denis M. Lowney,
Auxiliary of Providence, 1917.
6. **AGATHONICA** (in Thrace),
Rt. Rev. John B. Lamy,
V. Ap. of New Mexico, 1850.
7. **ALABANDA** (in Caria),
Rt. Rev. John Brady,
Auxiliary of Boston, 1891.
8. **ALALIS** (in Phenicia),
Rt. Rev. Michael J. Hoban,
Coadjutor of Scranton, 1896.
9. **AMIDA**, Abp. (in Mesopotamia),
(1) The Most Rev. F. N. Blanchet,
after resignation of Oregon
City, 1880.
(2) The Most Rev. J. B. Pitaval,
after resignation of Santa Fe,
1918.
10. **AMISUS** (in the Hellespont),
Rt. Rev. John E. Fitzmaurice,
Coadjutor of Erie, 1897.
11. **AMMAEDERA** (in Proconsular Africa),
Rt. Rev. Joseph R. Crimont, S. J.,
V. Ap. of Alaska, 1917.
12. **AMYZONIA** (in Caria),
Rt. Rev. Frederick Baraga,
V. Ap. of Northern Michigan,
1853.
13. **ANAZARBA**, Abp. (in Cilicia Secunda),
Most Rev. J. B. Salpointe,
Coadjutor of Santa Fe, 1884.
14. **ANTIGONE** (in the Hellespont),
Rt. Rev. James F. Wood,
Coadjutor of Philadelphia, 1857.
15. **ANTINOE** (in Egypt),
Rt. Rev. Ignatius Mrak,
after resignation of Marquette,
1891.
16. **ANTIPATRIIS** (in Palestine),
Rt. Rev. John Stariha,
after resignation of Lead, 1909.
17. **APOLLONIA** (in Macedonia),
(1) Rt. Rev. James Whitfield,
Coadjutor of Balto., 1828.
(2) Rt. Rev. Anthony Blanc,
Coadjutor of New Orleans, 1832.
Declined.
(3) Rt. Rev. Alphonsus J. Glorieux,
V. Ap. of Idaho, 1885.
18. **ARABISSUS** (in Armenia),
Rt. Rev. P. L. Chapelle,
Coadjutor of Santa Fe, 1891.
19. **ARATH** (in Cappadocia),
Rt. Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick,
Coadjutor of Philadelphia, 1830.
20. **ARCA**, Abp. (in Armenia),
Rt. Rev. Claude M. Dubuis,
after resignation of Galveston,
1893.
21. **AREOPOLIS**, Abp. (in Palestine),
Most Rev. Henry Moeller,
transferred from Columbus to
be Coadjutor of Cincinnati, 1903.
22. **ARINDELA** (in Palestine),
Rt. Rev. Joseph H. Conroy,
Auxiliary of Ogdensburg, 1912.

¹ *Adramyttium* was also the title of the Bp. Resino who as Auxiliary of Santiago de Cuba was resident at St. Augustine from 1709 to 1711.

23. AULONA OF VALONA (in Epirus),
Rt. Rev. Peter Verdaguer,
V. Ap. of Brownsville, 1890.
24. AVARA (in Palestine),
Rt. Rev. Wm. H. Elder, trans-
ferred from Natches to be Coad-
jutor of Cincinnati, 1880.
25. AUXUM (Abp. in Ethiopia),
Most Rev. Geo. Montgomery,
transferred from Los Angeles, to
be Coadjutor of San Francisco,
1902.
26. AXIERE (in Mesopotamia),
(1) Rt. Rev. C. Hailandière,
Coadjutor of Vincennes, 1832.
(2) Rt. Rev. John McCloskey,
Coadjutor of New York, 1844.
27. AZOTUS (in Palestine),
Rt. Rev. John J. McCort,
Auxiliary of Philadelphia, 1912,
Coadjutor of Altoona, 1920.
28. BARCA (in Libya),
Rt. Rev. Paul P. Rhode,
Auxiliary of Chicago, 1908.
29. BASILOPOLIS (in Bythinia),
Rt. Rev. John Hughes,
Coadjutor of New York, 1834.
30. BERENICE (in Libya),
Rt. Rev. Thomas F. Hickey,
Coadjutor of Rochester, 1905.
31. BOLINA (in Achaia),
(1) Rt. Rev. Guy Ignatius Chabrat,
Coadjutor of Bardstown, 1834.
(2) Rt. Rev. Ignatius Persico,
after his resignation of Savan-
nah, 1874.
32. CABASA, Abp. (in Egypt),
Most Rev. Patrick Riordan,
Coadjutor of San Francisco,
1883.
33. CALLIPOLIS (in Thrace),
Rt. Rev. John B. Fitzpatrick,
Coadjutor of Boston, 1844.
34. CALYDON (in the Hellespont),
Rt. Rev. Caspar H. Borgess,
Coadjutor and Administrator of
Detroit, 1870.
35. CANEA (in Crete),
Rt. Rev. Charles J. Seghers,
transferred from Vancouver, to be
Coadjutor of Oregon City, 1878.
36. CANOPUS (in Egypt),
Rt. Rev. Nicholas L. Gallagher,
Coadjutor of Galveston, 1882.
37. CASTABALA (in Cilicia),
(1) Rt. Rev. Louis Lootens,
V. Ap. of Idaho, 1868.
(2) Rt. Rev. John W. Shaw,
Coadjutor of San Antonio, 1910.
38. CERAMUS (in Caria),
Rt. Rev. Patrick Manogue,
Coadjutor of Grass Valley, 1887.
39. CESAREA IN MOROCCO (in Algiers),
Rt. Rev. Thomas F. Brennan,
former Bishop of Dallas, 1905.
40. CESTRO (in Isauria),
Rt. Rev. Edward D. Kelly,
Auxiliary of Detroit, 1910.
41. CIBYRA (in Caria),
(1) Rt. Rev. Richard Phelan,
Coadjutor of Pittsburgh, 1885.
(2) Rt. Rev. Thomas S. Lillis,
transferred from Leavenworth
to be Coadjutor of Kansas City,
Mo., 1910.
42. CIO, Abp. (in Bythinia),
Most Rev. John J. Keane,
after resignation of Dubuque,
1911.
43. CLAUDIOPOLIS (in Isauria),
(1) Rt. Rev. John B. Odin,
V. Ap. of Texas, 1841.
(2) Rt. Rev. Wm. A. Hickey,
Coadjutor of Providence, 1919.
44. CONSTANTIA, formerly TOMI, Abp.
(in Scythia),
(1) Most Rev. John B. Salpointe,
after resignation of Santa Fe,
1894.
(2) Most Rev. Wm. H. O'Connell,
transferred from Portland to be
Coadjutor of Boston, 1906
45. CONSTANTINE (in Morocco),
Rt. Rev. Edward Barron,
V. Ap. of Guinea, 1844.
46. CORINTH, Abp. (in Greece),
Most Rev. Bonaventure Cerretti,
1914.
47. CURIUM (in Cyprus),
(1) Rt. Rev. John J. Conroy,
after resignation of Albany, 1878.
(2) Rt. Rev. G. A. Rouxel,
Auxiliary of N. Orleans, 1899.

48. **CYNICUS**, Abp. (in the Hellespont),
Most Rev. John B. Lamy,
after resignation of Santa Fe,
1885.
49. **DAMASCUS**, Abp. (in Syria),
Most Rev. John J. Keane,
promoted from Jassus, Rome,
1897.
50. **DAMIETTA**, Abp. (in Egypt),
Most Rev. Ignatius Persico,
former Bp. of Savannah, 1887.
51. **DANABA** (in Phenicia),
Rt. Rev. Augustine Verot,
V. Ap. of Florida, Dec., 1857
52. **DARNIS**, Abp. (in Libya),
Most Rev. Joseph Weber,
promoted from Temnos, 1901.
53. **DAULIA** (in Achaia),
Rt. Rev. Stephen-Soter Orzynski,
Ordinary in U. S. for the Greco-
Ruthenians, 1907.
54. **DELCOs** (in Thrace),
Rt. Rev. Peter Dufal,
V. Ap. Eastern Bengal, 1860,
Coadjutor of Galveston, 1878.
55. **DIBONA** (in Arabia),
Rt. Rev. James O'Connor,
V. Ap. of Nebraska, 1876.
56. **DIOCLETIANOPOLIS** (in Palestine),
Rt. Rev. James Whelan,
after resignation of Nashville,
1864.
57. **DORA** (in Palestine),
Rt. Rev. Anthony O'Regan,
after resignation of Chicago,
1858.
58. **DORTLAËUM** (in Phrygia),
Rt. Rev. John B. Salponte,
V. Ap. of Arizona, 1868.
59. **DRABA** (in Arabia),
(1) Rt. Rev. Peter Richard Ken-
rick, Coadjutor of Saint Louis,
1841.
(2) Rt. Rev. J. N. Blanchet,
V. Ap. of Oregon, 1844.
60. **DULMA** (in Bosnia),
Rt. Rev. Dominic Manucey,
V. Ap. of Brownsville, 1874.
61. **ECHINUS** (in Thessalia),
Rt. Rev. Alfred A. Curtis,
after resignation of Wilmington,
1896.
62. **EMESA**, Abp. (in Phenicia),
Most Rev. Charles J. Seghers,
Coadjutor of Oregon City, Sept.,
1878.
63. **EPHESUS**, Abp.,
Most Rev. Sebastian Martinelli,
Apostolic Delegate, 1886.
64. **EPIPHANIA** (in Cilicia),
Rt. Rev. Joseph Macheboeuf,
V. Ap. of Colorado and Utah,
1868.
65. **EUCARPIA** (in Phrygia),
(1) Rt. Rev. Edward Barron,
V. Ap. of Guinea, 1844.
(2) Rt. Rev. Louis M. Fink,
O. S. B., V. Ap. of Indian Ter-
ritory, 1871.
66. **FLAVIAS** (in Cilicia),
(1) Rt. Rev. Joseph Chartrand,
Coadjutor of Indianapolis, 1910.
(2) Rt. Rev. John G. Murray,
Auxiliary of Hartford, 1919.
67. **FLAVIOPOLIS**,
Rt. Rev. Eugene O'Connell,
V. Ap. of Marysville, 1861.
68. **GABALA** (in Syria),
Rt. Rev. James Duggan,
Coadjutor of St. Louis, 1887.
69. **GERABA** (in Palestine),
Rt. Rev. Edmond Heelan,
Auxiliary of Sioux City, 1918.
70. **GERMANICOPOLIS** (in Isauria),
(1) Rt. Rev. Tobias Mullen,
after his resignation of Erie,
1899.
(2) Rt. Rev. Joseph M. Koudelka,
Auxiliary of Cleveland, 1907,
later Auxiliary of Milwaukee.
(3) Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Shahan,
Rector of the Catholic Univer-
sity of America, 1914.
71. **GERMIA** (in the Hellespont),
Rt. Rev. Edward Koslowski,
Auxiliary of Milwaukee, 1913.
72. **GORTYNA** (in Crete),
Rt. Rev. Leonard Neale,
Coadjutor of Baltimore, 1800.

73. GRATIANOPOLIS (in Morocco),
Rt. Rev. Ignatius Persico,
Coadjutor to the V. Ap. of
Bombay, 1854. V. Ap. of Hin-
dustan and Thibet, 1856.
74. GREATER HERMOPOLIS (in Egypt),
Rt. Rev. John J. Lawler,
Auxiliary of St. Paul, 1910.
75. HALIA (in Armenia),
Rt. Rev. Rupert Seidenbusch, O.
S. B., V. Ap. of Northern Min-
nesota, 1875.
76. HALICARNASSUS (in Caria),
Rt. Rev. Thomas F. Doran,
Auxiliary of Providence, 1915.
77. HELIOPOLIS, Abp. (in Phenicia),
Most Rev. Robert Seton, 1903.
78. HETALONIA (in Phenicia),
Rt. Rev. Charles W. Currier,
after resignation of Matanzas,
1915.
79. HIEROPOLIS (in Phrygia),
Rt. Rev. Francis Mora,
Coadjutor of Monterey and Los
Angeles, transferred from Mosy-
nopolis, 1896.
80. HIROCESAREA (in Lybia),
Rt. Rev. John M. Laval,
Auxiliary of New Orleans, 1911.
81. IBORA (in the Hellespont),
Rt. Rev. Augustine M. Blanchet,
after resignation of Nesqually,
1879.
82. IMERIA (in Mesopotamia),
Rt. Rev. John Grimes,
Coadjutor of Syracuse, 1909.
83. JASSUS (in Caria),
Rt. Rev. John J. Keane,
First Rector of the Catholic
University of America, 1888.
84. JONOPLIS (in Caria),
(1) Rt. Rev. James Gibbons,
as Coadjutor of Baltimore, 1877.
(2) Rt. Rev. Francis X. Leray,
Coadjutor of New Orleans, 1879.
(3) Rt. Rev. Joseph Fox,
after resignation of Green Bay,
1914.
85. JOPPA (in Palestine),
Rt. Rev. Eugene O'Connell, after
resignation of Grass Valley, 1884.
86. LARANDA (in Lycaonia),
Rt. Rev. Lawrence Scanlon,
V. Ap. of Utah, 1887.
87. LARISSA, Abp. (in Thessaly),
Most Rev. Diomedea Falconio,
Apostolic Delegate, 1899.
88. LEBEDOS (in Asia Minor),
Rt. Rev. Peter J. O'Reilly,
Auxiliary of Peoria, 1900.
89. LENGONE (in Galatia),
Rt. Rev. M. J. Spalding,
Coadjutor of Louisville, 1848.
90. LEPANTO, Abp. (in Epirus),
Most Rev. Francis Satolli,
Apostolic Delegate, 1888.
91. LIMYRA (in Lycia),
Rt. Rev. Augustus Ravoux,
V. Ap. of Montana, 1868, de-
clined.
92. LOBYMA (in Caria),
Rt. Rev. George Mundelein,
Auxiliary of Brooklyn, 1909.
93. LYCOPOLIS (in Egypt),
Rt. Rev. James Trobec,
after resignation of St. Cloud,
1914.
94. ²LYRBA (in Pamphylia),
(1) Rt. Rev. John Prendergast,
Coadjutor of Grass Valley, 1875,
declined.
(2) Rt. Rev. Mark S. Gross,
V. Ap. of N. Carolina, 1880,
declined.
95. MACRA (in Morocco),
Rt. Rev. Owen B. Corrigan,
Auxiliary of Baltimore, 1908.
96. MARCIANOPOLIS, Abp. (in Mesia),
Most Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick,
after resignation of St. Louis,
1895.
97. MARCOPOLIS (in Mesopotamia),
(1) Rt. Rev. James Whelan,
Coadjutor of Nashville, 1859.
(2) Rt. Rev. A. J. McGavick,
Auxiliary of Chicago, 1899.

² The Rt. Rev. Thomas Molloy was appointed on June 28, 1920, Bishop of Lorea and Auxiliary of Brooklyn.

98. MARONIA,
 (1) Rt. Rev. John Ireland,
 Coadjutor of St. Paul, 1875.
 (2) Rt. Rev. Dominic Manucy,
 after resignation of Mobile and
 appointment for second time as
 V. Ap. of Brownsville, 1885.
99. MAURICASTRO (in Mesopotamia),
 Rt. Rev. John B. David,
 Coadjutor of Bardstown, 1817.
100. MELITENE, Abp. (in Armenia),
 Most Rev. John Bonzano,
 Apostolic Delegate, 1912.
101. MENNITH (in Palestine),
 (1) Rt. Rev. John M. Odin was
 named to this see in 1841, but
 declined.
 (2) Rt. Rev. Thomas Grace, O.P.,
 after resignation of St. Paul,
 1884.
102. MESSENE (in Greece),
 (1) Rt. Rev. John B. Miede, S. J.,
 V. Ap. of Indian Territory,
 1850.
 (2) Rt. Rev. Leo Haid, O. S. B.,
 V. Ap. of N. Carolina, 1888.
103. METELLOPOLIS (in Phrygia),
 Rt. Rev. James Carroll,
 after resignation of Nueva Se-
 govia, 1912.
104. MILOPOTAMUS (in Crete),
 Rt. Rev. James Davis,
 Coadjutor of Davenport, 1904.
105. MOCESSUS, abp. (in Cappadocia),
 Most Rev. Otto Zardetti,
 after resignation of Bucharest,
 1895.
106. MODRA (in Bithynia),
 Rt. Rev. John Michaud,
 Coadjutor of Burlington, 1892.
107. MOSYNOPOLIS (in Thrace),
 Rt. Rev. Francis Mora,
 Coadjutor of Los Angeles,
 1873.
108. MYRINA (in Proconsular Asia),
 Rt. Rev. Joseph G. Anderson,
 Auxiliary of Boston, 1912.
109. NILOPOLIS,
 Rt. Rev. John M. Gannon,
 Auxiliary of Erie, 1918.
110. OLENO (in Achaia),
 Rt. Rev. Michael Portier,
 V. Ap. of Alabama and Florida,
 1825.
111. ORIA (in Proconsular Africa),
 Rt. Rev. Wm. Clancy,
 Coadjutor of Charleston, 1834,
 V. Ap. of British Guiana, 1837.
112. OXYRINCHIA, Abp. (in Egypt),
 Most Rev. John J. Kain, trans-
 ferred from Wheeling to be
 Coadjutor of St. Louis, 1893.
113. PELUSIUM, Abp. (in Egypt),
 Most Rev. Joseph Alemanny,
 O. P., after resignation of San
 Francisco, 1885.
114. PERGAMUS (in Proconsular Asia),
 Rt. Rev. Thomas Foley,
 Coadjutor and Administrator
 of Chicago, 1870.
115. PETRA, Abp. (in Palestine),
 Most Rev. M. A. Corrigan, trans-
 ferred from Newark to be
 Coadjutor of New York, 1880.
116. PHACUSA (in Egypt),
 Rt. Rev. Caspar Borgess,
 after resignation of Detroit,
 1888.
117. PHILADELPHIA (in Lydia),
 Rt. Rev. F. N. Blanchet,
 V. Ap. of Oregon, 1843.
 On account of confusion with
 Philadelphia in America he was
 in 1844, transferred to Drasa.
118. PHILIPPOPOLIS, Abp. (in Thrace),
 Most Rev. Bonaventure Cerretti,
 Ap. Delegate to Australia,
 April, 1914.
119. PINARA (in Lycia),
 Rt. Rev. John J. Glennon,
 Coadjutor of Kansas City,
 1896. Coadjutor of St. Louis,
 1903.
120. POMABIO (in Morocco),
 Rt. Rev. Denis O'Donaghue,
 Auxiliary of Indianapolis, 1900.
121. POMPEIOPOLIS (in Cilicia),
 (1) Rt. Rev. Bernard O'Reilly,
 Coadjutor of Hartford, 1850.
 (2) Rt. Rev. Sylvester H. Rose-
 crans, Auxiliary of Cincinnati,
 1861.

122. **RAPHANEA** (in Syria),
Rt. Rev. James O'Gorman,
V. Ap. of Nebraska, 1859.
123. **RHESINA** (in Mesopotamia),
Rt. Rev. Francis McNierney,
Coadjutor and Administrator
of Albany, 1871.
124. **ROSALIA** (in Pisidia),
Rt. Rev. Henry P. Northrop,
V. Ap. of N. Carolina, 1881.
125. **SABRATA** (in Tripoli),
Rt. Rev. J. F. Regis Canavan,
Coadjutor of Pittsburgh, 1902.
126. **SALAMIS**, Abp. (in Cyprus),
Rt. Rev. P. J. Ryan,
Coadjutor of St. Louis, 1884.
127. **SAMOS** (in the Archipelago),
Rt. Rev. Thos. J. Conaty,
Rector of the Catholic Uni-
versity of America, 1901.
128. **SAMOSATA** (in Syria),
Rt. Rev. Lawrence Graessel,
Coadjutor of Baltimore, 1793.
(The first appointment of this
kind in U. S. He died before
his consecration.)
129. **SCILLIO** (in Proconsular Africa),
Rt. Rev. Edmond Prendergast,
Auxiliary of Philadelphia, 1896.
130. **SCYTHOPOLIS**, Abp. (in Palestine),
Most Rev. J. L. Spalding,
after resignation of Peoria,
1908.
131. **SEBASTE**, Abp. (in Armenia),
Most Rev. P. L. Chapelle,
Coadjutor of Santa Fe, 1893.
132. **SEBASTE**, Bp. (in Laodicea),
Rt. Rev. Denis O'Connell,
Rector of the Catholic Uni-
versity of America, 1907. Aux-
iliary of San Francisco, 1908.
133. **SELEUCIA**, Abp. (in Isauria),
Most Rev. Thomas Kennedy,
Rector of the American College,
Rome, 1915.
134. **SIDYMA** (in Lycia),
Rt. Rev. Theophilus Meerschaert,
V. Ap. of Indian Territory,
1891.
135. **SIUNIA**, Abp. (in Armenia),
Most Rev. Thomas Grace, O.P.,
after his resignation of St. Paul,
transferred from Mennith,
1889.
136. **SOPHENE** (in Armenia),
Rt. Rev. Joseph Schrembs,
Auxiliary of Grand Rapids,
1911.
137. **SORA** (in Paphlagonia),
Rt. Rev. J. B. Pitaval,
Auxiliary of Santa Fe, 1902.
138. **STAUIROPOLIS**, Abp. (in Caria),
Most Rev. Ambrose Marechal,
Coadjutor of Baltimore, 1817.
139. **TAGASTE** (in Numidia),
Rt. Rev. Patrick J. Hayes,
Auxiliary of New York, 1914.
140. **TAMASSUS** (in Cyprus),
Rt. Rev. Peter Muldoon,
Auxiliary of Chicago, 1901.
141. **TELMESSUS** (in Lycia),
Rt. Rev. Nicholas Matz,
Coadjutor of Denver, 1887.
142. **TEMNOS** (in Proconsular Asia),
Rt. Rev. Joseph Weber,
Auxiliary of Lemberg, Austria,
1895. Afterwards, Provincial
of the Fathers of the Resur-
rection, Chicago.
143. **TENAGRA** (in Boetia),
Rt. Rev. Joseph Rosati, C.M.,
Coadjutor of New Orleans,
1822.
144. **THAUMACUM** (in Thessalia),
Rt. Rev. Peter Bourgade,
V. Ap. of Arizona, 1885.
145. **THEMISCYRA** (in the Hellespont),
Rt. Rev. Thomas Cusack,
Auxiliary of New York, 1904.
146. **THANABIS** (in Egypt),
Rt. Rev. Clement Smyth, Trap-
pist, Coadjutor of Dubuque,
1857.
147. **THERMAS** (in Cappadocia),
Rt. Rev. Samuel Eccleston,
Coadjutor of Baltimore, 1834.

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| <p>148. THMUIS (in Egypt),
Rt. Rev. George Montgomery,
Coadjutor of Los Angeles, 1894.</p> <p>149. TIBERIAS (in Palestine),
Rt. Rev. Martin Marty,
V. Ap. of Dakota, 1879.</p> <p>150. TIPASA (in Morocco),
Rt. Rev. Michael J. Gallagher,
Coadjutor of Grand Rapids,
1915.</p> <p>151. TITOPOLIS (in Isauria),
Rt. Rev. Edward J. Hanna,
Auxiliary of San Francisco,
1912.</p> <p>152. TRICOMIA (in Palestine),
Rt. Rev. P. J. Ryan,
Coadjutor of St. Louis, 1872.</p> <p>153. TRIPOLIS (in Africa),
Rt. Rev. John J. Williams,
Coadjutor of Boston, 1865.</p> | <p>154. UTILLA,
Rt. Rev. Thomas Brennan,³
after resignation of Dallas,
1893.</p> <p>155. VERA (in Proconsular Africa),
Rt. Rev. John B. Timon, is listed
in Battandier (1916) as Coad-
jutor of St. Louis, from May 16,
1839 to 1842. He never served
as such.</p> <p>156. ZELA (in the Hellespont),
Rt. Rev. Peter Lefevere,
Coadjutor and Administrator
of Detroit, 1841.</p> <p>157. ZEUGMA (in Syria),
Rt. Rev. John M. Farley,
Auxiliary of New York, 1895.</p> |
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II

The Kensington Rune Stone

(Contributed by the Very Rev. Francis J. Schaefer, D. D., Rector,
The St. Paul Seminary, St. Paul, Minn.)

The editor of THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW has asked the writer to present to its readers a brief summary of the Kensington Rune Stone, the discovery of which aroused considerable interest and controversy some years ago. The following paper, with modifications and additions, is based upon one written for the *Acta et Dicta*, the annual publication of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul, where it appeared in the July number of 1910.

It was in November, 1898, that a Swedish farmer, by the name of Olaf Ohman, was busying himself in clearing a tract of his land, situated about three miles in a northerly direction from Kensington, Douglas County, Minn. While uprooting a poplar tree, about eight or ten inches in diameter, on the side of a morainic hill, he discovered a stone, which has since been the subject of considerable comment and study.

The stone is about 30 inches long, 16 inches wide, and 6 inches thick, and weighs about 230 pounds. It is a graywacke, of dark gray color,

³ The above was taken from REUSS, *Biog. Cyclop.* The title is not listed either by the *Annuario* or by Battandier. There is a *Usilla*, but that was held by a retired French bishop from 1901 to 1914. The name of Bishop Brennan was carried on the *Annuario* in the special list of Bishops who have no title from 1893 to 1905, when he received the title of *Cesarea* in Morocco.

evidently rifted from some large boulder of the glacial drift, which forms the surface of all the region. On the face of the stone and on the side there is an inscription in strange characters, which were believed, and have since been proven to be, runic letters, such as were in use centuries ago among the Germanic and Scandinavian nations; the inscription on the face contains nine lines, and that on the side three.

There was no runic scholar in the neighborhood of Kensington, and the stone was sent to a professor of Scandinavian literature in the University of Minnesota, and to other Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish scholars in Chicago. They deciphered the inscription; but as it contained the account of an exploration to that spot by Norsemen in the fourteenth century, it was generally considered as a fraud of recent date. And thus the stone was returned to its owner, who used it as a step to the door of his barn.

A new examination of the inscription was made afterwards by Mr. Hjalmar Rued Holand, a graduate of the University of Wisconsin, and an efficient scholar of Scandinavian history and literature. While preparing a history of Norwegian immigration to the United States, he traveled extensively among the Norwegian settlements of the Northwest. In August, 1907, he happened to be in Douglas County; there he learned from Mr. Ohman the circumstances of the finding of the stone and obtained it from him for further study. The result of his researches was presented in an elaborate paper, read at a meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, December 13, 1909.

The inscription, as interpreted in English by Mr. Holand, reads as follows:

8 Goths [Swedes] and 22 Norwegians on [an] exploring journey from Vinland very far west. We had a camp by 2 skerries [rocks in the water] one day's journey north from this stone. We were [out] fishing one day. When we returned home [we] found 10 men red with blood and dead. A V M [Ave Maria, or Ave Virgo Maria]. Save [us] from evil.

[We] have 10 men by the sea to look after our vessel. 14 [41?] days' journey from this island. Year 1362.

We gather from this inscription that thirty Swedish and Norwegian explorers came to the central western part of what is now Minnesota on a journey of exploration made in 1362. Their starting point was Vinland, a country along the eastern coast of North America. They put up a camp near a lake, at the point of which were found two rocks in the water; the camping place was about a day's journey to the north from the spot where the stone was found. One day they went out fishing on the lake; and when they returned to their camp, they found that 10 of their men had been killed by savages. Thereupon they packed up their belongings and departed in all haste, at first in a southerly direc-

tion. After having traveled for about a day, they rested on an island, carved into a stone the record of their journey, and addressed a prayer to the Blessed Virgin Mary to save them from further evil. Their ship was left by the sea in the custody of 10 men, at a distance of about 41 days' journey. (The rendering of the numerals indicating the distance to their ship is not altogether certain; they might mean 14 or 41 days. However, 41 seems to be more probable.)

The great question in connection with the Kensington Rune Stone is whether the inscription be genuine, *i. e.*, whether it be really a record left there by Scandinavian explorers in the fourteenth century. It may be said at the very outset, that direct evidences or testimonies in favor of its authenticity are lacking; and, to judge from the nature of the case, they probably will never be found. All that can be done is to gather a certain number of reasons or facts which will make it likely that the monument is really what it claims to be.

The idea of a recent fraud seems to be excluded by the circumstances of the place. The stone was lying flat with its rune-inscribed face downward, was thinly covered by the surface soil; and over it had grown a poplar tree, which had sent its main roots down at one side of the stone, while another large root crossed the stone and then passed down at its opposite edge. All the roots that covered the stone were flattened on the side nearest to it; and the tree, according to a general estimate, was about forty years old. Hence the stone was in its position at least since about the year 1860; a time when there were no white settlers within 100 miles of the place, and the nearest railroad was 400 miles away.

The journey itself of these daring Norsemen into the interior of the American continent is not at all impossible. It is a matter of history that the Norsemen visited the coast of North America, a section of which they called Vinland (land of wine—either New England or Nova Scotia), from the abundance of wild grapes found there. These visits commenced about the year 1000, and continued for several centuries. Whether any permanent colonies were founded or not, is still a matter of dispute among scholars; but at any rate it is almost certain that the expeditions were equipped with a large number of men. Why should not some of them, during a longer sojourn in Vinland, undertake a journey of exploration into the interior of the land, which offered to them such large treasures in natural resources?

The important matter to be examined is the language and the style of the inscription. Mr. Holand and others are satisfied that both are in perfect harmony with the Scandinavian documents of the fourteenth century, with which the inscription of the rune stone was compared.

One particular feature seems to bear out their contention; the salutation addressed to the Blessed Virgin Mary, the *Ave Maria*, which shows the faith of the people in the Middle Ages, the habit of having recourse to the Mother of God in all circumstances, particularly in times of need and distress. The Norsemen of the fourteenth century were one in faith with the Catholics of other countries of Europe; and hence they had the same customs and devotions. It was only after the rise of the Protestant Reformation, that they were led away from the unity of the Catholic Church. If a Scandinavian of our own time had perpetrated forgery, he would scarcely have thought of placing the invocation to the Virgin Mary on the stone, because anything like a devotion to the Saints is rather foreign to the mind of Protestants.

Concerning the probable route taken by the explorers, Prof. Andrew Fossum, of St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minn., has given an interesting theory in the *Norwegian American*, Northfield, Minn., October 22, 1909. According to his view, the travelers set out from Vinland, passed through Hudson straits into Hudson Bay, left their ship near the mouth of Nelson or Hayes River, made a canoe journey into Lake Winnipeg, along the Red River to its first series of strong rapids and falls, terminating a few miles below Fergus Falls, and thence crossing the country probably by streams, small lakes, and portages, some twenty miles south-eastward to Pelican Lake. For this inland journey fourteen days might be sufficient, provided the travelers were on the road for about fifteen hours a day, and were not hampered by special difficulties. Still it is rather a short space of time for such a long distance; and hence the rendering of the numerals in the inscription by 41 days is altogether more likely.

The opinion of Mr. Hjalmar Rued Holand as to the genuineness of the runic inscription on the Kensington Stone was shared by the Museum Committee of the Minnesota Historical Society, which, through one of its members, submitted the entire question in all its aspects to a searching investigation. Several other Scandinavian scholars and writers arrayed themselves on this side. However, it must be admitted, that other students of Norse history and literature both in America and Europe stoutly maintained that the document was a fraud of a modern runologist. Among these must be mentioned in particular Prof. George T. Flom, who in an address delivered before the Illinois State Historical Society at Springfield, Ill., May 5, 1910, endeavored to prove, that the runes of the inscription are of a late origin, and its language entirely modern.

The Rune Stone is in the possession of Mr. Holand, who placed it on exhibition in Chicago, Ill., Madison, Wis., Northfield, Minn.,

and St. Paul, Minn. During the spring and summer of the year 1911, he took it with him for further examination to Rouen, France, and to several places in Sweden and Norway. Interesting accounts of all the questions connected with it are found in *Harper's Weekly*, October 9, 1909, from the pen of Mr. Holand, and in *Records of the Past*, January-February, 1910, by Mr. Warren Upham, then Secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society. A preliminary report of the Museum Committee of the Minnesota Historical Society was presented to the same society at the meeting of its Executive Council, May 9, 1910, published in December of the same year 1910, and finally incorporated into Volume XV of the Society's *Collections*, issued in May, 1915. A list of essays on the same subject by various writers is published in the Bibliographic Section of this issue.

III

LES "ACTA SANCTORUM" DES BOLLANDISTES

(Contributed by the Rev. Robert Lechat, S. J., Brussels, Belgium)

L'actif et dévoué secrétaire de la *Catholic Historical Review* m'a demandé de faire connaître aux lecteurs de cet érudit périodique l'oeuvre des Bollandistes. Une invitation si aimable et si flatteuse ne pouvait guère être déclinée. Les marques d'intérêt si précieuses que nous donnent en ce moment plusieurs sommités scientifiques des Etats-Unis ne nous obligent-elles pas à déférer avec empressement à leurs moindres désirs? et ne nous sont-elles pas un gage de la curiosité sympathique avec laquelle le public américain lira ces quelques pages?

La Société des Bollandistes est l'une des plus anciennes, sinon la plus ancienne société savante et littéraire de l'ancien monde. Fondée au xvii^e siècle par des Jésuites Belges, elle a continué, avec une interruption de 42 années pendant la suppression de la Compagnie de Jésus, à rester le monopole exclusif des Pères de la province Belge. Elle eut son siège à Anvers en la maison professe jusqu'à la fin du xviii^e siècle; depuis le rétablissement au xix^e siècle, elle est fixée à Bruxelles, au collège Saint-Michel. Le nombre de ses membres a toujours été très limité. Deux au début, ils ont ordinairement été 4 ou 5 et n'ont jamais dépassé le chiffre de 6.

Le premier qui conçut l'idée de l'oeuvre fut le P. Héribert Rosweyde, en 1603. En lisant les Vies des Saints, il avait été peiné d'y rencontrer tant d'histoires apocryphes et parfois même d'une orthodoxie douteuse et il pensa que les bibliothèques de Belgique, si riches en manuscrits hagiographiques, fourniraient aisément des textes plus authen-

tiques et plus satisfaisants, dont la publication remplacerait avantageusement les anciennes compilations à la plus grande gloire de l'Eglise et de ses saints. Et avec l'approbation de ses supérieurs, il se mit résolument à la besogne. En 1607, il publia sous le titre *Fasti sanctorum quorum vitae in belgicis bibliothecis manuscriptae*, le plan de la future collection. Le projet comportait 1300 Vies de saints contenues dans les manuscrits des bibliothèques de Belgique. De la plupart Rosweyde s'était déjà procuré la copie. Malheureusement d'autres occupations, le ministère des confessions, diverses publications scientifiques, venaient continuellement le distraire et enrayer son oeuvre principale. Aussi mourut-il en 1629 sans avoir rien publié de la collection projetée. Il laissait pourtant une oeuvre apparentée aux *Acta Sanctorum*, le *Vitae Patrum*, paru en 1616, réédition scientifique des Vies des Pères du désert.

Après la mort de Rosweyde, les supérieurs chargèrent le P. Jean Bollandus d'examiner la masse considérable de papiers laissés par l'hagiographe et d'aviser à l'usage qu'on pourrait en faire. Jean Bollandus, qui donna son nom à l'oeuvre, était alors âgé de 36 ans. Il était né à Julémont, près de Liège, où, jusqu'en ces derniers temps, on montrait sa maison. Elle a été détruite en août 1914 lors de l'incendie du village par les Allemands. Bollandus reprit, en l'élargissant, le plan de Rosweyde. Il ouvrit les portes de la collection non seulement aux Saints dont on retrouverait des Actes, mais à ceux aussi qui n'avaient pas encore rencontré de biographe. A défaut d'Actes, on leur constituerait une notice formée de tous les renseignements puisés aux sources. Après quelques années de travail, Bollandus se rendit compte qu'un seul homme ne suffirait jamais à la tâche. On lui donna pour collaborateur le P. Godefroid Henschenius, son ancien élève; plus tard (1659) on leur adjoignit le P. Daniel Papebroch, qui fut peut-être le plus illustre de tous les Bollandistes. L'entretien des collaborateurs, la copie des manuscrits, l'achat des livres, les voyages qu'il fallut bientôt entreprendre à la recherche des manuscrits supposaient des dépenses que ne pouvait supporter la maison professe d'Anvers dépourvue de revenus. La générosité de l'abbé de Liessies constitua par un don de 800 florins le premier fonds du patrimoine de la société.

Les deux premiers volumes des *Acta Sanctorum*, contenant les saints du mois de janvier, parut en 1643. Ce fut un succès. Tout le monde savant applaudit à l'heureuse initiative des deux Jésuites Belges et à la méthode scientifique qu'ils avaient appliquée aux textes hagiographiques. Rosweyde était mort depuis 14 ans quand l'oeuvre qu'il avait rêvée commença à voir le jour. Il avait cru l'enclore toute entière en 12 volumes et comptait bien mener lui-même l'entreprise à bonne fin. Voici trois siècles qu'un labeur à peu près ininterrompu poursuit la

tâche commencée; la collection atteint actuellement 64 volumes plus les *auctaria*, et l'on n'en entrevoit pas encore la fin: le dernier volume paru (1910) contient les saints des 6, 7 et 8 novembre. C'est qu'à mesure qu'on avance la masse des matériaux recueillis s'enfle démesurément. Janvier n'avait que 2 volumes; février en a déjà trois; mai en aura 7 et octobre ira jusqu'à 13! La recherche des documents nécessitait de longs voyages à travers toute l'Europe. Les exigences de la critique se sont faites aussi de plus en plus difficiles et les Bollandistes avaient le souci de perfectionner sans cesse leur méthode et de se tenir à la hauteur des progrès de la science. La mort prématurée de tel ou tel collaborateur, la difficulté de trouver des recrues aptes à un travail si spécial vinrent encore à certains moments retarder la marche de l'oeuvre. C'étaient là de ces mécomptes auxquels n'échappe aucune entreprise de longue haleine. La catastrophe allait arriver à la fin du xviii^e siècle.

En 1773, la Compagnie de Jésus était supprimée. Ce coup qui atteignait les hagiographes dans leurs affections les plus chères, ne tua pas net leur oeuvre. Fortement ébranlée, la Société des Bollandistes prolongea encore de quelques années une existence précaire. Sécularisés, dépouillés de leurs biens comme les autres Jésuites, les Bollandistes furent pourtant autorisés à continuer en commun leurs études. Une pension leur fut assurée par le Gouvernement. Admis temporairement à demeurer dans la maison professe d'Anvers, ils durent bientôt chercher refuge ailleurs. L'abbaye de Coudenberg à Bruxelles les recueillit d'abord (1778). En 1780, l'abbaye ayant été supprimée par Joseph II, ils habitèrent quelque temps l'ancien collège des Jésuites de Bruxelles, puis trouvèrent asile en l'abbaye des Prémontrés de Tongerlo. Enfin l'heure de la dissolution définitive sonna quand les troupes républicaines françaises envahirent la Belgique et confisquèrent les biens ecclésiastiques.

Ce qu'il y a d'étonnant, c'est que pendant cette période de trouble, de continuel déménagements, d'insécurité et d'angoisse, les Bollandistes réussirent à publier trois volumes des *Acta Sanctorum*: à Bruxelles, en 1780 le tome IV d'octobre, en 1786 le tome V, à Tongerlo, en 1794 le tome VI. Pour ces trois volumes ils furent aidés par la collaboration de quelques religieux de Coudenberg et de Tongerlo.

Pas plus que la Compagnie de Jésus, la Société des Bollandistes n'était morte sans retour. Elle ressuscita peu d'années après le rétablissement de la Compagnie en Belgique. En 1834, trois Jésuites furent chargés de continuer l'oeuvre laissée inachevée par les anciens Bollandistes. Ils s'installèrent au collège Saint-Michel à Bruxelles. Mais quelle tâche bien capable de décourager les plus intrépides! Tout était à refaire. Les traditions étaient rompues; l'expérience lentement accumulée par les prédécesseurs était perdue; de l'ancienne génération

plus un seul survivant; les notes, les instruments de travail disparus; la belle bibliothèque avait été en partie confisquée par le gouvernement autrichien, en partie vendue, en partie aussi rachetée plus tard par le gouvernement hollandais qui en envoya les imprimés à La Haye et les manuscrits à la bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles. Pour aider la société à renaître, le gouvernement belge lui accorda un subside annuel de 6000 francs, qui fut retiré en 1869 à l'instigation de députés anti-cléricaux. Les Bollandistes en sont donc réduits pour vivre au produit de la vente de leurs ouvrages et au revenu d'un modeste patrimoine formé peu à peu à force d'économie et à l'aide de dons. La bibliothèque a dû se reconstituer aussi de toutes pièces. Le gouvernement français et le gouvernement anglais y contribuèrent en envoyant gracieusement leurs grandes publications. Actuellement la bibliothèque se développe surtout grâce aux ouvrages envoyés pour être recensés dans les *Analecta Bollandiana*, et par voie d'échange. Elle contient à présent près de 150,000 volumes. Avant la guerre, elle recevait, soit par abonnement soit par échange, environ 600 revues de tous les pays du monde. Dans ce nombre l'Amérique était représentée par une quarantaine de périodiques. Depuis 1905, la bibliothèque est installée dans de nouveaux locaux spacieux et confortables. Une salle de consultation a été aménagée en faveur des savants étrangers.

Nous n'avons fait que retracer dans ses grandes lignes l'histoire des Bollandistes. Pour plus de détails, nous nous permettons de renvoyer le lecteur au livre intitulé *A travers trois siècles. L'oeuvre des Bollandistes, 1615-1915* (Bruxelles, 1920, in-8°, 282 pp.), que le P. Delehaye vient de dédier à l'éminent directeur de l'*American Historical Review*, M. J. Franklin Jameson.

Une traduction anglaise de cet opuscule est prête et n'attend pour paraître qu'une solution de la crise du papier.

Mais il est temps que nous passions de l'histoire des hommes à l'examen de leur oeuvre.¹ Ouvrons donc les grands in-folios des *Acta Sanctorum* et tâchons de nous rendre compte de ce qu'ils contiennent.

Le but de l'ouvrage est de "rassembler et de discuter les monuments de l'histoire et du culte des saints." Par saints, il faut entendre non seulement les saints canonisés, mais tous les personnages dont la mémoire a été, dans quelque église officiellement honorée. Aucune limite chronologique ni géographique. *Sancti quotquot toto orbe coluntur*, porte le frontispice de la collection. Dans cette universalité l'Amérique, quoique tard venue dans la grande famille chrétienne, a sa part elle aussi, car nombreux sont les apôtres qui dès la découverte du Nouveau Monde et dans la suite y versèrent leur sang pour le Christ; nombreuses les vierges qui fleurirent sur cette terre nouvelle. Les *Acta Sanctorum*

¹ See p. 385 of this issue for a list of their works.

présentent donc pour l'histoire des Etats-Unis et en général pour celle de l'Amérique tant du Sud que du Nord, une mine de matériaux qui n'est pas à dédaigner. Il suffira par exemple de citer les Actes de Ste Rose de Lima qui n'occupent pas moins de 37 pages infolio, ceux de S. François Solano qui en remplissent 63; le B. Philippe de Jésus mexicain, est traité parmi les xxvi martyrs du Japon, au 5 février. Le B. Martin de Porras a sa place au 5 novembre, dans le dernier volume paru.

La tâche de l'hagiographe embrasse à la fois l'histoire du saint lui-même et l'histoire de son culte. L'histoire du saint est livrée par les Actes ou les *Vitae*; l'histoire du culte par les *Miracula*, recueil des grâces obtenues par l'intercession du saint, qui fait souvent suite aux Actes. Les anciens Bollandistes assez sévères dans leur choix éliminaient volontiers les Actes de caractère évidemment imaginaires, apocryphes, superstitieux. Les Bollandistes modernes ont cru devoir donner droit de cité même à ces compositions suspectes, car si elles n'apprennent rien sur le saint lui-même, elles sont révélatrices de la mentalité et des mœurs d'un peuple, d'une époque et, quoique de nulle valeur pour l'édification des fidèles, elles peuvent rendre à la science de précieux services. Car il est à remarquer que ce n'est pas seulement à l'hagiographe que les Actes des saints fournissent des matériaux; ils sont autant des documents d'histoire profane, d'archéologie, de folk-lore, d'histoire économique, de géographie locale.

La publication du texte des Actes et des Miracles constitue la partie principale, essentielle, de chaque notice. Le but de l'oeuvre étant avant tout de fournir le texte primitif, original des sources de l'histoire des saints. Le texte des Actes est évidemment établi d'après les meilleurs manuscrits et muni, du moins dans les derniers volumes, d'un appareil critique. L'annotation constitue une seconde partie de la notice. Dans ces notes d'intérêt biographique, généalogique, géographique, linguistique, nos anciens Bollandistes ont accumulé des trésors d'érudition. Enfin comme introduction à la publication du texte il y a un *Commentarius praeivus* où l'hagiographe rend compte de ses sources, les critique, en tire les conclusions. Il y expose aussi et y rassemble les preuves du culte dont le saint a joui: élévation ou translation des reliques, églises construites en son honneur, indulgences, fêtes, et, s'il y a lieu, procès de canonisation.

A titre d'exemple, voyons comment ce programme est réalisé relativement à Ste Rose de Lima, une des plus pures gloires de l'Eglise d'Amérique. La notice de la sainte est donnée au 26 août (*Acta Sancti*. Aug. t. V, pp. 892-1029). Le *commentarius praeivus* (p. 892-902) est dû à la plume du Bollandiste Guillaume Cuperus. Il est divisé en 4 paragraphes. Dans le parag. 1, l'hagiographe raconte comment, dès le

lendemain de la mort de la sainte (1617), la nouvelle en parvint en Europe. Il reproduit les éloges que dans lettres au Souverain Pontife des religieux de divers ordres décernaient à la religieuse défunte. Le parag. 2 traite du procès de béatification qui fut ouvert dès 1663, et reproduit divers documents de la Sacrée Congrégation des Rites relatifs à ce procès. Les progrès du culte de la sainte sont notés dans le parag. 3: décret de Clément IX déclarant Ste Rose patronne principale du royaume de Pérou (1669), inscription de son nom au martyrologe romain, extension à divers pays de l'Europe du privilège de réciter son office et de célébrer sa messe; enfin (1 avril 1671) décret solennel de canonisation. Dans le parag. 4, le P. Cuperus passe en revue, en donnant une brève notice sur chacun d'eux, les divers auteurs qui écrivirent la Vie de sainte Rose. Il s'attarde surtout à l'œuvre du P. Léonard Hansen, Dominicain, qui est celle qu'il va reproduire. A la p. 902, commence le texte de cette Vie. Comme il ne s'agit pas ici d'un pièce inédite mais de la simple reproduction d'un livre imprimé, le travail de critique du texte est à peu près nul. Les annotations dont Cuperus fait suivre chaque chapitre, fournissent surtout des explications philologiques, des précisions géographiques qui devaient fort intéresser les lecteurs de l'ancien monde, de curieuses notions de médecine aussi sur les maladies: cancer, angine, asthme, pleurésie, ou sur les remèdes pilules, phlébotomie, cataplasmes, emplâtres, des descriptions de fruits ou de plantes du Pérou: cacao, grenade, tabac, etc. Après la Vita, la *Gloria posthuma*, dont Léonard Hansen fait encore les frais. Il y est question des triomphales funérailles faites à l'humble religieuse, de l'élévation de ses reliques, des apparitions de la sainte, de ses miracles. La notice se termine par le texte intégral de la bulle de canonisation.

Tous les saints ne sont pas traités avec cette ampleur. Il en est en effet dont les Actes n'existent plus ou n'ont peut-être jamais existé. Pour ceux-là on se contente, comme nous l'avons dit, de réunir et de grouper tous les renseignements épars dans les sources. Pour d'autres on n'a même pas cette ressource, tant les documents sont discrets à leur sujet; pour d'autres enfin on doute s'ils ont jamais été honoré d'un culte véritable et si ce culte est légitime. On ne pouvait pourtant pas les passer absolument sous silence. Voilà pourquoi on les a groupés en tête de chaque jour en leur accordant à chacun quelques lignes souvent fécondes en renseignements utiles. Ce sont les *Praetermissi*. Ainsi le B. Ignace d'Azévédo et ses compagnons martyrs sont mentionnés au 15 juillet. On y explique en deux mots qu'ils ont été capturés sur mer près de l'île de Palma par le pirate hérétique Soria, mis à mort de diverses manières et jetés à la mer. On renvoie au récit en quatre livres édité à Rome en 1679 par le P. Possinus. Car le procès de béati-

fication est pendant en cour de Rome; on en attendra l'issue pour commémorer plus au long leur triomphe. Par la même raison, S. Pierre Claver qui n'était encore ni canonisé ni béatifié quand parut le tome III de septembre (1750), ne reçut qu'une simple mention au 8 de ce mois. En même temps que les Praetermissi, sont signalés aussi les saints qui ayant plusieurs fêtes dans l'année sont traités au long à une autre date: *in alios dies relati*. La notice de sainte Rose de Lima est donnée au 26 août, date sous laquelle cette sainte figure au martyrologe romain. Mais comme on récite son office le 30 août, une brève mention de la même sainte se rencontre parmi les Praetermissi de ce jour.

Nous touchons ici à un point qui a été souvent critiqué et qui ne laisse pas que d'incommoder gravement les éditeurs des *Acta* eux-mêmes, à savoir l'ordre adopté dans la collection, qui est l'ordre du calendrier. N'aurait-il pas été mille fois plus avantageux de suivre l'ordre chronologique, de traiter d'abord tous les saints d'un siècle, puis ceux du siècle suivant; ou bien l'ordre géographique, procédant par pays. Cela aurait permis aux éditeurs, en se spécialisant, de posséder plus à fonds leur matière au lieu qu'aujourd'hui, pour composer un seul volume ils doivent se rendre maîtres de matériaux échelonnés sur 20 siècles d'histoire de l'Eglise et disséminés dans tous les pays du monde. Une disposition plus logique aurait permis aussi de traiter conjointement des saints ayant vécu dans un même monastère, des saints dont les Actes sont consignés dans les mêmes manuscrits et l'on aurait évité par là d'encombrantes redites. Il est vrai. Mais à l'époque de Bollandus l'ordre du calendrier s'imposait presque. Les recueils de Vies de saints ne connaissaient point d'autre plan. Le travail de recherche des sources était déjà assez laborieux sans le compliquer encore en bouleversant l'ordre dans lequel ces sources se présentaient ordinairement elles-mêmes. Aujourd'hui que le terrain est déblayé, que les travaux d'approche sont exécutés, que les instruments de travail se sont multipliés, on ne se fait plus une idée des difficultés auxquelles se seraient heurtés nos prédécesseurs en suivant une autre voie, qui pour nous serait plus commode. Actuellement la collection est trop avancée pour qu'on puisse songer à modifier son plan.¹ Les anciens Bollandistes ont pourtant senti très tôt les inconvénients de leur système et éprouvé le besoin d'élaborer certaines études d'ensemble sur des sujets donnés. Ces études ils les plaçaient en tête des volumes, en manière de dissertations préliminaires. On a ainsi par exemple les grandes monographies sur les listes épiscopales d'Alexandrie, de Jérusalem, de Milan, de Constantinople, de Tongres, les recherches de Papebroch sur les listes chron-

¹ Pour une justification plus développée, voir Delchaye, *L'oeuvre des Bollandistes*, p. 111-119.

ologiques des Papes, un travail du P. Pien sur les liturgies mozarabes, l'édition du martyrologe d'Usuard par Du Sollier et, plus récemment l'édition critique du Synaxaire de Constantinople.

Aujourd'hui des travaux de ce genre trouveraient plutôt place dans la revue. Depuis 1882 en effet, grâce à l'initiative du P. De Smedt, les Bollandistes publient une revue. Les *Analecta Bollandiana* paraissent quatre fois par an et contiennent des études, signées soit par des Bollandistes, soit par des savants étrangers à la Société, sur des sujets intéressant l'histoire des saints. Là se publient des textes nouvellement découverts concernant les saints déjà traités dans les *Acta*; là ont paru aussi nombre de catalogues de manuscrits hagiographiques. Depuis 1891, la revue renferme un Bulletin des publications hagiographiques, où sont appréciés, à mesure qu'ils paraissent, les ouvrages touchant aux études hagiographiques.

Enfin outre les *Acta Sanctorum* et les *Analecta Bollandiana*, les publications des Bollandistes comportent encore une série de volumes in-8° sous le titre de *Subsidia hagiographica*. Ce sont surtout des catalogues des manuscrits de différentes bibliothèques, la Nationale de Paris, la Vaticane, la bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles, ou bien des répertoires détaillés des pièces hagiographiques imprimées, la *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*, la *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, la *Bibliotheca hagiographica orientalis*³. La série atteint actuellement une vingtaine de volumes. Quelques ouvrages ont paru aussi en dehors de toute série, tels *Les légendes hagiographiques*, *Le culte des martyrs*, du P. Delehaye, etc.

La studieuse corporation était en pleine activité lorsque éclatèrent les événements de 1914. Ce fut un arrêt brusque et prolongé dans la production. Le collège Saint Michel fut occupé par les Allemands et transformé en ambulance. Peu s'en fallut que la bibliothèque des Bollandistes elle-même ne fût réquisitionnée. Mais les autorités supérieures se ravisèrent, jugeant sans doute que c'était assez d'un Louvain. A grand peine les Bollandistes obtinrent de conserver dans leur propre maison un petit coin où se loger à proximité de leur bibliothèque. C'était quelque chose. Mais dans cette installation de fortune quel travail utile pouvait-on fournir? L'occupation ennemie coupait les hagiographes de toute communication avec le reste du monde savant. Un des collègues fut emporté par la mort; un autre, appelé à d'autres fonctions fut détaché de l'oeuvre; enfin le Président lui-même, qui pour être hagiographe n'en était pas moins bon patriote, se vit, le 31 janvier 1918, arrêté par la police allemande et condamné à 10 ans de

³ Voir le relevé de toutes les publications des Bollandistes, dans Delehaye, *L'oeuvre des Bollandistes*, ch. ix.

travaux forcés qu'on l'envoya purger au bagne de Vilvorde. Cette stagnation de cinq années fut une grave épreuve dont les conséquences pèseront longtemps sur l'avenir. La bourrasque passée, une besogne immense assiège les collaborateurs. Il faut se mettre au courant de tout ce qui a paru dans les pays où un régime d'occupation n'entravait pas toute pensée et tout travail scientifique. Il faut renouer avec les anciens correspondants les relations interrompues. De nouvelles recrues viennent heureusement apporter leur concours aux survivants de groupe. En dépit des difficultés déconcertantes auxquelles se butte quiconque veut imprimer, les *Analecta Bollandiana* ont recommencé à paraître depuis la fin de 1919. Si bien des abonnés, surtout dans les pays de l'Europe centrale, n'ont plus les ressources nécessaires pour nous continuer leur appui, du Nouveau Monde, heureusement, commencent à leur surgir des remplaçants. C'est sur lui que, après Dieu, nous fondons notre espérance. La grande Nation dont les armées ont sauvé la vieille Europe de l'asservissement et dont l'industrielle activité a contribué à la préserver de la famine, aura à coeur, nous n'en doutons pas, de montrer que les intérêts de la science et de l'érudition ne lui sont pas moins chers.

DOCUMENTS

OUR EARLIEST PRINTED CHURCH HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

From time to time the desire has been expressed by those interested in American Church history to see that very rare little volume (12mo., pp. 138), *The Laity's Directory to the Church Service, for the Year of Our Lord MDCCCXXII* (1822), reprinted in facsimile. So far as is known today, there are not many copies of this scarce book in existence, and without it the collection of *Catholic Directories*, which is so highly prized in Catholic libraries, must always be incomplete. The copy in our possession is a gift from the late Cardinal Farley. In a preliminary *Notice* we are told that "*The Laity's Directory* is published for the first time in the United States of America. It is intended to accompany the Missal, with a view to facilitate the use of the same." Its contents are as follows: (1) a *Calendar of Saints for the Year* (pp. 1-13); (2) a *New Year's Gift for the Year 1822*—"the production of the late unfortunate Rev. W. B. Kirwan, who, a short time afterwards, abandoned his church, and apostatized from the faith, in the year 1787." The discourse covers pages 21 to 23, and is an excellent example of pulpit oratory. It was originally delivered at the Chapel of the Neapolitan Ambassador, on March 20, 1786. "It is thought that the recollection of this Sermon," writes the editor of the Directory, the Rev. John Power, "was what always kept him in awe after his apostasy, and prevented him imitating those Priests, who, when they abandoned their Church, immediately set about reviling Catholicity in proof of their sincerity." (3) *Practical Instructions for the Sundays, Feasts, and Different Times of the Year* (pp. 34-71). (4) *A Brief Account of the Establishment of Episcopacy in the United States* (pp. 72 to 80). (5) *Present State of Religion in the Respective Diocesses* (pp. 81 to 121). (6) *A Short Account, and Present State of the Society of Jesus in the United States* (pp. 122 to 126). (7) *Obituaries* (Archbishop Carroll, Rev. Francis Nagot, Founder of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Archbishop Neale, Father Matignon and others), pp. 127 to 176. (8) *Conclusion: a beautiful Eulogic Apostrophe to the Church, by the justly celebrated Fenelon* (pp. 137-138).

The *Brief Account* and the *Present State of Religion*, the earliest printed historical sketches of the Church in the United States, are reproduced here exactly as they are in the little volume.

I

A Brief Account of the Establishment of Episcopacy in the United States

THE Roman Catholic religion was introduced into this country with the first settlers of Maryland in the reign of Charles I, who granted that province to Lord Baltimore, a catholic nobleman, as a refuge for persons of his religion, from the security of the penal laws, which that unfortunate monarch wanted either the power or the fortitude to restrain. A number of Catholic gentlemen, and others, emigrated from England and Ireland, in the hope of enjoying that repose in the new settlement, which was denied them in their native country. The unrelenting spirit of persecution pursued them over the Atlantic. It deprived them of the just fruits of their labor; it debarred them from every post of trust and profit in the colony which

they had settled; it compelled them to maintain Protestant ministers; and, finally, it enforced against them many of the British penal laws, from the cruelty of which they had fled. B. F. Andrew White, an English Jesuit of eminent piety and zeal, accompanied the first colonists in 1632; and, from that date till the period of the revolution, the American Catholics in Maryland and Virginia, were constantly served by Jesuit missionaries successively sent from England. About the year 1720 the Rev. F. Grayton, and others, introduced Catholicity into Pennsylvania, where in a short time it received a remarkable increase. Since the peace of 1783, and the settlement of the American constitution, penal laws are no longer known, and Catholics enjoy an equal participation of the rights of human nature with their neighbours, of every other religious denomination. The very term of *Toleration* is exploded; because it imports a power in one predominant sect, to indulge that religious liberty to others, which all claim as an inherent right. Catholic clergymen of various orders and nations, have resorted to America; and they everywhere find an ample vineyard to cultivate. In this state of religious freedom, the clergymen judged it expedient to give stability and dignity to the Catholic religion by the establishment of a regular hierarchy; and they therefore petitioned from the Pope, the creation of an Episcopal see, and the appointment of a Diocesan bishop. The Pope, applauding their zeal, graciously admitted their request, and allowed them to elect their first bishop. The Rev. Dr. John Carroll, who had been for some years the superior of the mission, was the object of their choice; and this gentleman was accordingly appointed First Bishop of Baltimore.

The following is an extract from the Bull of Pius VI, constituting the above mentioned see. After the preamble, the Bull thus continues:

Wherefore it having reached our ears, that in the flourishing commonwealth of the Thirteen American States, many faithful Christians, united in communion with the Chair of Peter, in which the centre of Catholic unity is fixed, and governed in their spiritual concerns by their own priest's having care of souls, earnestly desire, that a bishop may be appointed over them to exercise the functions of Episcopal order, to feed them more largely with the food of salutary doctrine, and to guard more carefully that portion of the Catholic flock; we willingly embrace this opportunity, which the grace of Almighty God has afforded us, to provide those distant regions with the comfort and ministry of a Catholic bishop. And that this might be effected more successfully, and according to the rules of the sacred canons, we commission our venerable brethren, the cardinals of the holy Roman Church, directors of the congregation de propaganda fide, to manage this business with the greatest care, and to make a report to us. It was, therefore, appointed by their decree, approved by us, and published the 12th day of July of the last year, that the priests who lawfully exercise the sacred ministry, and have care of souls, in the United States of America, should be empowered to advise together and to determine, first, in what town the Episcopal see ought to be erected; and next, who of the aforesaid priests appeared the most worthy and proper to be promoted to this important charge, whom we, for this first time only, and by special grace, permitted the said priests to elect and to present to this Apostolical see. In obedience to this decree, the aforesaid priests, exercising the cure of souls in the United States of America, unanimously agreed, that a bishop, with ordinary jurisdiction, ought to be established in the town of Baltimore: because this town, situated in Maryland, which province the greater part of the priests and of the faithful inhabit, appeared the most conveniently placed for inter-

course with the other States, and because from this province, Catholic religion and faith had been propagated into the others. And, at the time appointed for the election, they being assembled together, the sacrifice of Holy Mass being celebrated, and the grace and assistance of the Holy Ghost being implored, the votes of all present were taken, and of twenty-six priests who were assembled, twenty-four gave their votes for our beloved son John Carroll, whom they judged the most proper to support the burden of Episcopacy; and sent an authentic instrument of the whole transaction to the aforesaid congregation of cardinals. Now all things being naturely weighed and considered in this congregation, it was easily agreed, that the interests and increase of the Catholic religion, would be greatly promoted, if an Episcopal see were erected at Baltimore, and the said John Carroll was appointed the bishop of it. We therefore, (to whom this opinion has been reported by our beloved son Cardinal Antonelli, prefect of the said congregation, having nothing more at heart, than to insure success to whatever tends to the propagation of true religion, and the honour and increase of the Catholic Church) by the plenitude of our apostolical power, and by the tenor of these presents, do establish and erect the aforesaid town of Baltimore into an Episcopal see forever, for one bishop to be chosen by us in all future vacancies; and we, therefore, by the apostolical authority aforesaid, do allow, grant and permit, to the bishop of the said city and to his successors in all future times, to exercise Episcopal power and jurisdiction, and to hold and enjoy all and every right and privilege of order and jurisdiction, and of every other Episcopal function, which bishops constituted in other places are empowered to hold and enjoy in their respective churches, cities and diocesses, by right, custom, or other means, by general privileges, graces, indults, and Episcopal dispensations, together with all pre-eminencies, honours, immunities, graces and favours, which other cathedral churches, by right or custom, or in any other sort, have, hold and enjoy. We, moreover, decree and declare the said Episcopal see thus created, to be subject or suffragan to no metropolitan right or jurisdiction, but to be forever subject immediately to us, and to our successors, the Roman Pontiffs, and to this Apostolical see. And till another opportunity shall be presented to us, of establishing other Catholic bishops in the United States of America, and till other dispositions shall be made by this Apostolical see, we declare by our Apostolical authority, all the faithful of it, living in Catholic communion, as well ecclesiastics as seculars, and all the clergy and people dwelling in the aforesaid United States of America, though hitherto they may have been subject to other bishops of other diocesses, to be henceforward subject to the Bishop of Baltimore in all future times; and to this bishop, and to his successors, we impart power to curb and check, without appeal, all persons who may contradict or oppose their orders, to visit personally, or by deputies, all Catholic churches, to remove abuses, to correct the manners of the faithful: and to perform all things which other bishops in their respective diocesses are accustomed to do and perform, saving in all things our own authority, and that of this Apostolical see. And wherever by special grant, and for the time only, we have allowed the priests, exercising the care of souls in the United States of America, to elect a person to be appointed bishop by us, and almost all their votes having been given to our beloved son John Carroll, priest; we being otherwise certified of his faith, prudence, piety and zeal, for as much, or by our mandate, he hath during the late years, directed the spiritual government of souls, do therefore, by the plenitude of our authority, declare, create, appoint

and constitute the said John Carroll, Bishop and Pastor of the said Church of Baltimore, granting to him the faculty of receiving the rite of consecration from any Catholic bishop holding communion with the apostolic see, assisted by two ecclesiastics, vested with some dignity, in case that two bishops cannot be had, first having taken the usual oath, according to the Roman Pontifical.

Upon receipt of this Bull from Rome, Dr. Carroll immediately repaired to England, where his person and merits were already well known, and presented himself for consecration to the Right Rev'd, Dr. Charles Walmesley, Bishop of Rama, senior Vicar Apostolic of the Catholic religion in that kingdom. By the invitation of Thomas Weld, Esq., the consecration of the new bishop was performed during a solemn High Mass, in the elegant Chapel of Lulworth Castle, on Sunday the 15th day of August, 1790, being the feast of the Assumption of the B. V. Mary: and the munificence of that gentleman omitted no circumstance, which could possibly add dignity to so venerable a ceremony. The two prelates were attended by their respective assistant priests and acolytes, according to the rubric of the Roman Pontifical. The richness of their vestments, the music of the choir, the multitude of wax-lights, and the ornaments of the altar concurred to increase the splendor of the solemnity, which made a lasting impression upon every beholder.

Dr. Carroll, after his consecration by Bishop Walmesley, immediately returned to the United States, and entered upon the important duties of his high office. It is unnecessary to state in this brief account, how faithfully, and with how abundant increase to his flock he discharged his pastoral duties. Suffice it to say, that in the short period of twenty years after the establishment of the first Episcopal see of Baltimore, the present venerable Pontiff (Pius VII.) who, in the midst of tribulations most trying to human nature, but equally glorious in his divine master, so worthily fills the Pontifical chair, thought proper to erect Baltimore into a Metropolitan or Archiepiscopal See, and to establish four new suffragan dioceses, namely: Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, and Bardstown in Kentucky. The first pastors appointed for the new sees were: for Boston, the Right Rev'd. John Cheverus; for New-York, the Right Rev'd. Dr. Luke Concannon, who unfortunately died at Naples a short time after his consecration, on the point of embarking for the United States; for Philadelphia, the Right Rev'd. John Egan; for Bardstown, (Kentucky) the Right Rev'd. Benedict Joseph Flaget, characters (Dr. Concannon excepted, who, when appointed, resided at Rome, and had never been in this country) already long known to, and revered by the Catholics of the United States, and whose promotion was considered less as a reward of their Apostolic virtues, than as a common blessing upon the flocks committed to their care.

The consecration of these highly respectable gentlemen took place in Baltimore, the Most Reverend Archbishop Dr. John Carroll being consecrator; Dr. Egan was consecrated at St. Peter's, on Sunday the 28th of October, 1810; Dr. Cheverus, at the same church on All-Saint's Day; and Dr. Flaget, at St. Patrick's, Fell's-Point, on the 4th of November. The ceremony was conducted with great pomp and solemnity, amidst an immense concourse of people of every denomination of Christians.

It will not be improper here to add, that in consequence of the advanced age of the Most Rev'd. Archbishop Carroll previously to the establishment of the above-mentioned bishoprics, the great extent of his diocese (comprising at the time the whole of the United States) and the immense load of duty devolving upon him, the Holy See was pleased to give him a coadjutor. This was the Rev'd. Dr. Leonard Neale, who was chosen to succeed him in the diocese of Baltimore, and consecrated Bishop of Gortyna, on the 7th day of December, 1800.

New-Orleans had already been erected into a bishopric by Pius VI. But on the death of the worthy prelate who governed that diocese, under the Spanish administration, and, on its accession to the United States, the Holy See was pleased to appoint to it an administrator-general. Dr. William Dubourg, a clergyman of distinguished talents and eminent piety, a member of the learned congregation of St. Sulpice, and President of St. Mary's College at Baltimore, was the gentleman named to fill that office. He shortly after repaired to Europe, to make the wants of his extensive mission known, when he was immediately acknowledged titular of the see he administered. He was consecrated on Sunday, September 24th, in the church of St. Louis at Rome, by Cardinal Joseph Doria, sub-dean of the Sacred College, assisted by the Bishop of St. Malo, the French ambassador, and M. Pereira, Bishop of Terracina.

In looking back to the period of the first introduction of Catholicity into this country, under Lord Baltimore in the settlement of Maryland, and contrasting the state of the Church then, with what it now is, the handful of individuals then composing the flock of Jesus Christ, confined to a small province, with the immense numbers now spread over every part of this union, we are at once struck at the astonishing rapidity of the increase; we cannot but see in it the protecting hand of the Almighty, who has been pleased to bless in so extraordinary a manner the labours of his servants; and from the judicious arrangements, combined with other operating causes made by the Holy See for establishing new dioceses in the different states, in proportion to the diffusion of Catholicity among them, we are led to hope for a still more abundant harvest, a still greater increase of faithful: and that *the Lord will continue to add daily to his society such as shall be saved.*

In the year 1820, His present Holiness was pleased again to erect two additional Episcopal Sees, also suffragan to the Archbishopric of Baltimore, viz., the See of Richmond and that of Charleston. The Rev. Dr. Patrick Kelly, formerly professor in the college near Kilkenny (Ireland) was consecrated: For the latter, Dr. John England, late pastor of the Catholic Church in Bandon, near Cork. The consecration of Dr. Kelly took place in Kilkenny, on the 24th August, 1820; that of Dr. England, in Cork, on the 21st day of September, in the same year. Both of these learned and highly respectable gentlemen arrived shortly after, each in his respective diocese, and the most happy results are expected from their zeal, their talents and their piety.

The following is a list of the *Arch-bishops and Bishops* of the United States, since the establishment of Episcopacy in the same:

Archbishops

The Most Rev. Dr. John Carroll,	} of Baltimore.
The Most Rev. Dr. Leonard Neal,	
The Most Rev. Dr. Ambrose Marechal.	

Bishops.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. John Cheverus, of Boston.	
The Rt. Rev. Dr. Luke Concannon,	} of New York.
The Rt. Rev. Dr. John Conolly,	
The Rt. Rev. Dr. John Egan,	} of Philadelphia.
The Rt. Rev. Dr. Henry Conwell,	
The Rt. Rev. Dr. Benedict Flaget, of Bardstown, Kentucky.	
The Rt. Rev. Dr. William Dubourg, of Louisiana.	
The Rt. Rev. Dr. Patrick Kelly, of Richmond, Virginia.	
The Rt. Rev. Dr. John England of Charleston.	
The Rt. Rev. Dr. John David, Bishop in <i>partibus</i> , and Coadjutor to the Rt. Rev. Dr. Flaget, Bishop of Kentucky.	

II

The Present State of Religion in the Respective Dioceses

ARCHBISHOPRIC OF BALTIMORE

THE Archbishopric of Baltimore comprises the whole state of Maryland, with the District of Columbia. In this See there are two well-organized and respectable Catholic colleges; having each the privilege of Universities: the Jesuit's, at Georgetown, District of Columbia, and the Sulpicean's, at Baltimore. There are besides, two regular and well conducted Theological Seminaries; viz., That at Baltimore, under the direction of the congregation of St. Sulpice, for the instruction of philosophical and theological students; and the one at Washington, District of Columbia, under the direction of the Jesuits. In addition to the philosophical and theological course of this latter institution, children are admitted as day scholars, in adjoining apartments, to be there instructed in the rudiments of the languages, as well as in polite literature, under experienced and capable masters.

Besides the above, there is in this See, at Emittsburg, Maryland, a new and flourishing establishment upon the plan of a college, and affording many advantages, under the direction of the Rev. Messrs. Dubois and Bruté, two gentlemen of talents and learning. Particulars of this institution, as well as of the two above mentioned colleges, will be found in this Directory.

The Noviciate, or school of introduction into the *Society of Jesus*, is for the present established at the White Marsh, Prince George's County, Maryland.

There are two religious female institutions for the education of young ladies: one at George Town, District of Columbia, under the direction of the *Ladies of the Visitation*; the other at Emittsburg, under the direction of the *Daughters of Charity*. Particulars hereafter.

There is besides, near Portobacco (Maryland) a respectable house of female Carmelites. This is the oldest establishment of a religious kind in the United States of America. It was established but a short period after the American revolution. Their number is always complete; a manifest proof of the order and regularity observed, and the happiness enjoyed by these truly respectable ladies, who have voluntarily secluded themselves from society, to enjoy in retirement, that peace which the world cannot give, and which is a foretaste of the happiness of Heaven.

CATHOLIC CHURCHES AND CHARITY SCHOOLS

BALTIMORE is the Archiepiscopal residence. The City contains four neat and handsome churches: The Cathedral, St. Patrick's, St. John's, and St. Mary's.

The Cathedral, or Catholic Metropolitan church, which is by far the largest and handsomest building of the kind in the United States, was consecrated last year, on the Feast of the Ascension. This splendid edifice was designed and commenced by the late Archbishop Carroll, about thirteen or fourteen years ago. The late Mr. Latrobe was the architect. The style is Roman, and the plan represents a Roman cross. Its extreme length (exclusive of the intended portico) is 166 feet, and the breadth across the transepts, is 115 feet. Upon the intersection of the body of the cross and its arms, arises the dome; its external form is octangular, 75 feet in diameter, rising 17 feet 6 inches above the walls. The circular dome rises upon 5 steps, 32 feet 6 inches above the octagan, and 116 above the surface of the ground. On the west end, are two towers; they are intended to contain belfreys, and to be carried 120 feet above the surface of the ground. The altar and tabernacle are of foreign

marble, extremely well executed. On one side of the altar stands the Archiepiscopal throne, and on the other, the pulpit. The organ and choir are in the right arm of the cross; the whole of the interior has the most imposing appearance, and inspires the idea of what the house of God ought to be.

In Washington City there are two spacious and handsome churches: In Georgetown, adjacent, also two neat churches; In the city of Alexandria, one; In Fredericktown, one; In Emittsburg, also one; besides twenty-eight dispersed throughout the country parts; some of which reflect honour on the piety and zeal of the Catholics, by whom they were erected. The number of Catholics in this See is very considerable. They are mostly served by missionaries, whose duties are very arduous, but whose attention and zeal in the discharge of them, are sufficiently manifest in the regularity and piety of those committed to their care.

In Baltimore there are two regularly established charity schools; one attached to the Cathedral; the other to St. Patrick's on Fell's-Point, in which the children are carefully instructed in the various branches of useful knowledge, and at a proper age are apprenticed to such trades as they themselves may incline to, or are supposed to be most advantageous to their future prospects in life. They are generally supported by private donations, and stated collections in the different churches.

In George Town, District of Columbia, there are also two; one attached to Trinity Church, where children of both sexes are educated; the other is exclusively for female orphans, and is under the immediate direction of the Ladies of the Visitation, who piously take upon themselves the care, both of their education and support.

[Then follow descriptions and catalogues of *Georgetown College* (pp. 84-85), *St. Mary's College, Baltimore* (pp. 86-87), *St. Mary's Seminary* (p. 87), *Mount St. Mary's Seminary "near Emmetsburg, Frederick County, State of Maryland"* (pp. 88-92), "*Monastery of the Visitation of St. Mary*" (pp. 93-94), and the *Sisterhood of St. Joseph, "near Emittsburg,"* (pp. 95-101).]

BISHOPRIC OF BOSTON.

RT. REV. DR. CHEVERUS, *Bishop*

THIS Diocess comprehends all the New-England States, including Maine. The residence of the Bishop is in Boston. This city contains at present two neat churches, viz. the Cathedral of the *Holy Cross*, and St. Augustine's. This latter church has been just erected in South-Boston. The Cathedral was erected nearly twenty years ago, and stands a distinguished monument of the strenuous exertions, the indefatigable zeal, and the fervent piety of the present Bishop and his late ever to be regretted Vicar General, the Rev. Dr. Matignon. Before the arrival of these two worthy gentlemen in the town of Boston, Catholicity was scarcely known there, and still less throughout the New-England States. A few scattered families, made up of all that belonged to their charge; and these were principally of the poorer classes—the prejudices of the people derived from their Puritanic Fathers, were generally strong against them—the spirit which had dictated the most obnoxious laws was yet alive; and every attempt was made, even after the Revolutionary War, by the enemies of the Catholic Church, to keep it so, by misrepresenting her tenets, denouncing her worship as idolatry, and ridiculing her ceremonies. In short, every circumstance seemed to indicate but little prospect of any thing like a permanent and successful ministry. These obstacles, however, did not discourage our truly apostolic missionaries. The Catholic Clergy have no families to support—their wants are few and

easily supplied—their object after their own sanctification is the salvation of their neighbour. They thirst not after the riches of this world; they are only anxious for those of heaven—they are aware upon entering into the vineyard of the Lord, that though *the burden or heat of the day may be great*—there is one who will support them under it—and who, in due season, will reward their exertions. It was in this frame of mind that Dr. Matignon, and shortly after Dr. Cheverus repaired to Boston. They entered upon the work marked out to them, not from choice; but because it was marked out to them by the hand of their then Superior, Dr. Carroll, Bishop of Baltimore. They viewed it as the hand of God directing them to what he would have them do. It is unnecessary to state here the opposition and trials they had to encounter from the side of enemies to the true faith, on entering upon the discharge of their duties; nor the hardships, the scantiness of their provision forced them to endure. Suffice it to say, that by their exemplary piety, their care of an unwearied attention upon the poor, the sick and the infirm, the faithful distribution of the word of God thrice on Sundays and holidays, regular catechistical instruction, the clear and masterly exposition of the real doctrines of the Catholic Church, joined to their amiable manners and gentlemanly deportment, they failed not, in a short time, to win the hearts and gain the affections of their dissenting brethren—prejudices soon began to disappear, inquiries after truth to be made, numbers successively to join their little society; and at this present time, the Church of Boston forms a very prominent feature in the Catholic body of the United States. O, truly fortunate revolution in France! every true Catholic in this country may exclaim, which has brought us so many edifying and enlightened instructors! There is no part of the United States, that cannot bear witness to their zeal, and should not be eternally grateful. Where is the youth of a liberal education, sincere piety and correct morals, who has not been formed by some one or more of the clergy of France, emigrants to this country? Where is the College or Catholic establishment that has not been, or is not now under their direction? They have taught our youth, they have instructed and enlightened our people, they have directed thousands in the way to heaven, they have enlarged and extended the kingdom of Jesus Christ on this side of the Atlantic, they have sown and watered a seed, which will hereafter spring up and yield an amazing increase—to say all in one word, by their edifying example, the sweet odour of their piety and unwearied exertions in every section of the Union for these twenty-five years back, they have contributed, principally contributed, to render the church in this country what it now is.

There are in this diocese four other churches, viz: one at Salem, which is finished in a very superior style; one at New-Bedford, and two in the state of Maine, at Damascotti and at Whitefield. In this diocese, as in that of Kentucky, there is a tribe of Indians, professing the Catholic religion, whose orderly conduct and sincere piety astonish, as well as edify all who travel through their settlement.

A religious house, whose rule embraces the education of young ladies, being greatly wanted in Boston, the Bishop has lately made choice of the order of the Ursulines to superintend that department; and accordingly has invited into his diocese several ladies of the above-mentioned order, and established them near his Cathedral. The Convent being yet in its infancy, consists at present only of one Prioress, and six sisters, with two novices. The system of education embraced by these pious ladies, is every way calculated to suit this country. In addition to the useful branches of literature, they instruct those committed to their charge, in every polite accomplishment.

BISHOPRIC OF NEW-YORK.

RT. REV'D DR. JOHN CONNOLLY, *Bishop*.

THE bishopric of New-York, comprehends the whole state of New-York, together with the northern parts of Jersey. The residence of the Bishop is in New-York. This city contains two Catholic Churches, viz: the Cathedral (St. Patrick's) and St. Peters.

The Cathedral is a superb edifice, 120 feet long by 80 feet wide, finished in a superior manner in the inside, and is capable of holding 6000 people. The exterior, as to the ornamental part, is yet unfinished. The style of the building is Gothic; and from its great extent and solidity, must have cost upwards of 90,000 dollars. No church in the United States, (the Cathedral in Baltimore excepted) can compare with it.

St. Peter's, which is the first Catholic Church erected in New-York, is a neat, convenient, and handsome building. It was erected about 20 years ago, at which time the number of Catholics did not exceed three hundred. At present they number upwards of twenty thousand. They are mostly natives of Ireland and France.

There are in this city two extensive Catholic charity schools, conducted upon a judicious plan, and supported by the funds of the state, and partly by moneys raised twice a year by the two congregations. Independently of these two establishments, the Emittsburg sisters of charity have a branch here of their pious institution, exclusively for the benefit of female orphan children, whom they board, clothe and educate. Their house fronts the side of the Cathedral, and is one of the most healthy situations in New-York.

In Albany there is likewise a Catholic church—a neat and compact building. It was erected about 14 years ago, and is attended by a growing congregation. The clergyman officiating in this church, visits occasionally Troy, Lansingburgh, Johnstown and Schenectady.

In Utica, a large and beautiful church has lately been erected and consecrated, which reflects great honour on the Catholics residing there. Their number is not great; neither are they generally wealthy—their zeal however *for the house of God, and the place where his glory dwelleth*, has enabled them to surmount every obstacle to the exercise of their piety. From the multitude flocking annually to this flourishing village no doubt can be entertained but this will shortly become one of the most numerous, and respectable congregations in the diocess.

In Rome, (15 miles distant from Utica,) there is as yet no Catholic church, but a beautiful lot is reserved, by the liberality of Dominick Lynch, Esq. on which one will be erected, as soon as the number of Catholics settling there will render its erection necessary. The situation of this little town is healthy and beautiful.

In Auburn, an agreeable little town, still farther distant in the state there is likewise a Catholic church, recently erected.

In New-Jersey, in the town of Patterson, there is also one, which is regularly attended by a clergyman.

In Carthage, near the Black River, a small and neat church has been lately erected.

The following are the Catholic clergymen officiating in this diocess:

NEW-YORK

Rt. Rev'd. Dr. John Connolly,	} <i>St. Patrick's Cathedral.</i>
Rev. Michael O'Gorman,	
Rev'd. Charles French,	} <i>St. Peter's.</i>
Rev'd. John Power,	
Rev'd. Mr. Bulger, Patterson.	

Rev'd. Michael Carroll, *Albany and vicinity.*

Rev'd. John Farnan, *Utica and vicinity.*

Rev'd. Patrick Kelly, *Auburn, Rochester, and other districts in the Western parts of this state.*

Rev'd. Philip Larissy *attends regularly at Staten-Island, and different other congregations along the Hudson River.*

BISHOPRIC OF PHILADELPHIA.

RT. REV'D. DR. HENRY CONWELL, *Bishop.*

THE diocese of Philadelphia comprehends the two states of Pennsylvania and Delaware, with the southern part of Jersey. The residence of the Bishop is in Philadelphia. This city contains four Catholic churches, viz: the Cathedral, (St. Mary's,) Holy Trinity, St. Augustine's and St. Joseph's;* all with the exception of the last mentioned, spacious and handsomely finished. Small as is the church of St. Joseph, it was, when built, sufficiently large to contain all the Catholics then residing in Philadelphia. It was erected by the Jesuits many years ago, and is still belonging to that society. The church of St. Augustine is a splendid edifice—it was built by the late Dr. Carr, and is the property of the Augustinian order, of which he was a member. A large and respectable congregation attend it. Holy Trinity church is likewise a very spacious and neat building. The congregation attached to it, consist principally of Germans, who erected it with the view of having the word of God delivered to them in their mother tongue. Since that period, the English language is become predominant, and shortly will be the only one understood.

In this diocese are eleven other churches, some of which are solid and well-constructed buildings, viz: *In Pennsylvania:* the church in Lancaster, attended by the Rev'd. John Holland; that at Conewago, by the Rev'd. Messrs. De Barth, Larhue, Divin, Byrne and Brett; at Reading, Berks county, by the Rev'd. G. Shenfelter; at Carlisle, Cumberland county, by the Rev'd. G. Hogan; at Chambersburgh, Franklin county, by the Rev'd. Mr. Kearns; at Loretto, Cambria county, by the Rev'd. Mr. Galitsin; at Greenburgh, by the Rev'd. Mr. McGirr; at Pittsburgh, by the Rev'd. Mr. McGuire; at Cochinopen, Montgomery county, by the Rev'd. Paul Kohlman.

In Delaware: The church at Wilmington, St. Patrick's, attended by the Rev. P. Kenny. *In New Jersey:* The church at Trenton, attended by the Rev. Mr. Doyle.

There is likewise a branch of the Emittsburg Sisters of Charity established in the city of Philadelphia, consisting of several pious and well-informed ladies, who superintend the education of orphan children. Too much cannot be said in praise of an institution, so commendable in its object, and so highly deserving of the community at large. Since their establishment in this city, the most happy results have attended their labours, and efforts are making to render their usefulness still more extensive.

There is besides a Charity School connected with St. Joseph's which is conducted upon the usual plan of such establishments.

Catholicity was introduced into Pennsylvania as early as the year 1728, by the Rev. F. Grayton and others; since which time it has gradually extended; and it is pleasing to reflect that at the present day, the professors of it in Philadelphia alone, make up nearly one-fifth of the population of that city. Heaven grant that peace, good-will and harmony, may once more prevail among them; and that the same efforts be used to continue the work of God which were employed in its first establishment.

**St. Joseph's.*—This church has been lately repaired and considerably enlarged. It is now not greatly inferior to any one of the other three—has a beautiful organ with a select choir. The Bishop, for the present, officiates in it.

BISHOPRIC OF BARDSTOWN (KENTUCKY)

RT. REV. DR. BENEDICT FLAGET, *Bishop*.

THE Bishopric of Bardstown is of prodigious extent. It comprehends the whole state of Kentucky; of Tennessee; of Ohio; of Indiana and Illinois, with the Michigan and North West Territories. A few years back all these countries were little better than a wilderness, with scarcely a Catholic to be seen in them. They are now one of the most populous and flourishing portions of Catholic America. The residence of the Bishop is at Bardstown, where a new and elegant Cathedral has been lately erected, which, in point of materials, extent and beauty of design, is inferior to but few in the United States. There are besides this 16 or 18 other churches, large and small, erected at proper distances, to meet the conveniences of the faithful; of which the following are the principal, viz: The church of the Dominicans, at Bornhem; the church of Lexington, those of Louisville and Danville; the church of St. Mary, in a village containing 100 families; also the little church of St. Clare, which assembles 40 families in a congregation of its name; the church of St. Bernard, with a considerable congregation; another not far distant from it, with 30 or 40 families; the church of St. Rumold, with a congregation of 20 families; the Oratory of the Sacred Heart; the church of St. Barbe; that of St. Charles, which has undergone considerable alterations; and the church of St. Anthony. These last-mentioned churches are all of wood, consequently not very durable; but are decent and well kept up.

There are also, in this Diocess, some remnants of Indian tribes professing the Catholic faith; the same having been carried among them by the Jesuits before their suppression. Amongst these children of the forest, who evince a great attachment to this Holy faith, is the tribe surnamed *the Wolf*. They are occasionally attended by one or other of the Missionaries of Kentucky, who instruct and baptise their children, and administer to them the Holy Sacrament of the Altar. As a flourishing Seminary has been lately established at Bardstown exclusively for the education of Catholic clergymen, it is greatly to be hoped that the time is not far distant when the light of the Gospel will be extended far into the wilds of this immense Diocess, inhabited by these unhappy people, and which will also raise up a sufficient body of able and pious ecclesiastics, to supply the wants of the more settled parts. Hitherto, from the great scarcity of labourers, the vineyard of the Lord has been but partially cultivated. There are yet parts of this country, in which many Catholics have settled (chiefly on the borders of the great lakes) who have not yet seen the face of a Catholic clergyman.

The states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, are daily adding more and more to the Church. In each of these several large congregations of Catholics are found. They are chiefly French who extended themselves through parts of this country as early as the seventeenth century. Vincennes, in Indiana, was formerly a station of the Jesuits, whence they made excursions among the savage tribes.

Besides the Seminary at Bardstown, under the immediate direction of Dr. Flaget; the Dominicans have likewise established a college in Kentucky, which is greatly frequented, and promises to be of great benefit to the Diocess. Dr. Wilson is at the present time president of it, a gentleman of known piety and talents.

There is also an academy at Frankford, which is confided to a Catholic Professor, a Mr. O'Hara. It is attended by 172 scholars and has three tutors, besides the principal.

Four religious houses of females of different orders have been established in this growing Catholic country, since the erection of the See at Bardstown, viz: The Daughters of Charity, which is a branch of the Mother House at Emmitsburg; *The little con-*

gregation of the Friends of Mary beneath the Cross of Jesus; the order of the Apostolines, lately established at Rome by his Holiness; and the Cloister of Loretto, in the enclosure of which is found the Cottage. All are in flourishing condition, and exhibit in their members striking models of that sincere disinterested piety, which characterizes the true disciples of Jesus.

BISHOPRIC OF LOUISIANA.

RT. REV. DR. WILLIAM DUBOURG, *Bishop*.

Consecrated in Rome, Sept. 24, 1815.

THIS Diocese includes the whole ancient Louisiana, as sold by France to the United States, together with the Floridas. The Episcopal See was erected in 1796, when the country yet belonged to the crown of Spain.

Ancient Louisiana is now divided into the state of that name, whose capital is *New-Orleans*; the state of Missouri, the chief town of which is *St. Louis*, and the territory of *Arcansas*. The extent of the Diocese has induced the Bishop to divide his residence between *New-Orleans* and *St. Louis*, in each of which he has his Episcopal chair. In the probable event of his soon obtaining a coadjutor, the two Prelates would then settle, one in each of these two extremities.

The Clerical Seminary, founded about two years ago, in the state of Missouri, Perry county, in a settlement called *Barrens*. It is held by the priests of the Mission of *St. Vincent of Paul*, under the superiority of the Rev. Joseph Rosati. The Novitiate of that venerable congregation is at present composed of six or seven members. Several priests of the same holy institute are disseminated in parishes through the Diocese. The Seminary begins to flourish, and promises a succession of well informed and pious Missionaries. Among the priests of the Seminary, one is devoted to the neighbouring missions as far as *New Madrid*.

St. Louis has a Catholic college under the inspection of the Bishop and several Clergymen, either priests or juniors, the priests are the Rev. M. M. F. Neal, Leo Deys, and A. B. Anduze, who, besides their collegiate duties, perform also the service of the Cathedral, and attend to other parochial functions, both in *St. Louis* and neighbouring settlements.

The officiating clergymen in this upper part of the Diocese, besides the above named, are the Rev. Henry Pratte, in *St. Genevieve*, a thriving town, sixty miles south of *St. Louis*; the Rev. P. Desmoulins, *Carkaskaes*, the Rev. N. Olivier, *Prairie du Rochu*; the Rev. N. Savine, *Cahokias*; the Rev. Charles De'Lacroix, *St. Ferdinand*; who also attends the infant missions on the Missouri: The Rev. Joseph Aquaroni, P. of the M. for *St. Charles*, *Dardenni*, and *Portage des Scioux*.

There are churches in all the above places, the most remarkable of which are the New Cathedral in *St. Louis*, a brick building 130 feet long, not yet completely finished, adorned with valuable paintings, organ, and furniture; the brick church now building in *St. Ferdinand*, on a very handsome plan, and that of *St. Genevieve*.

The state of Missouri is also blessed with the institution of the Religious Ladies of the *Sacred heart of Jesus*, a precious colony arrived from France in 1818, established in the village of *St. Ferdinand*, 15 miles north of *St. Louis*, where they have set up a Novitiate, now composed of five novices and several postulants; a thriving seminary, the resort of the daughters of most of the wealthy inhabitants of this and adjacent States, and a day school for girls of the poorer class.

The state of Louisiana has eighteen ecclesiastical parishes, viz. *New Orleans*, *St. Bernard*, *St. Charles*, *St. John the Baptist*, *St. James*, *St. Michael*, *Ascension*, *Assumption*, *St. Joseph*, *St. Gabriel* at *Iberville*, *Baton Rouge*, *Point Coupee*, *St.*

Martin, and St. Mary, (Attacappas), St. Landry, St. Charles Borromeus (Opeloussas) Avoyelles, Natchitoches, to which is to be added Natchez, in the state of Mississippi.

In New-Orleans, there is a convent of Ursuline Nuns, a long standing, wealthy, and most recommendable establishment, consisting of fifteen or sixteen professed nuns and a number of novices and postulants. Their female seminary, which is always full, has, for upwards of sixty years, continued to render to religion in that quarter, the most essential services. They have a public church served by the Rev. first vic. gen. of the Diocess, and a chaplain.

The Cathedral in this populous city, is a large brick pile, adorned with three steeples, and richly furnished; its revenues are considerable, and its situation in the centre of a magnificent square, commanding a full view of the Mississippi, is one of the finest in the world. It is served by the Rev. Father Anthony de Sedella, assisted, by the Rev. Messrs. A. Moni, N. Mariani, and Audr. Ferrari, P. of the M.

There is also, in the vicinity of New-Orleans, a newly established and flourishing college, under the tutorship of the Rev. B. Martial, vic. general Evremt. Harrissart, and N. Bertrand, assisted by young gentlemen attached to the church; and in the city, a numerous Lancastrian School, kept by the Rev. Michael Portier.

The ladies of the Sacred Heart are at this moment forming a second establishment for the education of young ladies, at Opeloussas, upon a liberal foundation, for which that section of country is wholly indebted to the pious munificence of Mrs. Charles Smith, pursuant to the plans of her late venerable husband, the founder and endower of the parish church of St. Charles Borromeus, contiguous to the convent.

The Floridas being just ceded to the United States, a priest is to be immediately sent to Mobile, as the precursor of several others shortly expected.

The Arcansas have one. Religion in that quarter has hitherto laboured under difficulties, which it is hoped will gradually be removed.

The number of priests and juniors in holy orders in this Diocess, is at present fifty, and will probably before the expiration of the year, be carried to upwards of sixty.

The mission to the poor Indians along the borders of the Missouri, is now the great object of the bishop's solicitude: He entertains a hope, that under the protection of God, that a large field will soon be opened to the industrious exertions of fervent missionaries. The prayers of the pious are requested for an undertaking at once so arduous and of so vast an importance.

BISHOPRIC OF RICHMOND (VIRGINIA.)

RT. REV. DR. PATRICK KELLY, Bishop

THIS Diocess comprehends the whole state of Virginia. The residence of the Bishop is in Norfolk. There is but one Catholic church in this borough. It was built about twelve or fourteen years ago, stands in a healthy situation, and is a tolerably large and compact building.

There are at present six other Catholic churches in the Diocess, viz., one in Portsmouth; one in Richmond; one in Martinsburg; one in Winchester; one in Bath; one in Shepherds Town. These four last mentioned churches, were formerly attended by clergymen residing in Maryland—but in future, they will be served by priests whose residence will probably be in Winchester.

There are no Catholic schools, properly so called, yet established; Though many of the school masters throughout the Diocess are Roman Catholics.

The Apostolical letters dismembering the Diocess of Baltimore, erecting the See of Richmond, comprising the whole state of Virginia, and appointing Dr. Kelly its

first Bishop, bear date the 11th July, 1820. This gentleman received episcopal consecration in the parish chapel of St. Mary, in the city of Kilkenny, and Diocese of Ossory, Ireland, on the 24th of August following, and the feast of St. Bartholomew, at the hands of the most Rev. Dr. Troy, Archbishop of Dublin, assisted by the most Rev. Dr. Murray, Coadjutor of Dublin, and the Rt. Rev. Dr. Marum, Bishop of Ossory. He arrived in Norfolk on the 19th of January, 1821, and the Sunday following published his authority in the usual manner.

BISHOPRIC OF CHARLESTON.

Rt. Rev. Dr. JOHN ENGLAND, Bishop

THIS Diocese comprehends the three states of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. The residence of the Bishop is in Charleston. This city contains at present but one Catholic Church; but the foundation of a cathedral is immediately to be laid, which, when completed, will equal in size and beauty almost any in the United States. It is to be erected in a central part of the city, on a beautiful square lot, formerly known by the name of *the Vauxhall Gardens*; which is already purchased for the purpose. The present church, which stands in Hazel street, is a neat building, though much too small for the number of Catholics residing in the city, and the accommodations of those of other denominations who would wish to frequent it.

In North Carolina there is no Catholic church, as yet, but several are also immediately to be erected, for the accommodation of those Catholics who are largely scattered through the state, viz., one at Newbern; one at Wilmington and one at Washington.

In the state of South Carolina, one is likewise to be immediately erected at Columbia. This city is the seat of the legislature, and contains a number of Catholics who are every day increasing. And another in Chester county, where there is a new settlement of individuals professing our religion.

In Georgia there are three Catholic churches, viz., one in Savannah; one at Augusta and one 40 miles from the last mentioned town, at a place called Locust Grove. This last was erected by a colony from Maryland, who have been some time settled in this neighbourhood.

Charleston was erected into a Diocese by his present Holiness, the 12th July 1820, and Dr. John England appointed its first Bishop. He was consecrated on the 21st September, the same year, in the church of St. Finbar, in the city of Cork, (Ireland,) by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Murphy, Bishop of Cork, assisted by the Bishop of Ossory and Dr. Kelly, Bishop of Richmond; the Archbishop of Mitylena and the Bishops of Cloyne and Ross, Ardfer, Aghadoe and of Limerick being present.

There are yet no Catholic schools in any part of this newly created Diocese: but great exertions are making to diffuse a correct knowledge of the principles of the Catholic church throughout the different states, by the establishment of societies, which have for their object the dissemination of books of piety and instruction.

[There follows here the Constitution of the Church in Charleston (pp. 116-120).]

THE FLORIDAS.

THESE two provinces of *East and West Florida*, are by the late treaty with Spain, annexed to the United States. Hitherto they were considered by Ecclesiastical authority, as forming a part of the Bishopric of Louisiana, and of course subject to the Bishop of that diocese, the Rt. Rev'd. Dr. William Dubourg. It is probable however, they will soon form a separate Diocese.

There are two Catholic Churches in the Floridas, viz., one at St. Augustine, and one at Pensacola.—The church at St. Augustine is a superb edifice, 140 feet long, and proportionally wide: it was built by the King of Spain, and is in every point of view a truly majestic and handsome building.

The population of St. Augustine, is about three thousand five hundred, three thousand of whom are Catholics.

The church at Pensacola is a small but substantial building. It is at present under the superintendence of the Rev. Dr. Coleman, the Catholic Clergyman of that Parish. The congregation consists also, of nearly the whole population of the town.

BOOK REVIEWS

Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, Obispo de Puebla y Oaxaca, Visitador y Virrey de la Nueva España. Por Genaro Garcia. Mexico: Libreria de Bouret. 1918.

Though Genaro Garcia complains that the times—he was writing when the World War was in full swing—were not favorable to the composition of a work demanding tranquility and peace, nevertheless, he has written a work that is equal to his other efforts, if indeed it does not surpass them. It is rather significant, however, that in these days of upheaval and unrest, Garcia should have undertaken to tell us the story of a man whose life was nothing if not disturbed.

In a style pleasing and entertaining, because simple, the author describes the career of a bishop whose life reads like a novel. Born out of wedlock in 1600, Don Juan de Palafox, in order to hide the shame of the mother and to ward off the disgrace of the father, before his birth was destined to be drowned. From this point on the story is truly romantic. Saved by the chance meeting of a miller with the servant who was carrying the innocent babe to the river, Palafox was preserved for an age that needed more men of his character and ability. Afterwards he was sought out and found by his father, sent to school at the latter's expense and thus passed from boyhood to man's estate. At twenty he was overseer of the paternal estates. The father intended Juan for the service of the Church, but such a prospect was anything but bright so far as the young man was concerned. He wished to go to Court and there advance himself. His advent there was an opening to success that must have far exceeded his wildest dreams. Fortune was with him from the beginning; he found favor with Don Gaspar de Guzman, and this meant rapid advancement in the days when Philip IV was ruining the once powerful country of Charles V; days which Garcia has described with masterly strokes that mark the historian and that call forth our unbounded admiration. The young courtier was soon made a Member of the Council of War, Almoner to the Infanta Dona Maria; later fiscal of the Council of the Indies and Minister of the Council of the Indies. Here, indeed, was work enough and responsibility enough for a matured statesman and we cannot help being amazed at the fact that Palafox held some of these onerous offices when he was little more than twenty years

of age. It is natural to think that through such unprecedented success the youthful minister could have persuaded his father to relinquish the idea of an ecclesiastical career. Such, however, was not the case. The urging of Don Pedro Jaime, together with the death of two of his friends and the serious illness of a sister, finally turned Juan's thoughts to religion. He was ordained priest but still continued to remain at Court.

In 1639, he was consecrated Bishop of Puebla. At this time he made a statement that showed the zeal and the disinterestedness that were so characteristic of the bishop throughout his life. When congratulated on the new honor and the opportunity he had to assist his family, he replied, "The episcopacy has no parents but creditors, and these are the poor." At the same time he was made Visitator General and Viceroy of New Spain.

The journey to his diocese partook of the nature of a triumphal arch. For those less well versed in the condition of Mexico at this time the fourth chapter of the biography will be a revelation. Were it not all so novel the long descriptions of the fiestas and magnificent receptions would be very tiresome, but as it is this part reveals in a striking manner how conversant Garcia is with his subject.

In America, the bishop's life was one of incessant activity. As Ordinary of Puebla he gave an example truly apostolic. His work at this period was nothing less than marvelous. He struggled against the native superstition, completed the magnificent Cathedral, restored and reformed religious ceremonies, organized a choir for his church, made regular canonical visitations, sought out and protected the Indians, and in general manifested a zeal and activity that was remarkable for his day. As Archbishop of Mexico he bravely met and conquered an insubordinate clergy. In spite of all this it must be kept in mind that Palafox was at the same time thrust into the political agitation of the time by his duties as Visitator and Viceroy. Only those who are acquainted with Mexican history, have an adequate knowledge of the disturbed condition of affairs at this time.

Nevertheless, Palafox was more than a successful politician. He was a very lovable man, an exemplary prelate and was regarded by many, even in his lifetime, as a saint. The psychological analysis of the hero and the details of the life led by this

remarkable man, as given by the author, have to be read to be appreciated. Palafox died on the first of October, 1659.

Garcia has written a work that will add to his fame. But if he suffers at all, it will be on account of the fact that he has leaned somewhat towards prejudice in many of his statements. His otherwise masterly work is marred by a bitter attack on the Jesuits. The author seems fully convinced that the Society is steeped in iniquity, and he goes out of his way to force this judgment on the reader. Too much time is given to the litigations with the Jesuits. But even that would not be so reprehensible, if he did not place all the blame on them alone, when, as he must have known, there were others involved in the scandalous affairs which he details in these pages. While the historical world will welcome this authoritative life of Palafox, it will grieve that so much ill-feeling is shown in its composition.

The bibliography is complete. It covers over a hundred pages, and it is remarkable that all these books and manuscripts are in the private library of the author. Even were this biography mediocre, and it is far from being that, the bibliography would be sufficient recommendation.

JOACHIM WALSH, O.P.

The Moral Basis of Democracy, by Arthur Twining Hadley, Ph.D., LL.D., President of Yale University, Yale University Press. Pp. 206. Price, \$1.75.

This volume contains eighteen addresses delivered by President Hadley since 1910. They were directed on various occasions to students and graduates of Yale University. They do not discuss democracy as a form of political organization. They contain rather a series of appeals to educated young men to develop the high type of personal Christian character upon which the success of democracy is conditioned. The following paragraph is a key to the spirit of the volume. "Our country needs citizens who are straightforward enough to tell the truth to themselves, charitable enough to think no ill of their neighbors, sound of judgment to value men and things for what they really are, strong of principle to sink the ideal of self in the ideal of duty. He that doeth these things shall never be moved."

Perhaps Dr. Hadley's volume is as important in what it signifies as it is in its contents. It shows us an eminent scholar, president of a great university, who undertakes to assert the compelling unity of life, the supremacy of moral ideals in maintaining that unity and the authority of Christian Philosophy as its interpretation and law. The work is a protest by unmistakable inference against the tendency of the larger interests of life to make their own moral codes to suit themselves. False standards of success, the subtleties of selfishness and the wide-spread tendency to evade the discipline of life that results from housing noble ideals in the heart, find unsparing interpretation in the tone that is maintained throughout the volume. There is no trace of academic remoteness in either style or thought. On the contrary the style is so direct, simple and graceful and the spirit is so earnest that the reader is won and held from the moment that he takes the volume in hand. Happy combination of prestige of scholarship, practical insight into the moral problems of daily life and profound reverence for Christian ideals give Dr. Hadley's work enduring value.

The volume contains gentle though searching criticism of social tendencies which interfere with the nobler type of personal life and sets forth a most effective appeal for wholesome living. The moral and spiritual note is not lost at any point. Lessons from the example and teaching of Our Divine Saviour are conveyed with an ease and definiteness that will have peculiar charm for all who read the work with a spiritual mind. The condemnation of selfishness, of indirection in speech and manner and of life devoted to merely personal ends is one of its most practical and helpful features.

The emphasis with which Dr. Hadley insists that democracy is based on self-control and conditioned on the use of freedom under the restraint of the moral law is most welcome during these days of reconstruction of our national life. There is danger that the extent of the confusion of which every one is conscious since the war will mislead us into a too ready belief that we can remedy conditions and master the forces of life by governmental action. We need as perhaps never before to be held sternly to the fundamental truth that democracy is primarily moral and spiritual and in a secondary sense political. Political institutions are

effective through forces that they themselves do not control. Moral and spiritual ideals as set forth in the Christian philosophy of life are essential to the maintenance of our democratic institutions. Dr. Hadley's volume does much to set forth this great truth at a time when renewed understanding of it is imperative.

WILLIAM J. KERBY, PH. D.

The American Army in the European Conflict, translated from the French by the authors, Colonel De Chambrun and Captain De Marenches. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1919.

Although the mass of books and pamphlets treating of the World War and the subsequent efforts at peace and reconstruction is even now grown to unwieldy proportions, we should, nevertheless, as Lord Northcliff very properly says, "welcome all well-informed contributions to its literature." The book of De Chambrun and De Marenches is, no doubt, well-informed on the special phase of the war under treatment, namely, the participation of America in the great struggle. Who the authors are does not appear from the book itself, as it lacks the usual preface or foreword, but we are informed by the publishers that they were attached to General Pershing's staff. Yet they write as Frenchmen, and their judgment therefore appears as doubly valuable, being based upon first-hand information by foreign observers.

The book does full justice to the genius of our Commander-in-Chief and to the impetuous valor and patient endurance of our soldier boys, so often treated with but slight regard by official British reports and unofficial slurs and slanders. The authors always try to be fair in their statements and conclusions. The American soldier had no training for the conflict worth speaking of, save the general training of American manhood in bravery, genial forbearance, and a quick sense of the requirements of the hour; but these qualities, which form the very essence of a true soldier, were quickly developed by actual warfare into an army the like of which the world has never seen. All this is brought out in glowing colors in the work before us. As a matter of course, there is the usual amount of dry statistics on the composition of the armies under General Pershing, and also the summary description of the various American benevolent associations employed

as auxiliaries in the war, as the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., Knights of Columbus, and others. The Red Cross and Y. M. C. A. receive a disproportionate treatment as compared with that given to the Knights of Columbus. But this is a matter of minor importance and can be easily rectified in a second edition. On the great question as to America's share in winning the war, the authors have this to say: "The armistice found General Pershing at the head of an army more than 2,000,000 strong. In the course of 1919 this force would have been doubled. Both in France and America every provision was made to attain this result; the powerful mechanism which had been set on foot in view of mobilization was running without a hitch. Transports and reception camps in Europe were kept up to their full capacity. Nothing, not even the German submarine, was now able to seriously impede the regular movement of reinforcements. Undoubtedly the knowledge of this situation had its influence on the enemies' decision to abandon the struggle, so that America would not pursue her efforts to a finish even more disastrous to Germany. The 2,000,000 soldiers already in Europe sufficed to determine the victory. Thanks to American aid, the enemy had been forced, first to stabilize, then to defensive warfare, followed by a more and more precipitate retreat, and, finally, on the 11th of November to a capitulation" (p. 388).

This final judgment of the authors on America's share in winning the war takes no notice of the warlike qualities of our soldiers as one of the chief elements of success. On this matter I will quote the deliberate judgment of a fair-minded Englishman, Sir F. Maurice: "I doubt if, even after the second battle of the Marne, there was a single Allied general who believed that it would be possible for a great American army to force its way triumphantly through the German lines. Many of the American divisions which fought in those last battles which brought us victory went into action with little or no experience of trenches, and with none at all of the hell on earth which constituted a modern battle. The multiplicity of weapons and the complication of tactics which four years of war had produced, and the fact that an entirely new element had entered into war with the development of aircraft, all made the effective handling of troops in battle a far more difficult problem than it had ever been. Neither the American gen-

erals nor the American staffs had had experience in fitting together the numerous parts of the military machine or in handling large bodies of troops. For all these reasons a great attack by American troops against intact German defenses on the most difficult part of the front was a bold experiment. It was one thing to obliterate the St. Mihiel salient in thirty hours, to stop the German rush at the Marne, or even to drive the Germans from the Marne to the Vesle in cooperation with Allied troops. It was quite another matter to fight continuously on a front of some twenty miles for close on fifty days, through line after line of German trenches, in a battle which entailed the employment of nearly three-quarters of a million American troops. It was done because America placed the pick of her splendid manhood in the field, and that manhood went ahead at the job in front of it without counting the cost. *By doing its job it gave us victory in 1918.*" (Sir. F. Maurice, *The Last Four Months*, pp. 241-242.)

With these few exceptions we can recommend the book to our readers as one of the permanent contributions to our war library, expressing our hope, at the same time, that the guardians of public opinion will allow no one to impair or belittle the only thing of value which we have gained in the conflict—the imperishable renown our soldier boys won in the battlefields of France.

J. E. ROTHENSTEINER.

A History of the Pacific Northwest, New Edition. By Joseph Schafer, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918.

Within the limits of a handbook Professor Schafer presents in a vivid and well-balanced narrative the story of the Oregon Country from the earliest European explorations along the North Pacific Coast to the present day. The book, which was first issued in 1905, has been "revised and rewritten" and chapters have been added on the Progress of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, and Social and Political Change. Since the first edition of his book was brought out the author has had opportunity to make special studies in England, both of governmental and private material, bearing on the diplomatic phases of the Oregon boundary dispute between the United States and Great Britain and the fruit

of these studies has been incorporated in his chapters on the Oregon question.

The Pacific Northwest was brought within the purview of civilization by men who, in the eighteenth century, were still engaged in a search for the passage to India which had baffled explorers since the days of Columbus. Their search discovered, not the hoped-for passage, but one of the richest fur markets of the world. When (1778) Captain Cook's men picked up from the natives of Vancouver's Island skins which yielded a hundredfold and more in the markets of Canton on the other side of the Pacific, they laid the foundations of a vast business which in a half-century covered the Pacific Northwest with trading posts. The conditions of the trade were of the most profitable kind. Certain manufactures of Western Europe or of New England found a ready market among the Indians of the Northwest whose unsophisticated minds permitted them to offer skins worth hundreds of dollars for a chisel or other minor product of civilization. Then the trader, his ship laden with otter and beaver skins, made his way to China, where these were bartered for the teas and silks of the Orient, which in turn were in great demand on both shores of the Atlantic. In the closing years of the eighteenth century many nations took part in the off-shore fur trade of the Northwest, but it lay in the nature of things that the more permanent organization of the business should fall to Great Britain and the United States, whose people could find access to the Oregon Country from the landward side. The year 1805, which witnessed the passage of the Rocky Mountains by Lewis and Clark, saw likewise the establishment of a trading post beyond the Rockies by agents of the Northwest Company of Canada. A little later the Hudson's Bay Company absorbed the Northwest Company and under the benevolent autocracy of Dr. John McLoughlin, "Father of Oregon," dominated the Oregon Country until the great colonizing movement from the States in the 'forties indicated the ultimate displacement of British influence by American in the Columbia basin.

The conflict between fur trader and farmer for possession of the Columbia was a repetition, minus the clash of arms, of the conflict in the eighteenth century between the fur trader and the farmer for possession of the Ohio. In the one case as in the other,

the farmer had the man-power to enforce his claims. The diplomatic argument over the Oregon boundary, revolving about prior rights of discovery and exploration, gave way before the realities of the situation, and in the treaty of 1846 Britain receded from her claim to the north bank of the great river. (It may be of interest to note, in view of more recent executive practice, that President Polk sought the advice and consent of the Senate before signing the Oregon treaty.)

In a footnote at the end of his discussion of the Oregon boundary question the author deals with a matter which has been a subject of controversy among writers on Oregon history for nearly half a century. Alluding to the "voluminous literature" which has grown up about the Whitman-Saved-Oregon story, Dr. Schafer writes: "The present writer, while regarding Whitman as a noble Christian pioneer and missionary, and while anxious to give him credit for every service he performed for Oregon, cannot subscribe to the theory that Whitman saved Oregon, or that he had any substantial influence beyond that of other important missionaries or pioneers upon the course of the history which eventuated in the boundary treaty of 1846."

In dismissing the charge that Catholics were responsible for the Whitman massacre, the author says it sprang "naturally out of the religious rancor of the time." It was kept alive no doubt by religious bitterness, but it sprang from the "disordered mind" of H. H. Spalding. The general Oregon community of that time should not bear the responsibility for a baseless calumny which was invented by an individual whose mentality was unhinged. The author alludes (page 116) to another famous controversy of early Oregon history, but refuses to pass judgment on it. This is the question as to whether the Rocky Mountain Indians who visited St. Louis in 1831 were in search of the White Man's Book of Heaven or of the blackrobes. The inquiring reader will find a diverting account of the matter in Marshall, *Acquisition of Oregon*, Vol. II, ch. I.

When the author in the progress of his story reaches the admission of Oregon as a State in 1859 he dispenses with a chronological development of his theme and in a series of topical essays recounts the growth of the Northwest in later days. He makes clear the dominating importance of transportation in the develop-

ment of a new region and points out that it was not until the completion of the Panama Canal that the Pacific Northwest felt its commercial opportunities to be equal to those of the Atlantic States. In an informative chapter on the Progress of Agriculture, certain unfavorable circumstances are revealed. In the Northwest, as elsewhere in the United States, the passing of the era of free lands and an active speculation in farm lands have promoted the drift of the farm population to the towns. In addition to these factors, the Northwest sees the drift toward town intensified by the application of the capitalistic system of production to wheat farming. "The profits of wheat growing," says the author, "increase with the size of the farms devoted to it, up to a point not easily passed. The result has been the progressive elimination of the small farmer or homesteader, the joining of field to field under the same management, until community life as such has in many places disappeared. In some sections school houses, churches, and other evidences of a former social prosperity are abandoned and decaying in the midst of continuous wheat fields. The owners of the great wheat farms often live in the larger towns, leaving hired men or 'renters' on the farms. These men and their families have no schools, churches, or clubs at convenient distances, and are compelled to pass their days in a dreary round of unrelieved toil."

Two lines of attack on this problem of country life are offered. First, there is developing a spirit of cooperative enterprise in which the village merchants are taking a part. The union school, which is built on a consolidation of a number of poorly equipped district schools, is typical of the new spirit. Then there are proposals to equalize physicians' fees between town and country so as to permit better medical attendance in the rural community. Systems of freight transportation organized by the village and its tributary farms offer valuable opportunities in the way of cooperation. The second line of attack has to do with legal methods of redressing the balance between town and country. The rapid monopolization of farm lands raises a fear in the industrial population of permanent exclusion from the ranks of landowners. Hence, says Dr. Schafer, "it is not strange that remedies should be sought through extreme socialistic measures for land-holding reform like the Single Tax." He does not look for a favorable

reception for the Single Tax until "the landless industrial class shall be distinctly in the majority." As a possible remedy for the present tendency toward land monopoly, however, the author suggests the fixing of a maximum acreage for wheat farm holdings to be enforced through the taxing power and the exercise of the right of eminent domain.

Dr. Schafer undertakes to vindicate the good name of the people of the Northwest from the charge of undue radicalism in politics. Pointing out that the charge rests chiefly on the so-called "Oregon System" of direct legislation, consisting of the Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall, he calls attention to the fact that these devices have been copied largely in other parts of the country and have even invaded the more conservative East. The tendency of Northwesterners to vote independently of party affiliations is noted by the author, who attributes this characteristic to the high intelligence of the electorate. He cites the example of the Republican State of Oregon choosing two Democratic United States Senators in recent years. Without disputing the claim of exceptional intelligence for the electorate, it may be mentioned that a different explanation of this particular event has been suggested to the reviewer, in that one of the Senators in question is a native of Mississippi and the other was a scion of Southern stock. There is a large element in the Oregon electorate of Southern origin which was captured for the Republican party some years ago by the wool-tariff issue, but which is not entirely forgetful of the claims of its Southern blood.

Readers of the History of the Pacific Northwest will find that the author believes it to be the historian's business to interpret as well as to record the human story; and they will be glad to know that in his new position as Secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society Dr. Schafer will have opportunity to enrich further the literature of Western history.

JOHN P. O'HARA.

The War with Mexico. By Justin H. Smith. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1919. 2 volumes, pp. 572 and 620.

At last, after seventy-two years' delay, we have a history perhaps, with a few reservations, *the* history of our war with Mexico. For the first time the thrilling story of this far-reaching

enterprise is placed before us not based upon legend or partial accounts, but on a solid foundation of documentary evidence, such as we seldom find supporting an historical narrative. By permission of the Presidents of both Republics engaged in the war, every document in their archives was made available for the purpose of the history. In addition to these vast storehouses of information, there were the archives of Paris, London, and Madrid, that furnished, in the reports of their respective ministers, most important and interesting data. Private collections also, as well as the archives and libraries of a number of historical societies, were ransacked for facts and illustrations not otherwise obtainable. More than 100,000 manuscripts, 1,200 books and pamphlets, and 200 periodicals had to be studied and excerpted to furnish the material for the two volumes.

About one-third of the bulk of this work is made up of the notes and references in confirmation and elucidation of the text. A very complete index renders every fact related immediately available to the student.

This vast apparatus of notes and references may seem but an impedimentum, but it really constitutes the impediments of an expedition of discovery and conquest in the realms of historical truth. Innumerable legends concerning the Mexican War had grown up around the main outstanding facts and it became necessary to clear away a mass of rubbish and tangled weeds before this important event of our history stood revealed in its true form and just proportion.

The mass of detail accumulated is so well ordered that it does not distract, but rather draws on the attention of the reader. The author seems to have had Rochefoucauld's diction before his eyes: "To know things perfectly, we should know them in detail." Every item, however, of detail must be substantiated, to satisfy the historical inquirer. Hence the innumerable references to the original documents and contemporaneous literature, making the account of "The War with Mexico" a critical as well as a narrative history. It was certainly a long and laborious task to gather these source-materials and to sift them and digest them and shape them into such readable form: the very success attained, proves it to have been a labor of love.

The descriptions of the various battles and engagements, from Palo Alto to Molino del Rey, are masterpieces of word-painting, vivid, clear and compelling. The difficulties that nature itself offered to our advance through a country of arid deserts, rugged mountains, and narrow defiles are well brought out. The political by-play, also, in the States as well as in Mexico, is deftly woven into the context. Thus the book is fair to both sides in the conflict; in one particular only is there room for criticism. In treating of the genesis of the war, the author takes occasion to refer to the Catholic Church, the state religion of Mexico, in a disparaging manner. Indeed the difference in religion between the neighboring nations may have given rise to some misunderstandings, but not so much on the Catholic, as on the Protestant side. Mexico did not invade the rights of the United States, but the rebellion of the American immigrants in Texas, which was a province of Mexico, was carried on with the connivance of the Government, and with the open sympathy and support of the people, at least of the Southern States. But this is admitted by the author, and does not fall under criticism. The point to which we refer is the attempt to stigmatize almost the entire Catholic clergy and laity of Mexico as lazy, stupid, and immoral in the broadest degree. It is possible, nay probable, that there were cases of moral delinquency among the priests of Mexico, but to extend these charges against all, or almost all, the clergy of high and low degree, is not fair and is not just. Generalizations are always dangerous and when they refer to the moral conditions of an entire people or class they are liable to become slanderous. Every people, every class of people has its lights and shades, and the shadows in their characters, as we think we see them, are often but the obliqueness of our vision and are dispelled at better knowledge and deeper sympathy. "The only Church legally tolerated," says the author, "was that of Rome, and this, as the unchallenged authority in the school and the pulpit, the keeper of confessional secrets and family skeletons, and the sole dispenser of organized charity, long wielded a tremendous power" (Vol. I, p. 60). Whilst the tone of this statement is sufficiently offensive to Catholic ears, the following charge is an insult to every Catholic: "The *ignorance of most ecclesi-*

astics and the *immorality* of *nearly all* greatly diminished their moral force. A large number, even among the higher clergy, were unable to read the mass; and the monks, who in the early days of the colony had rendered good service as missionaries, were now recruited—wrote an American minister—from ‘the very dregs of the people,’ and constituted a public scandal” (Vol. I, p. 7).

A note on page 408 adds: “The lazy, ignorant and stupid monks, whose views do not extend beyond the round of purely animal enjoyments, and include no *esprit de corps* save pecuniary greed, mixed with an idol worship fanaticism.” On page 8 we read of the people “confessing to some *fat priest* well qualified to sympathize with every *earthly desire*.” On page 14 we are told: “Religion gave no help, and ceremonies of worship benumbed the intellect as much as they fascinated the senses.” On page 19 we behold a fat, contented prior riding sleepily . . . through a dozen or two of kneeling aborigines. “Now we come,” says the author on page 20, “now we come to the massive crumbling, gloomy church, and wonder where the priest keeps the family which everybody know he has.” Again, “magnificent vestments try to hide the vulgar priests” (p. 23). There is a slur on purgatory, a doctrine dear to every Catholic heart: “Why, what a clangor the church-bells are making! To be sure that opens the gate to purgatory for a while and gives the inmates a respite” (p. 25). Finally, the morals of the people are described: “Hardly one of the husbands is loyal to his vows, while the other sex care only to elude numberless watchful eyes, and observe a strict regard for appearances: and in the lower walks a mother will quite readily sell her daughter’s good name” (p. 26). Such glittering generalizations are not history, but the small talk of the backstairs and public dance halls, and form real eye-sores in an otherwise most meritorious work. Among the thousands of priests in Mexico, a large number of whom, by the way, were ordained by Bishop Rosati in St. Louis and at the Seminary of St. Mary “Apud Silvam Crematam,” there were certainly many that led a truly priestly life, and exercised their ministry with prudent zeal and charity.

It behooves the true historian to disinter the good of even a “lazy monk” or a “stupid priest” whilst he is filling his canvas with the evil that lives on upon the lips of idle gossips. We are,

indeed, sorry to be obliged to say this, yet truth and justice are higher than all other considerations.

The make-up of the two volumes, paper, printing and binding, are excellent, as was to be expected from the firm of Macmillan.

J. E. ROTHENSTEINER.

Our Renaissance: Essays on the Reform and Revival of Classical Studies, by Henry Browne, S. J. London: Longmans, Green Co., 1917. Pp. 281.

Those who will be most interested in reading this collection of essays on the Reform and Revival of Classical Studies might be divided into two classes, viz., those who have received a classical education and who have not yet lost interest in classical literature, and the present teachers of the classics. To the first the book will bring real pleasure for its readable presentation of the meaning and aim of the modern Renaissance, to the second it ought to bring the finest kind of inspiration and help.

The whole field of humanistic interests is traversed in chapters on "The Pursuit of Beauty," "Greece, the Cradle of Democracy," "The Religious Sense," which make up the first part of the work. In the second part the reform is well described and urged in chapters on "The Gospel of Work," "New Wine in Old Bottles," "How to Quicken Appreciation of the Classics." Briefly stated, the reform is one of methods and is directed to the teachers. "I do not mean," the author says, "that we must merely improve our methods in a superficial way, but we must have a fundamental reform in our whole attitude. We must no longer assume that what did very well in our fathers' and grandfathers' time should do very well for us. Even in our own younger days these things were only beginning to be in question, and we went on pretty much in the old groove, with perhaps, a little criticism, which nobody attended to in practice. The question is not whether the methods of the old school, long lessons by heart of grammar, of prosody, or of extracts; the Greek grammar written in the Latin tongue, long compositions and impositions backed up by the ferula and the birch-rod—whether I say, these things produced a result which was good in its way and for its day, but will they do now? Now we have reforms in teaching French and other spoken tongues, in teaching natural science, in teaching geometry, in

teaching modern history. Why are we classicists so slow in admitting that the new science of pedagogy has anything to say to us? But lay this to heart, if we are not mended we shall certainly be ended!"

The author very properly bases his hope for the future of the classics on the efficiency of the instruction. While he has conditions in England and Ireland foremost in mind when treating of the teacher, he has hit off the situation very well also for this country, especially when he deals with the pedagogical equipment of most teachers of the classics. In this country as abroad scientific methods of teaching got their strongest foothold first in the elementary schools through teacher training. They have gradually worked upward into the high school through increased pedagogical requirements in the teachers, and now, since their direction seems upward, there is still hope of their ultimate arrival in college and university. Reading this book with an educational interest alone, one is gratified to find that the principles of method advocated by Father Browne are precisely those which have long been in use in elementary instruction. Their attractive adaptation here to classical instruction is unusually pleasing and forces the conclusion that the future of the classics depends upon faithful adherence to them.

Father Browne enumerates five points on which every division or aspect of modern education is to be tested. We reproduce them for their power of testing classical education, for in this respect they are suggested by the author and serve him to very good purpose in subsequent paragraphs: "Modernized education should show at least, the following five characteristics: 1. The ability to apply to its own processes striking results of modern science. 2. A desire to place itself in harmony with approved ideals of modern pedagogy. 3. A readiness to employ modern educational appliances. 4. A distinct claim to prepare its pupils for taking their place in the modern social organism. 5. A power to commend itself to the mind and instincts of modern democracy."

The final chapters which contain the details of the newer method are admirable not for their content merely but for their tone and moderation. All the methods advocated or recommended are adequately described, as also what is meant by visual and tactile instruction in classical teaching, the use of the picture,

slide, cast models, cooperation with the museums, use of collections, etc. At the same time the difficulties in the way are fully realized and stated and the results of the writer's wide experience placed at the disposal of the teacher. It is to be hoped that this work will find its way into the hands of all our high-school and college teachers of the humanities, for it will awaken in them an interest in method which is the first and necessary step in any forward movement looking to sure and lasting Revival.

PATRICK J. McCORMICK, PH.D.

Education and Social Movements 1700-1850. By A. E. Dobbs.
London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1919. Pp. 257.

The main social movements which affected education in England during the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries, offer the topics treated in this scholarly work. A better idea of the method of treatment might be given were the title inverted and made to read Social Movements and Education, for the social rather than the educational interest predominates. In a broad sense the work is, however, a review of English popular education during the period.

In Part I, devoted to the eighteenth century, the treatment includes the Social Environment on the Eve of the Industrial Revolution, Schools and Literature, and the Era of Revolutions. Part II, covering the first half of the nineteenth century, treats of Elementary Education, the Mechanics Institutes and Higher Education, Libraries and Literature, Education by collision, and the Social Outlook.

As noted above, the social interest dominates throughout, and education is only referred to as it is related to the social institution or movement under study. The educational interest is furthermore of the broadest kind; it includes all those cultural influences which affected, or were affected by, the masses of the people. For this reason the work is of real value as an historical study for either the students of sociology or education. It is very well written and has abundant notes and references.

PATRICK J. McCORMICK, PH.D.

NOTES AND COMMENT

On July 16, 1920, the Secretary of the Board of Editors had the honor of presenting to the Holy Father, Benedict XV, Who received him in private audience, a handsomely bound set of *THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW*. His Holiness blessed the *REVIEW*, its editors, contributors, and subscribers, and expressed His satisfaction at the progress of the work since its inception in 1915.

A complete set of the *Acta Sanctorum* is for sale at the Bollandists, in Brussels. Price: \$1,000.

The publications of the Bollandists comprise the following works:

A. The *ACTA SANCTORUM* of which three editions exist: 1. the original *Antwerp Edition*, composed of fifty volumes, printed at Antwerp, one at Tongerlo (during the French Revolution, 1794), and thirteen volumes, printed at Brussels; 2. the *Venice Edition* commenced in 1734, and stopped (at volume five of September), in 1770; 3. the *Paris Edition*, begun in 1863 by Victor Palmé, in sixty volumes. Neither of the three editions has followed a uniform method. Each month forms a distinct series, which fills sometimes two, three or more volumes. It is necessary, therefore, always to mention the edition in citations from the *Acta*.

B. The *ANALECTA BOLLANDIANA*, published quarterly, forms an annual volume of 640 pages. It was begun in 1882. With the second volume (1883) a supplement was begun, and with volume x (1891), a *Bulletin des publications hagiographiques*, was started. Volume xxxiii (1914) was interrupted by the war. The volume for 1920 will be the thirty-eighth, and the intermediary volumes will be published as soon as possible.

C. *SUBSIDIA HAGIOGRAPHICA*, a series of monographs, publications of texts, catalogues, Repertoria, etc., of which the following are examples: *Repertorium hymnologicum*, *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, *Bibliotheca hagiographica orientalis*.

The recent publication of Father Delahaye, whose *Legends of the Saints* caused such a stir a decade ago, entitled *L'Oeuvre des Bollandistes (1615-1915)*, (Brussels, 1920, pp. 284), contains a complete history of their labors during the past three centuries. As Father Lechat points out in another part of this issue, this volume dedicated to our revered friend, Dr. Jameson, has been translated into English and is now in the printer's hands.

During our visit to the Bollandists in Brussels, we asked one of these world-renowned scholars to make an announcement to our readers. As a result, Father Lechat has given us a description of the work, which will be found elsewhere in this number. As is well known among students of history in the United States, Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, of the Carnegie Institution, Department of Historical Research, made in October last an extended appeal to all interested in historical study to assist the Bollandist Fathers in their project of resuming the *Analecta*

Bollandiana. This letter was sent out to all the Catholic clergy of the United States, by Bishop Shahan, who added:

This periodical is practically the workshop of the Bollandists. It ought to be in the library of every Catholic house of studies, seminary, or novitiate, and in the library of every student interested in the story of the good men and women who have tried for so many centuries to follow in the footsteps of the Divine Master.

Under date of August 24, 1920, Father Lechat writes us:

We have at present twenty-two (22) American subscribers to the *Analecta*, of which twelve (12) have come to us since the armistice. Before the war, we had ten (10) subscribers in the United States. You will see that there is, therefore, much progress to make in America in this regard. Rest assured, that we are all heartily grateful to our good friends in America for all they have done to help us keep the *Analecta* alive under the critical times we are now encountering in Belgium.

The subscription price is 20 francs (Belgian) a year. Subscriptions may be sent to the Société des Bollandistes, 22 Boulevard St. Michel, Brussels, Belgium.

An announcement of supreme historical interest is that sent out during the past summer by the University of London, regarding the creation of a School of Historical Research. It is of quite recent years that Englishmen have begun to realize the practical value of higher education and research. The absence of a higher historical school in England was first brought home at the outbreak of the war. This fact is quite frankly stated in the Appeal for Advanced Historical Studies made by a Committee for that purpose:

One of the main reasons of the disadvantages under which we found ourselves laboring in that time of peril was the fact that we had never taken pains to attract to our island the able young students of each generation, who ultimately do so much to form opinion abroad. . . . A great opportunity is here presented to remedy this state of things, and to provide post-graduate students of all countries, within and without the Empire, with facilities for guided research in our unequalled but too little used National Archives. Hitherto those students have been compelled to go elsewhere than to Great Britain to finish their courses. Before the war they chiefly went to Germany. . . . Meanwhile our marvellous National Archives, the full wealth of which has lately been emphasized by the labours of the Royal Commission on the Public Records, remain only too little studied even by Englishmen.

The University of London now proposes to remedy these defects by the establishment of a center for historical research. Professor Pollard has given a further account of the scheme in a paper, *The Claims of Historical Research in London* (London, Univ. of London Press, 1920, pp. 6). It is logical that such a school be founded in London, and the entire project will be welcomed by foreign post-graduate students. If previous to the war, these students went to Paris to the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, the Ecole libre des Sciences Politiques, or to the Ecole des Chartes; if before the war, young scholars went to Berlin and other German Universities; if a group of foreign students could always be found the past hundred years at Louvain, the reason is obvious: they

found in these places professors of world-wide reputation, schools that offered them every possible advantage in the line of advanced historical work, and a profound sympathy and encouragement on the part of all they met. The war is over. The armies are gone back to their peaceful avocations. The war has been the cause of much destruction—destruction more savage and total than at any previous time in history. But the war has not destroyed scholarship nor the yearnings of the young generation growing up around us for the same advantages in higher education which so many of us enjoyed before the swift and sudden outbreak of six years ago. To place limits—geographical or otherwise—upon these graduate students is beyond the power of anyone. The University student is not much different from his predecessor in the Middle Ages, when he followed the *man* who attracted him. Today as then he will go where he can obtain the best; and war or no war, if that best is to be found again in German University circles, there will he go again, and there he should, in all logic, be found. If the University of Paris, or the Institut Catholique of Paris, the University of London or the other English universities, or the Catholic University of Louvain, hope to attract the American student, then the courses and the equipment of these intellectual centers must equal or surpass the centers which proved so attractive before the war. London is undoubtedly attractive because of the British Museum and the Public Record office. Nowhere else in the world will the student receive more sincere help and encouragement. But the student must be trained before he enters these great treasure-houses. There should be a school to assist the student in utilizing their advantages. Courses leading to degrees equivalent in value and in honor to American University degrees should be offered. The best professors in the historical sciences should be obtained, and the student should find in all his surroundings that same liberality of thought, devoid of bias, of prejudice, and, the word can be used justifiably, of cramping nationalism, that same historical-mindedness, which he found on the Continent. A School of Historical Research is really needed in London, and it will receive encouragement from every section of the English speaking world. The absence of such a school is a national defect. Professor Pollard states the case very fairly. He recognizes the almost universal custom for graduates of overseas, American, and European universities who aspire to become university teachers to go abroad for wider experience and training in the subjects they hope to teach. He concludes:

Before the war they went anywhere rather than to British Universities because of the lack of some such provision as that for which this appeal is made; and its absence has cost the Empire not a little in reputation as well as in more material respects. The advancement of knowledge and understanding is the true function of universities; and if British universities are to make their proper contribution to the total sum, they cannot afford to neglect any means of imparting to those students from abroad who are best qualified to appreciate it a knowledge and understanding of the truth that is embedded in the incomparable records of the capital of the British Empire.

London alone can render this service to the Empire and to mankind, to the world of learning and to the science of politics. For London alone possesses the means. Its growth as a center of human activity, embracing nearly

two thousand years of history, has culminated in a preeminence which cannot be disputed. Its records are unrivalled, its opportunity unique, its privilege complete. It is a city set on a hill, and only the light remains for its citizens to kindle.

The eminent Jesuit historian, Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, in a recent number of the REVIEW (Vol. V, pp. 353-376) published a scholarly account of one of America's greatest missionaries, Father Eusebio Kino, S.J. (1644-1671). Father Kino's name has been spelled in a variety of forms, and Father Campbell, who holds to the spelling *Chino*, claims that his family was of Italian origin. Among the discussions aroused by Father Campbell's article, the following letter to the REVIEW, from the Rev. F. J. Holweck, of the St. Louis Catholic Historical Society, has a special value:

One of the interesting questions in the history of a great man is that of his origin; and one of the most fascinating pursuits of the historian is the work of research into the family, the town, the province, and the nation of his hero. The humblest village in a remote region appears to men in a halo of glory if one of its sons has become renowned as a benefactor of men or as a hero. Seven cities of ancient Greece have laid claim to the proud distinction of being the birthplace of Homer. If any one of these could prove its claim, it would now be rejoicing in what would amount to an immortal glory.

Of late the limelight of public attention has been thrown on Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J., the greatest missionary of the Alta Pimeria, that is, the Mexican province of Sonora and the southern half of the state of Arizona. Interest in his person has been aroused particularly by the rediscovery of the long-lost manuscript of his *Favores Celestiales*, a complete history of his labors written in a rather pompous style by P. Kino himself, at his little mission of Dolores on San Miguel River. This manuscript was found in the public archives of Mexico City by Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, professor of American History at the University of California, about 1908 and published in 1919, under the title *Kino's Historical Memoir of Primeria Alta. A contemporary account of the beginnings of California, Sonora, and Arizona by Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J., Pioneer Missionary, Explorer, Cartographer, and Ranchman, 1683-1711*, 2 vols. Cleveland (Arthur H. Clark Company), 1919.

P. Kino's *Memoir* gives us information of his missionary activity in America, but the data we have regarding his birthplace and his nationality are scanty and uncertain. Three different opinions are brought forward:

1. Some authors claim that he was a German. H. Bancroft calls him Eusebius Kuehn, as his name was doubtless written in his earliest years. Huonder says that Kino is the Spanish or Italian form of Kuehn. Bolton also writes: "Though his name was Italian in form, Kino's birth, education and early associations were altogether German" (p. 29). Shea styles him "the remarkable missionary, Father Eusebius Francis Kuehn, called in Spanish 'Kino.'" (*Hist. of the Cath. Church*, Vol. I, p. 526.) P. Kino calls himself "Germanus" on the map which he drew of the gulf region of California. (*Historical Records and Studies*, Vol. VIII, June, 1915, p. 192.) It bears the inscription: *Tabula Californiae, Anno 1702. Ex autoptica observatione delineata a R. P. Chino e S. J.—Via terrestris in Californiam comperta et*

detecta per R. Patrem Eusebium Franc. Chino e S. J. Germanum. Adnotatis novis missionibus ejusdem Societatis ab anno 1698 ad annum 1702. The historian Volgelsang rather violently defends this theory against Father Campbell. (cf. *Pastoralblatt*, May, 1920.)

2. Another theory claims that he was a Rhaeto-Roman (Ladino). The *Handallas* of Andrae in the map of the nations of the Austrian Empire indicates that the Val di Non, Kino's home, is inhabited by Rhaeto-Romans, akin to the Romonsch in the Swiss Canton Grisons, the Ladini in three small Tyrolean valleys and the Friulians in the Italian province of Venezia.

3. Father Campbell, S. J., in this REVIEW (Jan. 1920, p. 35, ss), shows that our missionary's name was Chino, not Kuehn, and contends that by nationality he was an Italian.

From the sources accessible in America, it was impossible to decide which opinion was correct. It was even uncertain, in what place of the southern Tyrol Kino was born. Shea claims this honor for the city of Trent, following the *Libro de Profesiones* of the Society of Jesus of the Province of Mexico, which states, that he was a "native of Trent, born Aug. 10, 1644." Huonder in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* says that Kino was born in "Welschtyrol" (Welschtyrol: that part of the Tyrol not inhabited principally by German-speaking people; specifically South Tyrol, inhabited principally by Italians (*Century Dictionary*, IX, 1016). Bolton defines the place of his birth as "the valley of Nonsburg (*sic*) near Trent," i. e. the Val di Non, the lower valley of the river Noce, an affluent of the Adige. The Val di Non is called in German "Nonsberg" (not Nonsburg).

To settle these questions, I applied for information to the parish priest of Fondo, a town of the upper Val di Non. This reverend gentleman forwarded my missive to Father Simone Weber, a priest of the city of Trent and editor of a religious periodical. Father Weber answered without delay. He sent me a sketch of his famous countryman, P. Kino, which he had written in 1909. He also added a personal letter which, with part of the sketch, we reproduce in full from the Italian original, because it solves the questions without a shadow of doubt.

In the history of Christian civilization we, and not the least also among the men of our own land, meet so many noble and generous characters, that I do not know which of them I should place before you as an example, all being so richly deserving of mention.

Among those who consecrated their lives to the service of their fellow-men and left their names engraved upon the rocks of civilization we would mention today P. Eusebio Francesco Chini of Segno, a village belonging to the parish church of Torra in Val di Non.

He was born Aug. 10, 1645 of Francesco Chini and Margherita Luchi. His parents were well-to-do farmers; when they saw that their son manifested a good disposition and an aptitude for learning, they sent him for his first studies to Trent, then to Freiburg in Baden, where we find him in 1664 and 1665 as a student of philosophy. . . . (From S. Weber's sketch in the *Amico delle Famiglie*.)

The letter of Father Weber reads as follows:

Trent, June 21, 1920.

Rev. Dear Sir:

The pastor of Fondo sent me your letter of May 29, in which you announced the discovery of the *Favores Coelestiales* of P. Chini and

asked for information. I am happy to give you certain data by quoting an article written by myself and published in my paper (*Amico delle Famiglie*) at Trent, in the year 1909.

I have in my possession the autograph will of P. Chini, written by him at Ingolstadt, Dec. 10, 1667. The date of his birth I have taken from the parish register of Torra in Val di Non, which is the parish to which Segno, the home of P. Chini, is affiliated. The nationality of P. Chini is Italian, as is and was also that of the Val di Non, which is one of the most beautiful valleys of the Trentino.

The population of Val di Non had the distinction of Roman citizenship, which it enjoyed from olden times through a decree of Claudius dated at Bajae, March 14, 46. The edict is inscribed on a magnificent bronze slab, discovered at Cles and now preserved in the museum at Trent. It is the most important monument of the valley and is known as "tavola Clesiana." It has been described by Mommsen and others.

If P. Chini called himself "German," it was not to indicate his nationality, but solely because the ecclesiastical principality of Trent (founded by a donation made to Bishop Ulric II in the year 1027), was a dependency of the Germano-Roman Empire and the prince-bishop was a vassal of the Emperor.

Moreover, the students of the Trentino who attended the universities of Padua, Bologna and Freiburg, joined the societies formed by Germans because they also, as I have said, belonged to the Empire, and because in these societies they enjoyed certain privileges which were denied to Italians.

Therefore the "Germanus" of P. Chini must not be taken in the sense that he was a Teuton himself, his family, his country, his valley, were and are distinctly Italian.

The surname of his family, after the year 1500 is Chini, and sometimes Chino. At Segno, the home of P. Eusebius, there exist, at the present time many families by the name of Chini. His family was not rich, but well-to-do, and from it sprang many notaries and priests. In 1798 a family "Chini of Segno" received the title of nobility, which is now lost probably through the extinction of the family.

These are the dates which I have been able to gather rather hurriedly. If you desire copies of the birth record or will, you have only to inform me.

I shall be grateful if you favor me with particulars regarding Bolton's discovery.

With sincere regards

PR. SIMONE WEBER, Trent.

From these documents we see:

1. That our hero's name was originally Eusebio Francesco Chino.
2. That he was born August 10, 1645, not 1644, as others state.
3. That the names of his parents were: Francesco Chini and Margherita Luchi.
4. That his native town was Segno in the parish of Torra, Val di Non.
5. That although a subject of the German Empire he was ethnically an Italian.

Father Holweck reaches the conclusion that Father Kino's name was never written Kuehn. "He was called," he says, "Chini (pronounced Kini) in his home and in Germany. The *Neuer Weltbott* calls him Chinus. (A copy of this missionary periodical, printed at Augsburg in 1726, I was kindly permitted to consult in the library of the Jesuit Fathers of St. Louis University.) But why did Father Chini change the spelling of his name? He changed it when he came to America, because in Spanish Chino (pronounced *Tshino*) means Chinaman; in America a Chino (*Tshino*) is the bastard of a negro and an Italian woman. To maintain the hard pronunciation of the Italian *Ch*, Chini himself substituted to the *Ch* the German letter *K*. 'Padre Chino,' says Father Campbell, 'would have been a very awkward designation in Mexico.' In Spanish documents his name sometimes is spelled Quino, *qu* being the Spanish designation for the *K* sound."

The honored founder of the Monastery of the Visitation of Georgetown, D. C., was the Most Reverend Leonard Neale, D.D. (1746-1817), the Second Archbishop of Baltimore, and a professed Father of the Society of Jesus, of which four of his brothers were also members. Descended from an old and distinguished family of Maryland, where the penal laws prohibited Catholic worship and Catholic education, he and his brothers were sent abroad to the Jesuit College at St. Omer in Flanders, thence to Bruges, and later to Liège, where he was ordained a priest of the Society of Jesus. On the Suppression of the Society in 1773, Father Neale went to England with the English Jesuits and was engaged in pastoral work for five years, after which he obtained leave to set out for the mission of British Guiana, South America, where he converted and baptized hundreds of the poor natives.

A man of prayer and contemplation, he was often consoled by heavenly favors. Once as he knelt absorbed in God he beheld in vision a long procession of virgins, clad in religious garb and led by one of particular dignity. Near him stood St. Francis de Sales in pontificals, and pointing to them he said: "Thou shalt build a House of this my Order." Then he beheld an Angel who from a fountain poured streams of crystalline pureness, chanting ever and anon, *Pax super Israel!* From that moment Father Neale's heart was inflamed with a desire to fulfil this heavenly prophecy. He had never seen a Visitation nun or even the picture of one, strange to say.

His health having failed, he left Demarara (named by the English, Georgetown) in 1783, for his home in Maryland, where he arrived in late spring after twenty-five years of absence. He joined his brother Jesuits, among them Father John Carroll, afterwards Prefect-Apostolic of the United States, later Bishop, and finally Archbishop of Baltimore. He served as pastor at Port Tobacco, and subsequently went to Philadelphia to replace two priests who had fallen victims to yellow fever. Here he was made Vicar-General by Bishop Carroll; and to him here came the saintly Miss Alice Lalor, a native of Ireland, destined to become the Foundress of the Visitation in America.

Born of pious parents and brought up in heroic practices of virtue in that persecuted land, with several companions she had consecrated her virginity to God. In leaving Ireland in 1794, with her married sister, she bound herself by a promise to Bishop Loneragan to return in two years to help him to found a Religious Community. During the long voyage she formed a friendship with two young widows who, like herself, ardently longed for the cloister.

Father Neale at once discerned the beauty and strength of Miss Lalor's soul and devoted himself to the task of leading her and her two companions to perfection, hoping secretly that the time for the fulfilment of his vision was near. During their conferences he urged upon her the pressing needs of the Catholics in this country—the great field open before her for good, wherein she could reap a hundredfold for eternal life. His arguments and entreaties finally prevailed; the three friends began a Community life of austerity and prayer, teaching little children and visiting the sick and poor.

In 1798, Bishop Carroll recalled Father Neale and appointed him President of Georgetown College, which the zealous prelate had recently founded. The new president at once invited his three penitents to repair to Georgetown and take up their abode with a small number of Poor Clares, who had fled from France, and who now in extremewant kept a little school not far from the college. Miss Lalor and her friends gladly obeyed the summons of their holy director; and a little later Father Neale purchased a house and lot nearby, furnished it modestly with the requisites for a school, and installed them in it on June 24, 1799, a day that he ever regarded as a day of grace and rejoicing, on which the prayers of many years began to put forth the buds of hope. The new school was greeted with enthusiasm by the Catholics, who called the teachers "The Pious Ladies"; the founder, not knowing the rules of the Visitation, to which he was secretly drawn, gave them rules similar to those of the Society of Jesus; and his rules and recommendations were kept with austere exactness.

In 1800, Father Neale was consecrated Bishop of Gortyna and Coadjutor of Bishop Carroll; but retaining his presidency of the college, he continued to reside in Georgetown. The Poor Clares preparing to return to France in 1804, he purchased their possessions; and in their modest library, to his joy and that of all the Sisters, was found the *Book of the Rules, Constitutions and Directory of St. Francis de Sales for the Visitation*. His fervent Daughters now gave themselves to the most careful study and observance of the new prescriptions, while his desire to consolidate them with the Visitation grew in intensity. As the years went by, several Sisters were added to the Community, but their poverty was extreme insomuch that their virtue was often carried to heroism.

Bishop Carroll became Archbishop of Baltimore in 1808, with Suffragan Sees at New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Bardstown. He now urged his Coad-

jutor to merge his Community into the one Mrs. Seton was about to form. Failing in this, His Grace proposed the Ursulines, a rich woman of Baltimore having promised to found and endow a Convent of Ursulines in that city. Still another project to unite his Sisters with the Carmelites was strongly supported. But Bishop Neale, inflexible, turned a deaf ear to all. The fervor of the Sisters, their long-suffering and constancy now induced him to admit them to simple vows, and having given them a retreat of eight days, he professed them on the Feast of St. Francis de Sales, January 29, 1814.

During the following year, Dr. Carroll, the great Archbishop whose lot had been cast in such heroic times, who for thirty years had guided the affairs of the Church, a central and noble figure, now in his eightieth year, yielded at last to the pressure of age and infirmities, and on December 3, 1815, his soul went forth to his eternal reward. Bishop Neale succeeded to his dignities. For six years he had been vainly trying to establish relations with Pope Pius VII, held a prisoner by Napoleon. The world's conqueror had fallen on June 18, 1815, and Pius was again a sovereign on his Papal Throne. The new Prelate, early in 1816, hastened to communicate to His Holiness the formation in his Diocese of a Sisterhood according to the Rules of the Visitation. After narrating the different trials through which they had passed during seventeen years, he solicited from His Holiness the power to receive his fervent Society to solemn vows of religion according to the Institute of St. Francis de Sales. Pius VII, by an Indult dated July 14, 1816, granted his petition in its fullness, conferring upon Archbishop Neale the power to receive the Sisters and extending to them "all the indulgences and privileges enjoyed by the Religious of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary."

The day of the arrival of the Brief at Georgetown was a day of supreme happiness for the little flock. Preparations for the momentous action in prospect were hastened, and the Feast of the Holy Innocents, 1816, inaugurated a month of holy ceremonial and festivity. On the morning of that day, the birthday of St. Francis de Sales to a heavenly life, Mother Teresa Lalor and the two oldest Sisters were clothed with the white veil of the Order by the saintly Archbishop; and in the afternoon they pronounced their solemn vows and received the black veil and silver cross. On the Epiphany, 1817, the white veil was given to seventeen sisters; and on its octave to the rest of the Community, which now numbered thirty-five—thirty choir Sisters, four Lay-Sisters and one outsister. The Espousals of Our Lady, January 23, brought the happiness of solemn vows to the majority of these souls, so long and severely tried, and the others consummated their consecration to the Divine Spouse on the Feast of St. Francis de Sales, January 29th.

Archbishop Neale, radiant with joy, said: "Now I can sing my *Nunc dimittis* with Holy Simeon, for I am ready to leave this world." An unconscious prophecy, for the angels were already holding out the crown to this venerable servant of God. Not long after, a heavenly warning having been given him, he

began putting all his affairs in order. Among the numerous and important letters he issued was a pressing one to Rev. Joseph Picot de Clorivière, a distinguished French priest who had been engaged for some years in the difficult mission of Charleston, S. C., entreating him to come to Georgetown and take charge of the nuns of the Visitation—his fatherly love watching over their future as over their past. On June 16th, he said his last Mass and gave Holy Communion to the Sisters. Extreme weakness followed, and during the afternoon apoplexy developed. Surrounded by his brethren he received the last Sacraments with holy fervor, and on June 18th, a little after the noon hour, the beloved Archbishop and founder surrendered his soul to God in sentiments of joy and resignation. The funeral ceremonies were conducted at the Church of the Holy Trinity, Georgetown; but the sacred remains of Archbishop Neale were interred in the Convent vault, whence later, after the erection of the Chapel of the Sacred Heart in 1821, they were exhumed and placed in a crypt supported by two pillars just below the Sanctuary, where they are held in benediction by the successive generations of his Visitandine Daughters.

Some months later, Father de Clorivière, having broken the bonds which detained him in his southern mission, came to Georgetown, where he became the spiritual guide, teacher and temporal benefactor of the Community until his death in 1826. He expended his whole fortune in their behalf, building a beautiful Chapel, an academy and a new monastery, as well as a school for the children of the parish. Buried in the Convent crypt, his epitaph styles him with perfect truth, *Fundator Alter* to the Sisters. The pupils grew up in such innocence and piety that the school seemed rather a novitiate with the saintly Archbishop as director and afterwards with Father de Clorivière; seventeen girl postulants had already "gone over" to the Monastery.

Successive Foundations made by the Monastery of the Visitation of Georgetown in various cities of the United States are as follows: Mobile, Ala., 1832; Kaskaskia, Ill. (afterward transferred to St. Louis, Mo.), 1833; Baltimore, Md., 1837; Frederick, Md., 1846; Washington, D. C. 1850; Catonsville, Md., 1852; Parkersburg, W. Va., 1864; Toledo, Ohio, 1915.

The Act of Incorporation of the Visitation Sisters given to us by Bishop Corrigan of Baltimore, is as follows:

**TWENTIETH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES;
AT THE FIRST SESSION,**

Begun and held at the City of Washington, on Monday, the third day of
December, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-seven.

AN ACT

To incorporate the Sisters of Charity of Saint Joseph, and the Sisters of the
Visitation of Georgetown, in the District of Columbia.

BE IT ENACTED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the
United States of America, in Congress assembled, **THAT**, Mary Augustine
Decount, Elizabeth Boyle, Jane Smith, Rosetta White, Margaret George,

Bridget Farrell, Frances Jourdan, Ann Gruber, Adele Salva, Sarah Thompson, Margaret Felicita Brady, Scholastica Bearn, Julia Shirk, Louisa Roger, Martha Dadisman, Mary Joseph Rivell, Mary Agnes O'Conner, Mary Clare Shirley, Mary Paul Doglass, Eliza Martina Butcher, Eugina Clarke, Jane Boyle, Rosetta Tyler, Mary Love, Ann Collins, Mary McGinnis, Elizabeth Dellow, Rachel Green, Ann Elizabeth Corby, Mary Maria Sexton, Jane Regina Smith, Helena Elder, Catherine Stigers, Ann Frances Richardson, Ann Magdalene Shirley, Maria Muller, Ann Parsons, Rebecca Gough, Ellen Piggot, Margaret Shannon, Mary Green, Mary Delene, Ellen Timmons, Mary Harding, Mary Ann Fagan, Eliza Susan Knot, Margaret Brady, Mary Frances Boarman, Ann Dorsey, Eliza Magner, Barbara Marlow, Mary Gibson, Lydia Dix, Mary Twyger, Eliza Smith, Bridget Gibson, Ellen Hughes, Ann Wickham, Elizabeth Graver, Mary Council, and their successors hereafter to become Sisters of Charity of Saint Joseph, according to the rules and regulations that have been, or may hereafter be, established by their association, be, and they are hereby, made, declared and constituted a corporation or body politic, in law and in fact, to have continuance forever, by the name, style and title of the Sisters of Charity of Saint Joseph.

SECTION 2. And be it further enacted, THAT Eliza Matthews, Alice Lalor, Harriet Brent, Mary Neale, Elizabeth Neale, Margaret Marshal, Ann Combs, Louisa Jones, Jane Neale, Ann Wright, Elizabeth Clarke, Louisa Queen, Jane C. Neale, Mary Ann Boarman, Grace Turner, Mary Cummins, Eleanor Miles, Mary Olivia Neale, Ann Diggs, Catherine Corish, Lucretia Ford, Mary Caroline Neale, Mary King, Joanna Barry, Mary E. Neale, Margaret Cooper, Sarah Cooper, Margaret Dent, Elizabeth Wiseman, Jerusha Barber, Elizabeth Lancaster, Matilda Flanagan, Mary Brooks, Margaret King, Rebecca Harrison, Laura Bevans, Williamina Jones, Susan Duke, Catherine Murray, Eleanore Corcoran, Bridget Lynch, Margaret O'Conner, Elizabeth Myers, Catherine Waide, and Ann French, and their successors hereafter to become Sisters of the Visitation, according to the rules and regulations that have been, or may hereafter be established by their Association, be, and they are hereby, made, declared, and constituted a corporation or body politic, in law and in fact, to have continuance forever, by the name, style and title of the Sisters of the Visitation.

SECTION 3. And be it further enacted, THAT all and singular the lands, houses, tenements, rents, legacies, annuities, rights, property, privileges, goods and chattels, heretofore given, granted, devised or bequeathed to either the said Sisters of Charity of Saint Joseph, or Sisters of the Visitation, or to any individual of either, or to any person or persons for the use of either of said societies, or that have been purchased for or on account of the same, be, and they are hereby vested in and confirmed to the said corporations respectively, and that they may severally purchase, take, receive, and apply to the uses of their associations, according to the rules and regulations that they may respectively establish, from time to time, for the management of the concerns of their societies, any lands, tenements, rents, legacies, annuities, rights, property, and privileges, or any goods, chattels or other effects, of what kind or nature soever, which shall or may hereafter be given, granted, sold, bequeathed, or devised unto them respectively, by any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, capable of making such grant, and that they may respectively dispose of the same: Provided always, that neither of the said

associations shall at any time hold, use, possess, and enjoy within the District of Columbia, either by legal seizure or trust for their uses and benefits respectively, more than two hundred acres of land; nor shall either of said societies hold, in their own right, or by any other person in trust, or for their benefit, an amount of real estate, the annual income of which shall exceed thirty-five hundred dollars.

SECTION 4. And be it further enacted, THAT the said corporations, by the names, styles, and titles aforesaid, be, and shall be hereafter, capable in law and in equity, respectively, to sue and be sued, within the District of Columbia and elsewhere, in as effectual a manner as other persons or corporations can sue or be sued, and that the said corporations, or a majority of them, respectively, shall severally adopt and use a common seal, and the same to use, alter, or change at pleasure. And, from time to time, make such by-laws, not inconsistent with the Constitutions of the United States, or any law of Congress, as either may deem expedient and proper.

SECTION 5. And be it further enacted, THAT if at any time hereafter, any, the persons herein before named, or any of their successors, shall cease to be members of said Sisterhoods, respectively, such person or persons shall thereafter have no control in the proceedings of said corporation, under, and in pursuance of the provisions of this act.

(Signed) Andrew Stevenson, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

" J.—Smith, President of the Senate *pro tempore*.

Approved: 24 May, 1828.

(Signed) JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, Greeting:

I CERTIFY, That that writing on the annexed parchment is a true copy, faithfully compared with the Roll in this office.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I Henry Clay—Secretary of State of the United States, have hereunto subscribed my name, and caused the Seal of the Department of State to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this Sixteenth day of August—A. D. 1829—and of the Independence of the United States of America the fifty-third.

(Signed) H. CLAY.

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REV. FRANCIS J. SCHAEFER, D.D.

St. Paul, Minn.

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FOR THE STUDY OF THE CHURCH HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

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THE BRENDAN PROBLEM

It might well be supposed that the last word had long since been spoken upon St. Brendan, but the subject seems to have a perennial charm. Indeed, it would seem as if discussion about the life and the works of the saint would have no end. It is a subject that interests students of Romance, Celtic and early English philology, of legends, hagiology, voyages and comparative literature. For over a thousand years even the "general reader" has enjoyed the tale of daring adventure and boundless faith of the intrepid sailor-saint and the flavor of romance and picturesque details with which it has been narrated. Is it any wonder, then, if *Brendaniana* are almost without number and are constantly being added to? In spite of all that has been written on the subject, however, many points are still unsettled, and, concerning some of them, the more that is written the more, it would seem, the subject becomes confused and embroiled. Many of the documents are obscure and all of them must be lighted up by new interpretation. The object of the present article and of the bibliography which is appended to it is merely to give a general survey of the results already achieved, and to point out some of the problems which still await solution, in the hope that some student may be induced to do what the distinguished Franciscan, Father John Colgan, had planned to do, in the seventeenth century, namely, to examine the legend afresh, and to bring together in one comprehensive volume all the sources and all the legends and associated myths bearing upon St. Brendan in all the vernaculars of Europe.

Among the saints, not only of Ireland but of the entire Church, St. Brendan occupies a place apart, and there is perhaps no saint in whose life fact and fable have been more inextricably inter-

woven. He shone as a brilliant star in the firmament of Ireland's sanctity in the sixth century, and, because of his holy life and the important activity which he exercised, he won for himself a foremost place in the history of the Irish Church. In the course of time pious legends grew around his name, and, above all, an ocean voyage was ascribed to him, as a result of which his legend became one of the most remarkable and widely spread in the Middle Ages, and, owing to this voyage, its hero became the most celebrated man of his day.

There are some who have gone so far as to deny that St. Brendan ever existed, but the majority of his biographers have regarded him as an historical personage. As nearly as can be determined, he was born in or about the year 484—though some of the old Irish annals deviate considerably from this date—and, consequently, he was a contemporary of some of the other great saints of Ireland.¹ His pedigree is variously given in several manuscripts, though in the main the different accounts agree. The version in the Book of Leinster,² for example, is as follows: "Brendan, the Apostle, son of Findlug, son of Elchu, son of Alta, son of Ogaman, son of Fidchuire, son of Delmna, son of Enna, son of Fualascach, son of Astoman, son of Mogaed, who is called Ciar, son of Fergus, son of Ros."

Thus his father's name was Findlug; his mother was called Cara,³ and he had a brother, Domanigin,⁴ who became Bishop of Tuaim Muscraighe. But, next to himself, the best known member of the family was his sister, Brig, who is commemorated on the 7th of January: "Quam intime diligebat, quia, etsi natura sanguinis reddebat eam caram, gratie tum illustracio faciebat cariorem"—"whom he loved dearly because, even though the connection of blood made her dear to him, the brightness of her grace rendered her even dearer."⁵

Not only was Brendan descended from the kings of Ireland, but he is even, in some texts, called "King of Ciarraige (Kerry) Luachra." In a French translation of the life of St. Fursey⁶ it

¹ On Brendan's birth, see *Acta Sanctorum, Maii III*, 1738, 600, col. 1.

² fo. 349d.

³ Brigitta, or Brigida, according to others.

⁴ And two other brothers, according to others.

⁵ PLUMMER, *Vitae SS. Hiberniae*, i, 100.

⁶ *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. 44; *Romania*, xvii, 1888, p. 384.

is stated that King Findlug reigned in Munster and that Brendan was one of the other kings of Ireland. There can be no doubt that Brendan was a Kerryman, though Rodulfus Glaber,⁷ who wrote about the year 1048, would make out "Bendanus," as he calls him, to have been an East Anglian, "*orientalium videlicet Anglorum*," probably through confusion with Brendan's nephew, Fursey, who, as is well known, was connected with East Anglia. The Annals of Boyle state that our saint was born in Connaught, and in an Anglo-Norman poem on St. Moduenna he is said to have been ". . . un clerc vaillant esteit en Escose vivant."⁸ Thomas Dempster also, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, quotes authors to prove that Brendan was a Scotchman. In a life in Italian prose (*Codex Magliabechiano*, 14th century), we read: "San Brandano, figliuolo di Silocchia che fu di Scotia oltr'alle parti di Spagna," where Scotia, as usual in those days, means Ireland. Washington Irving, too, misled by this, informs us that St. Brendan was a Scotch monk. Nor can there be any doubt that the cradle of the saint was at Alltraighe Caille, on the western coast of Ireland, not far from Tralee. As far back as the time of St. Patrick his coming was foretold. In the Tripartite Life of that Saint⁹ it is said that the apostle did not visit West Munster, but that, instead, he prophesied that, 120 years after his death, St. Brendan would be born into the eternal life. His future greatness was also foretold by Bec Mac Dé, the celebrated prophet. The following legend is recorded in several manuscripts:¹⁰ "The mother of Brendan had a vision, that an ingot of gold fell into her bosom, and that her breasts were aflame (*alias*, shining like snow). Findlug related that vision to his soul-friend (as the Irish called a father confessor), Bishop Erc, who interpreted the dream to mean that a marvelous child would be born of the woman who beheld that vision. The Bishop himself had a dream of a glow of fire, and it was full of angels from heaven to the ground. On the morrow he went to Findlug's house and took the boy into his arms, and bestowed his

⁷ *Collect. des mém. relatifs à l'hist. de France*, vi, p. 204; *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, v, 187 note.

⁸ *Romanische Studien*, i, p. 558.

⁹ P. 208; *Revue Celtique*, x, 142-143.

¹⁰ *Book of Leinster*, 371. *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*.

protection upon him. That was the night whereon Bec Mac Dé, the prophet, chanced to be in the house of the king of Ciarraige Luachra, and the king asked him, 'What seest thou for us tonight, O Bec?' 'I see that thy king is born between thee in the west and the sea.' 'Truly,' saith the king, 'we know of no free race between us and the sea that would have a right to reign over us.' Bec replied, 'The son that is born to Findlug this night will be thy king forever.'" ¹¹

On the night of Brendan's birth strange things happened in the realm of Findlug, his father. A homely passage in the *Lismore Life* is worth translating: "A certain wealthy man dwelt in a residence far from Findlug's house; Airde, son of Fidach, was his name. In that night of Brendan's birth thirty cows brought forth thirty calves at Airde son of Fidach's. Thereafter, early on the morrow, Airde arose and kept asking for the house in which the little child had been born, and he found Findlug's house and the babe therein, and he knelt devoutly in his presence and offered him the thirty cows with their thirty calves, and that was the first alms that Brendan received."

It will not be necessary, for our purpose, to tell in full the story of the upbringing and growth in holiness of the young Brendan, however full of interest and edifying that might be. One of the Latin lives of the saint begins in the following poetic manner: "There was a man of venerable life, Brendan by name, who, like the glowing dawn, dispelled the darkness of sin from the hearts of many, and afforded an infallible guidance to the port of salvation for those who were wandering in the sea of vice."¹² According to some of our sources, Brendan was baptized at what is now called Tubber na molt, "the wedders' well," in the townland of Tubrid, not far from Ardfert. According to the life of St. Kieran,¹³ Mobhi was the first name given to the boy by his parents,

fair his face;
A youth hostful, seeking, slender.
He was a help to the men of Erin.

Thereafter he was called Braon-find, "White-shower," with

¹¹ Féilire Oeng., May 16; Book of Leinster, 391, col. 1.

¹² PLUMMER, *Vitas SS. Hibernias*, i, 98.

¹³ Beatha Chláirín Saighre, p. 63.

reference, the glossator opines, either to the waters of baptism, or to his fair body, or to the rain which flooded the tract of land near his birthplace; and it is by this name, modernized as Brendan, the generally accepted form, that he has been known to history and fable. The indeclinable Irish word *Brenaind* is probably the oldest form of the name and is composed of *brén*, "fetidus," and *find*, "capillus," or it may be borrowed from the Old Welsh *brenhin*, "a king," contracted from *bre-en-hin*.¹⁴ The name is found in Irish documents in a variety of spellings, such as *Brenann*, *Brenand*, *Brenund*, *Brenunn*, *Brenain*, *Brendain*, *Brenaind*. These were probably originally only forms of a pet name, *Bréndán*, which in the course of time became shortened to *Bréndan*, *Bréden*, until finally it came to be pronounced as it is today, *Bren'n*, unless when the pronunciation is made to conform to the spelling. From *Brendan* come the forms found in Latin documents, of which, in the oldest period, *Brendinus* and *Brendenus* are commoner than the more frequently occurring *Brendanus*. In the Romance and Teutonic languages the name has taken on a great variety of forms, such as, among others, *Brandanies*, *Brandans*, *Brenoin*, *Brandan*, *Brandain*, *Brandano*, *Blandin*, *Borodon*, *Morodon*. The medieval attempts to explain the word from *broen-* (or *braon-*) *find*, as above, or from *broendian*, "swift rain," are all erroneous, as is also its apparent connection with *bran*, "a raven."¹⁵ In an old Irish poem¹⁶ our saint is invoked as "*Brenuinn breo betha buadhaig*," "Brendan, flame of a victorious world," where we perceive another conjecture as to the meaning of the word. In the Old French *Roman de Bouduin de Sebourc*, *Brendan* is said to have got his name from the *brandons*, or firebrands, which the devils saw him cast at them when he came near to hell:

Et fu si près d'enfer, che est chertain et clair,
Que de brandons le virent li deable geter,
Et pour che le poet-on saint Brandon appeler.

He is often called "*Brendan of Clúain Ferta*," from the name of the cloister which he founded in County Galway, and "*Bren-*

¹⁴ KUNO MEYER, *Miscellanea Hibernica*, University of Illinois Studies, ii, Nov. 16, 1916, p. 10, note 2; *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum u. d. Litt.*, Bd. xxxiii.

¹⁵ *Revue Celtique*, xxvii, 169.

¹⁶ *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, pp. 103-104.

denus Mocu Alti," from the name of his great-grandfather, Alta. In some versions, the latter name is debased to Mac Cualte (Cualti) and Mac Uilte.¹⁷

Nearly a score of saints named Brendan are mentioned in the Irish calendars,¹⁸ one of whom, otherwise unknown, according to the *Vita Sanctae Moduennae*, was "unus de poetis Scotorum praeclarissimus nomine Brendem, vir ab infantia oculis orbus sed in arte poetica inter omnes praecipuus." But the Brendan with whom the subject of this sketch is most often both confused and associated is Brendan of Birr, who was some years older than his namesake and who got his name from Birr (Biorra), a place in King's County. The life of St. Ruadanus, for example, speaks of these two Brendans, "Brandanus filius Finloga, et Brandanus Birra." In fact, the author of the Martyrology of Donegal admits the possibility of confusing the several Brendans. The distinguished Celticist, Zimmer, even went so far as to maintain that the whole of the legend of Brendan had been developed out of a misunderstanding of a passage in the Martyrology of Tallacht, which belongs to the end of the ninth century and in which, under date of XI Kal. Apr.,¹⁹ is mentioned the "egressio familie Brendini," and of a passage in the Voyage of Maelduin, where our hero and his crew are represented as having landed on a large island, where they espied an ancient man who told them that he was the sole survivor of the fifteen men who composed the crew of Brendan of Birr, and he even showed the newcomers the book-satchel which had belonged to his master.²⁰ In other words, Zimmer held that the glory that belonged to Brendan of Birr, because of some obscure sea voyage, was afterwards attributed to Brendan of Clonfert.

While still an infant, Brendan was sent to be reared by his foster mother, St. Ita, a pious woman of royal birth to whom it was customary to entrust promising boys for training, with a view to their subsequent preparation for Holy Orders. She thus became the nurse of many Irish saints. At her monastery, Killeedy (Ceall Ita, "Ita's Church"), in County Limerick,

¹⁷ *Codex Salm.*, p. 306.

¹⁸ *Book of Leinster*, p. 366.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 357, col. 4, 1.31.

²⁰ *Revue Celtique*, X, 72.

Brendan lived five years. He then spent another five years reading the psalms with Bishop Erc, who died in 512. He was afterwards educated, some say, at Clonard, under St. Finnian, whose disciple he became and from whom he must have received an excellent schooling. He is also said to have gone to school to Bishop Iarlaithe (Jarlath, of Tuam), who must have been a very old man at that time, and there is an ancient Irish poem in ten quatrains,²¹ the first five of which were recited by Brendan and the remainder by the Bishop, as those two holy men saw a train of angels rising from a holy graveyard. It begins, "Ard reileac na n-aingel n-án,"

Lofty graveyard of splendid angels
I see before my eyes;
Cold hell shall not be shown
To those who are interred in its clay.

Some of the old authorities²² attribute the following works, among others, to Brendan: *Confessio Christiana*, Lib. I, *Charta coelestis haereditatis*, Lib. I, *Revelationes de futuris temporibus*, Lib. I, *Epistolae quaedam*, and *De fortunatis Insulis*, none of which have come down to us, if indeed they ever existed. Other old prayers and poems in Irish and Latin, moral maxims, a prophecy and a vision, he is said to have written, and also a monastic Rule, according to which he regulated his life. This Rule, it was said, because of its excellence, was dictated by an angel and remains to this day among the successors of St. Benedict! Medieval historians, indeed, designate Brendan as a Benedictine, which is rather to be expected.²³ The so-called Lorica, or "Breast-Plate," of St. Brendan is preserved in at least a dozen manuscripts.²⁴ A rubric in some of them informs us that it was when imperiled on the sea that Brendan composed this prayer at the dictation of St. Michael:

Beatus Brendanus monachus, quaserens insulam repromissionis per septem annos continuos orationem istam de verbo Dei per Michaelem

²¹ *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, pp. 104-105; O'DONOGHUE, *Brendaniana*, pp. 21-23.

²² J. A. FABRICII, *Bibl. Lat. mediae et inf. aetat.*; HARRIS-WARR, ii, 16; TANNER, *Bibl. Britan. Hibern.*

²³ USSHER, *Works*, VI, 484; JOHANN. TRITHEMIUS, *De Viris Illust. Ord. S. Benedicti*, xxxi.

²⁴ L. GOUGAUD, *Bull. d'anc. litt. et d'arch. chrét.*, 1911, 266-267; PALERMO, *I Manoscritti Palatini di Firenze*, I, 234; C. WAHLUND, *Brendans Meerfahrt*, xvi-xvii.

archangelum fecit quando transfretavit septem maria. Domine libera nos sicut liberasti Ionam de potestate ceti magni. Domine libera servos tuos sicut liberasti David de manu Golie gigantis.

Because of his holiness and zeal, large numbers of students and pilgrims came to listen to Brendan and many of them remained with him that they might be under his spiritual guidance. In the life of St. Senan, it is told how a ship touched at Inishcarra, having on board fifty men, Romans by birth or subject to the laws of Rome. These religious had heard of the reputation which Ireland enjoyed for learning and sanctity, and they desired to perfect themselves in scriptural knowledge and to lead lives of stricter observance. They were divided into five bands of ten persons each, and had agreed among themselves that each group should in turn assume the control of the vessel. Each band was destined to place itself under the direction of one of the great masters whose fame they had previously heard of, one of whom was St. Brendan. He became the founder of many monasteries, "And there he ladde a full strayte and holy lyfe in grete penaunce and abstynence and he governed his monkes ful vertuously." ²⁵ St. Gildas, of Wales, whom he visited, called him "Pater Laboriosus."²⁶ He founded a monastery called Enach-duin, not far from the shore, in Lough Corrib, County Galway, whither he had retired for rest after his voyage or voyages in search of the Land of Promise. But his greatest establishments were at Ardfert, County Kerry, and the school of Clonfert, which he founded about the year 557 and where, including probably its scattered branches, he is said to have ruled over 3,000 students. Hence ever afterwards Clonfert has been called Clúain-ferta-Brenainn, in the native annals. In the Martyrology, the founder and legislator of the monastery is called "Brenaind colín a eltae," "Brendan with the multitude of his flocks," the reference being, it is likely, to the number of his followers. In the Annals of Tigernach,²⁷ under the year 557, is a quatrain in Old Irish which commemorates the foundation of the church of Clonfert. It begins:

O gabais mac úi hEilta
Brenaind

²⁵ THOMAS WRIGHT, *Saint Brandan*, p. 35.

²⁶ *Irish Eccl. Record*, 1912, 173-174.

²⁷ *Chron. Scotorum*, 559; *Revue Celtique*, xvii, 142.

"Since the great-grandson of Alta, Brendan, with all his perfections, took it [Clonfert], if it be not the better for it, it is not the worse, from that time to this." Brendan was an abbot, not a bishop, though in some of the versions he is given the title of bishop.

Brendan belonged to the second of the three Orders into which the early Irish historians arranged their native saints; he was also one of the twelve apostles of Ireland and was closely associated with many of the other holy men and women of his time. Some Irish manuscripts²⁸ contain a parallelism of Roman and Irish saints, in which Patricius is equated with Petrus Apostolus, "Brendinus senior" (Brendan of Birr) is placed parallel with Bartolom. Apost., and "Brennain Cluana Ferta" is compared, in manners and life, to Thomas Apostolus. Brendan was also one of the company of saints who fasted and prayed so that the Ulster champion Fergus might rise from his grave and relate to them, and thus save from perdition, the great tale of "The Cualnge Cattle-Raid." We learn from a poem describing the Assembly of Druimceat, where the Treaty was passed by which Ireland granted self-determination to her colony in Alba, that among the fifty saints who accompanied Columcille were "the two Brendans."²⁹ On another occasion, having heard that the saints of Ireland were fasting upon King Diarmait before Tara, Brendan who was at that time in exploration of the sea also proceeded thither. They stayed for a year before Tara, fasting every other night, while the king fasted within the city. But the King, hearing of his coming, was terrified. Then Brendan, fresh from his triumphs on the ocean, summoned fifty seals which he transformed into horses for a year and a season. At the expiration of that period, they became seals again, and brought their riders with them into the sea.³⁰ There was the closest intimacy between St. Brendan and St. Columcille, who was several years his junior.³¹ To Brendan, Columcille is said

²⁸ E. g., *Book of Leinster*, 370, a.

²⁹ O'KELLSHER and SCHÖPFERLE, *Life of Columcille*, p. 340.

³⁰ DOUGLAS HYDE, *Literary History of Ireland*, p. 230; STANDISH H. O'GRADY, *Silva Gadelica*, i 67, ii 71.

³¹ NICHOLAS O'KEARNEY, *The Prophecies of SS. Columbkille, etc.*, p. 21; *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philol.*, vii, 302.

to have addressed his famous prophecy, and it is in recognition of the religious establishments which our saint is said to have founded years before Columcille set foot on the Scottish coast that Brendan is honored to this day as the Apostle of the Orkneys and the Isles. In Columcille's celebrated poem in praise of Erin, beginning "Gaeth a clerigh, bind a heóin," "Wise her (Ireland's) clerics, sweet her birds," the last quatrain runs:

In the west is sweet voiced Brendan,
And Colum, the son of Crimthann;
In the west is fair Baithin,
And in the west Adamnan shall be.²²

We also have a dialogue ascribed to these two great saints: "Columcille sang it as he left for Alba, asking the support of Brendan after him":²³

I Tell me, Brendan, this: How shall we make compact?
How will it avail me here, thy friendship, thy nearness?

VI Long meseems thy going east, O pious Columcille.
Dearest to me art thou of all that's born, O best cleric that ever came!

VII Say not so, for 'tis not true; better a hundred times art thou.
For soul hath not entered body over whom the demon hath not power,
Save thee alone, O Brendan!

In a fragment of a life of Columcille, in the *Codex Salmanticensis*,²⁴ is a touching story of Brendan's friendship for Columcille. Once upon a time the latter was condemned by the Synod for having committed a slight infraction of the Rule, in succoring some poor men with food which he had taken from a miserly master. As he approached the assembly-place where the elders were in session, St. Brendan, "qui erat quasi columbia hujus consilii," came to meet Columcille and kissed him, though all the others were hostile, and, "per salubria consilia," advised him to come before the synod and excuse himself, which Columcille did. The elders chided Brendan for having kissed Columcille before they had been reconciled to him, but Brendan answered that they would not have blamed him if they had seen

²² O'KELLY and SCHOEFFERLE, *Life of Columcille*, p. 282.

²³ *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, vii, 302.

²⁴ Pp. 221-224.

what he had seen, even the fiery column from heaven that preceded Columcille, and angels of God flying around him in the field. Then calling Columcille to one side, he prophesied his exile to a foreign land. Both Adamnan and Cuimine the Fair relate that on one occasion Brendan accompanied Comgall of Bangor, Cainnech (Kenneth) of Aghaboe, and Cormac ua Liathain of Durrow to visit Columcille, who was then staying in Imba (supposed to be Oronsay, Scotland), and Columcille at their request celebrated Mass before them on the Sunday. Brendan afterwards told his companions that during part of the ceremony Columcille had seemed to him to be standing at the bottom of a pillar of fire streaming upward.²⁵ Brendan was also associated with Saints Bairre and Cainnech in other adventures. In the life of St. Ciaran of Clonmacnois²⁶ it is stated that the two Saints Ciaran, he of Clonmacnois and he of Saigir, and the two Saints Brendan, the one of Clonfert and the other of Birr, and Columcille and many others attended the school conducted by the master, Finnian.²⁷ In the Latin life of Ciaran of Saigir, we read how the "duo sancti Kyarani et duo sancti Brendani societatem et fraternitatem inter ipsos et inter habitatores locorum suorum semper firmaverunt," "the two Saints Ciaran and the two Saints Brendan established intercourse and fraternity between themselves and between the inmates of their foundations." In the Irish life of the same saint,²⁸ it is said that on one occasion the two Brendans happened to be visiting Ciaran, when the other Ciaran, of Clonmacnois, arrived. Again, Brendan of Birr was once in danger of drowning in the River Brosna, near Birr, because of a sudden burst of the sea, when Brendan of Clonfert pulled him out of the water and saved him from being drowned.²⁹ The Calendar of Oengus, under date of May 16, contains a quatrain in Irish, of which the following is a translation:

The unity of Cainnech and Bairre,
And of Brendan, both one and other,
Whoever outrages any one of them,
The miracles of the three will avenge him.

²⁵ ADAMNAN, *Columba*, iii, 17.

²⁶ PLUMMER, *Vitas SS. Hib.*, i, 205

²⁷ PLUMMER, *ibid.*, i, 230.

²⁸ MULCAHY, p. 63.

²⁹ Féilire Oengusso.

Very early the legends which grew around the name of St. Brendan begin to make their appearance. One of the most poetic is the story of Brendan's hermitage, or of St. Brendan, the Young Harper and the bird-like Angel, which is found in several manuscripts.⁴⁰ One Easter-day, seven years before his death, Brendan had said Mass, preached and made offering. It was mid-day and the monks went to their refectory; a student was there with his harp and played music for them. And he expressed the desire to play some strains for Brendan, but the monks said that Brendan would not let him, "for," said they, "it is now seven years since Brendan smiled or heard a melody of the music of the world." Nevertheless the student tunes his harp and goes to Brendan. "Open," saith the student. "Who is there?" saith Brendan. "A student come to play the harp for thee." "Play outside," saith Brendan. But the student asked to be permitted to play in the church for a while. Brendan opened the door and the student held the harp behind his back. When Brendan saw the harp he put into his ears two wax balls which lay on his book with a thread between them. At the entreaty of the student, Brendan took the wax out of his ears. The student played and Brendan gave him his blessing, and put the wax balls into his ears. "Why wilt thou not listen to the music? Is it because it seems to thee bad?" "Not for that," Brendan replied; and he told how once, just seven years before, he was in the church and a great longing seized him for the Lord, and trembling and fear possessed him. And as he was there a bird as bright as the sun came in by the window and sat upon the altar. It was Michael, the Angel, in the form of a bird, come to make harmony for him from the Lord. And for hours Brendan listened, and ever afterwards no melody of the world's music seemed sweeter to him. For that reason he had the balls of wax to put into his ears whenever he heard a melody. "Take my blessing," said Brendan to the student, "and thou shalt have heaven's music for thy playing." The same story is told in the life of St. Ciaran of Saigir, but according to this version the event took place fourteen years before the death of St. Brendan, and the bird, which was Michael, came in at the open window of the church

⁴⁰ *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, p. xiii-xv; RAWLINSON, B. 512; *Martyrology of Donegal*.

at Clonfert and perched on the altar. It placed its bill behind the feathers of its wing and sweeter than the music of the world was the music which it made. For four and twenty hours Brendan was listening to it, and from that hour until his death he would not lend ear to any worldly music whatever, except one Easter-day when he permitted a clerical student to play his harp for him.

A tale which explains the origin of the family name Dobarchu and, at the same time, illustrates a common trait in the lives of Celtic saints, namely, their friendliness with animals, is found in several manuscripts.⁴¹ St. Brendan had a neighbor called Dobarchu, "the Otter," who owned a meadow of grass that abutted on Loch Lir. Now it happened that Brendan's cattle trespassed on the meadow and Dobarchu killed them. Then said Brendan, "If it please God, may He make an otter of him!" Sometime thereafter Dobarchu with his wife and son came by the meadow and he saw a trout which he angled for and caught. He built a fire of ferns, broiled his trout and ate it. He then proceeded to the loch to take a drink of water, but, as a result of Brendan's curse, he fell in and was turned to an otter. When his son and wife came to the loch, the son began to fish for a trout, but an otter appeared and forbade him. From that time on, his descendents, the Uí Dobarchon, of Thomond, do not touch salmon. In a note in the Calendar of Oengus, under April 7, there is reference to a place which, the glossator suggests, got its name "from the flying of the 'prechain' (the pet raven or scall crow) that Brendan once sent out before him from the north from Clúain Ferta Brenainn." In the same calendar, under January 2, is a curious story of the way in which Brendan tested the virtue and superhuman asceticism of a comrade named Scothíne, and discovered, to his surprise, that Scothíne was better than he was. In the life of St. Ciaran of Saigir is a story which illustrates Brendan's abstemiousness. Ciaran once pretended to be ill in order to compel St. Brendan to accept a cow as a gift.⁴² On another occasion, while sailing on the River Berba, Brendan lost a beaker filled with wine, and, in a song in Irish, he called upon St. Moduenna and promised her the beaker if

⁴¹ *Book of Lismore*; Mélusine, iv, 298-299.

⁴² CAPGRAVE, *Nova Legenda Ang.*, ed. Horstmann.

she sent it to him. At once the beaker appeared upon the surface of the water and Brendan afterwards sent it to Moduenna.⁴⁵ According to the Anglo-Norman verse version of her life, however, it was not on the River Berba that Brendan was sailing, but on the ocean.⁴⁶ A somewhat similar story is told in the life of St. Cainnech of Aghaboe, how once St. Brendan's artisan was making a golden chalice, and he ran short of gold. Brendan had recourse to St. Cainnech ("who frequently goes to Britain") who miraculously, though most indelicately, provided the gold.⁴⁷ It is not certain if our Brendan is meant by the "Sanctus Brendanus Senior" who, in a single day, wrought seven remarkable miracles in the name of Christ, and who, on a hill called Munchile, at a place where are the "Cruces Brendani," prophesied the virtues of St. Bairre of Cork.

Several curious stories are told of the relations of our saint and his pupil, St. Finan, afterwards abbot of Cenn Etigh, whose birth Brendan had prophesied to his parents, even that their son would be great in the sight of God.⁴⁸ Then did the boy come and study Brendan's Rule with the master. One day Finan brought from the forest wood to make a staff, without having previously received the permission of the abbot. When Brendan saw it, he threw it into the fire. But the fire not only did not consume the staff, but it shaped it just as Finan wanted it. Another day, his bread fell into the fire, and Brendan said, "Finan, the fire is burning your bread." But Finan was busy at the time and it was only after some delay that he put his hand into the middle of the fire, and the fire neither burned his hand nor the bread.⁴⁹ Brendan is also mentioned in connection with the celebrated St. Enda, Abbot of the Aran Isles, which Giraldus Cambrensis describes as "insula quaedam in occidentali Conactiae salo posita, cui nomen Aren; a S. Brendano, ut aiunt, consecrata."⁵⁰ Accompanied by fourteen brothers, Brendan sailed westward to St. Enda's island, where he spent three days and three nights, and then, with the blessing of Enda and of Enda's

⁴⁵ *Acta Sanctorum*, 6 Jun. ii, 308.

⁴⁶ BOEHMER, *Romanische Studien*, i, 558.

⁴⁷ PLUMMER, *Vitas SS. Hib.*, i, 168; *Codez Salam.*

⁴⁸ *Codez Salam.*, 306-307.

⁴⁹ PLUMMER, *l. c.*, ii, 87-88.

⁵⁰ *Topog. Hib., Dist.* 2.

monks, he returned to the mainland to visit his own people.⁴⁹ But the most celebrated of Brendan's disciples was his grand-nephew, St. Fursey, who, like the master, became the hero of some remarkable and more or less mythical adventures. Brendan had raised a hospice on the island of Inchiquin, "the Island of the O'Quin," in Lough Corrib, for the reception of wayfarers and pilgrims, and it was while his nephew Fintan, son of the king of Munster, and his wife Gelges were visiting him on the island that Fursey was born. Brendan baptized the child and educated him in the monastery under his direction. A stone fort in the townland of Ard Fintan is said to be still shown as the guest chamber in which Fintan and Gelges lived when they visited St. Brendan on Lough Corrib.⁵⁰

Brendan's name is mentioned in connection with the ancient Irish hymn, "Brigit bé bithmaith," "Brigit ever-good woman," of which he is said to have been the author, though the hymn is most commonly ascribed to St. Ultan.⁵¹ The adventure referred to therein is also narrated in a note in the Franciscan (Dublin) copy of St. Broccán's hymn beginning "Ní car Brigit," "Brigit loved not,"⁵² and a fragment of it is found also in the Rennes manuscript, 598 anc. 138 irlandais, f^o 74, col. b, l. 5.⁵³ Since the Rennes fragment has not been printed before, the Irish text is given here as well as the translation, though it differs mainly only in spelling from the hitherto published versions. The *italics* represent the filling up of contractions:

Seacht mbliadna bóí Brenainn for muir ic iarrair tíre tarrngere 7 robói
beist ina lenmhain frisin résin i ndlaith in curoich. Fecht ann táinic péist
oile chuici dís mharbad coró ataigh in ní Brenainn 7 fríá naepu Eirenn risin
péist aile 7 ní rosanacht nóco roataigh inní Brigit; co nérbairt Brenainn
na bíadh ní badh siriu for muir nóco fead cidh ara ndernad ar Brigit an
fírta seach cách. Taineic iarum Brenainn do shaigid Brighti 7 ro foill-
sigid do Brigit in ní sin. Is ann sin dobói Brigit ac ingaire cháorech i
Cuirriuch Liphe co táinic i comdháil Brenainn co Domnach mór fríá
Chíldara aníar coró bennachsát inuicem. Ec lec Brénainn lotar iarum
isín tech. Fócértt Brigit a cochull fiuch for an gai ngreine 7 lenaidh fair.

⁴⁹ Ussher, *Works*, vi, 533.

⁵⁰ *Irish Eccles. Record*, 1912, pp. 173-174.

⁵¹ *Lismore Lives*, pp. 332-334, 353; *Liber Hymnorum*, i, 108-109, ii, 38; *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, ii, 335.

⁵² *Liber Hymnorum*, i, 118, ii, 196.

⁵³ *Revue Celtique*, xv, 88.

Dixit Brenainn frí a ghilla a cochull do cur fair cotorcair do ngai fo díi.
Focertt Brenainn fein in tres fecht la feirg 7 stetted fair. Rofhlarfaig
Brigit dia coic cla métt do bfudh ro bóí ocu tunc. Dixit non est hoen-ocht-
madh grain eórna. Rucad don mhuilenn Rátha Cáthair fri Cilldara
anlar fo trí 7 for femdhes a bleith and.

Seven⁴⁴ years was Brendan at sea seeking the Land of Promise, and at that time a monster was following him in the wake of the boat. Once another monster came up to it to slay it, and it besought Brendan and all the other saints of Ireland against the other monster, but that protected it not until it besought Brigit. So that Brendan declared that he would not remain any longer at sea until he learned why this miracle was wrought for Brigit and not for others. Then did Brendan set out on a journey to Brigit, and that was revealed to her. At that time she was herding sheep in the Currach of the Liffey, and she went to meet Brendan to Domnach Mór to the west of Kildare, and each of them greeted the other.

At "Brendan's Stone" they then went into the house. Brigit flung her wet cloak on the sunbeam but it fell off it twice; the third time Brendan himself flung it angrily, and it remained on it.

Brigit inquired of her cook how much food she had. She replied that she had only one-eighth of barley grain. That was taken to the mill at Rath Cathair west of Kildare thrice,⁴⁵ and they refused to grind it there.

On two occasions at least, in after life, Brendan is represented as holding holy converse with his old nurse, St. Ita.⁴⁶ When her end approached, the good woman, grieving for the absence of Brendan, exclaimed: "If I could but see with my eyes the holy Brendan, my beloved foster child, and hear with my ears his voice, and receive from his hands the Body of my Lord Jesus Christ this very night of the nativity of my Lord!" And her prayer was answered.⁴⁷

One of Brendan's many strange undertakings was his visit to hell, to bring back the soul of his mother.⁴⁸ There is even a purgatory named after him. Belief in its existence is expressed, for example, in the following tetrastich by Alexander Necham:

Asserit esse Locum solennis Fama dicatum
Brendano, quo lux lucida saepe micat
Purgandas animas, datur hic transire per ignes,
Ut dignae facie iudicis esse queant,

⁴⁴ "Four" is the reading of the other MSS.; cf. ZIMMER, *Zeit. für deutsches Alt.* u. d. Litt., xxxiii, 131, 301.

⁴⁵ "Twice," in the other MSS.

⁴⁶ PLUMMER, *l. c.*, ii, 121.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, i, 145.

⁴⁸ *Revus Celtique*, xxxi, 309-311.

which has been quaintly Englished as follows:

To Brandan sacred, as Tradition says,
There stands a Place, where trembling Lightning plays;
Hence to be purg'd, Souls pass the cleansing Flame,
To fit them for the Test of Judge supreme."⁵⁰

Brendan is commemorated in countless other ancient documents. In the Martyrology of Tallaght,⁵¹ May 16, Marianus O'Gorman, writes of "Brendan, without a particle of pride," and Selbhach, in his metrical list of the Saints of Inisfail, praises:

Brendan, son of fair Findlug,
And Mochuda, son of Findall,
A holy pair with penitential countenances,
Of the race of Ciar, son of Fergus.

But naturally most of the legends connected with Brendan's name relate to his wonderful voyage, or to events the scene of which is laid near by the sea. Even from the beginning he seems to have acquired a reputation for his roaming propensity, and there are innumerable references to it in Irish hagiology. In the Latin "Legenda," it is said of him, "voluit scrutari partes et fines oceani," and, in the life of St. Carthage of Lismore, the birth of that saint was prophesied by an angel to St. Brendan, "qui inuenit terram repromissionis sanctorum."⁵² In the life of Laisren, Brendan is described as "peregre proficiscens," "Brendan that journeyeth far from home."⁵³ Likewise, in the life of St. Flannanus, reference is made to the "mira que in insulis maris oceani viderat (sc. Brendanus) atque narraverat."⁵⁴ St. Brendan made a pact of fraternity with St. Albanus, and when the mariner returned from his seven years' pilgrimage on the sea, Albanus visited him. The two saints spent several days together in friendly converse⁵⁵ and Brendan related all the wonderful things he had seen on the ocean. One day St. Brendan's ship sank at the mouth of the Shannon, near Limerick, and the son of the king of Britain, who was on the prow of the

⁵⁰ HARRIS-WARE, ii, 15-16.

⁵¹ MORAN, *Acta S. Brendani*, p. 7.

⁵² PLUMMER, *l. c.*, i, 170; *Codex Salman*.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, ii, 139.

⁵⁴ *Codex Salman.*, 649-650.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 531-534; PLUMMER, *l. c.*, I, 25, 29.

ship, was drowned. Then did St. Brendan send some of his disciples for St. Ruadanus, who came at their call, and, by his prayers, raised the ship; the son of the king was found asleep in the ship with Ruadanus' hood around his head so as to not feel the water." In the life from which this episode is taken, we learn that the holy abbot Brendan had a cell not far from the monastery of Ruadanus, in a place called "Tulach Brenaind," "Brendan's mound," and the bell of each was heard in the cell of the other. After some time Brendan said, "Ruadanus and I cannot live in the same place," and he departed and came to Connaught. In the life of St. David⁴ is an extraordinary exploit attributed to Brendan. St. Bairre, on his way home from venerating the relics of SS. Peter and Paul, at Rome, visited the holy man, David, and, since there was no favoring wind to drive his ship, he asked his host to lend him the horse on which he was accustomed to ride when performing his ecclesiastical duties. Having received David's blessing, Bairre mounted the horse and entered the sea, presumably between what are now St. David's Head, in Wales, and Cork, in Ireland. After he had proceeded a considerable distance, he met St. Brendan, "super marinum cetum miram ducebat vitam," "leading a wonderful life on the back of a sea animal." St. Brendan seeing the man riding on the sea, was astonished, and exclaimed, "The Lord is wonderful in his saints!" When the man on horseback came near, the two saints saluted each other, and Bairre explained how he came to be making use of a horse as a ship. When they had conversed for some time, Brendan said, "Go in peace, I will come to see David," and the two holy men parted company. This Bairre is undoubtedly St. Finnbarr, Patron of Cork, and it is not impossible that the sea tale in his case was suggested by the words which compose his name, *find* meaning 'white' and *barr* meaning 'head,' which were understood to refer to the white-caps of the sea. The same idea is expressed by reversing the order of the words, giving *barr-find*, of which the name Barintus, which is found in Latin documents and was originally the name of a sea-god, may be simply a latinization. Consequently when Geoffrey of Monmouth represents Barintus

⁴ *Vita Sti. Ruadani, Codex Salm.*; PLUMMER, *o. c.*, ii, 244.

⁵ *Rees, Cambro-Brit. Saints*, pp. 435-436.

as a pilot steering the ship in which the wounded Arthur and Taliessin are conveyed to the Fortunate Isles, he was probably only borrowing the name from some Celtic legends which he had read connected with the voyage of Saint Brendan. According to some sources, this Barintus, or another of the same name, of whom we shall have occasion to speak later, was a relative of Brendan.⁶⁷

Though a Kerryman, the long low island of Inchiquin in Lough Corrib, County Galway, seems to have been Brendan's favorite place of abode when he was not on the ocean. Many legends are told of his sojourn in that place. One is of a monk who, during a quarrel between the brothers, was struck on the head and died of the wound. When Brendan saw the monk lying lifeless on the ground, he called him, and the dead man arose and approached, carrying the iron weapon with which he had been slain still sticking in his head. The saint asked him whether he desired to remain alive or to pass away to heaven, and he at once chose the latter. The scene of this miracle is still called, in Irish, "Leaba an tuilchinn," or, in Latin, "lectus perforati capitis."

At Annadown (Enach-duin) within sight of Inchiquin was the nunnery or Brig, Brendan's sister, of which she, who also became a saint, was abbess, and, with her, Brendan breathed his last. Early one morning St. Columcille, though far away in Iona, saw the soul of Brendan conveyed to heaven by a chorus of angels, and he summoned his servant Diormicius and said, "Hodie enim natalis est sancti Brendani dies,"⁶⁸ and gave orders to have a solemn Mass celebrated in his honor: "As Christ told His disciples of the sleep of Lazarus, so did St. Columcille foretell to his disciples the death of the holy Brendan."⁶⁹ Brendan's death is also recorded in these words in the Annals of the Four Masters: "Ascensio Brenaind in curru suo in aerem," and by the annalist Tigernach as follows: "Quies Brendain abbatis Cluainferta, die XVI Maii, aetatis sui 94." In Féilire Oengusso (*The Martyrology of Oengus*), under May 16, is chronicled: "Togairm

⁶⁷ *Revue Celtique*, xxii, 339; *Annales de Bretagne*, xv, 534.

⁶⁸ MORAN, *Acta Sti. Brendani*, 140; *Codex Salman.*, 851; *Acta Sanctorum*, Maii III, 596.

⁶⁹ PLUMMER, *l. c.*, i, 151.

Brénainn Chluana," "The calling of Brendan of Cluain into the everlasting, victorious Kingdom." According to others, Brendan was in his ninety-sixth year when the end came—the sea foam he had breathed on his voyages may help to explain his extreme old age. He is commemorated in the Calendar on May 16, and the year of his death is generally given as 576, though the authorities differ on this point. The Church has also consecrated the date of his "Egressio," or first voyage, which was formerly celebrated on March 22 in Kerry. An Irish entry in a manuscript at Vienna,⁷⁰ in the handwriting of his celebrated countryman, Marianus Scottus, "Marianus the Irishman," who was Abbot of Ratisbon, contains a tender testimony that in his day (A. D. 1079) the memory of Brendan was not forgotten by Irish missionaries and scholars residing on the continent: "Feil Brenain innocht for Dardain. A impede fordia indilgud do Muiredach tróg;" "the feast of Brendan, this Thursday night (May 16, 1079). His intercession before God for forgiveness for poor Muiredach (Marianus)."

When Brendan felt that the end was at hand, he went to visit his sister. Among other things he taught her concerning the place of her resurrection. "Not here," saith he to her, "shalt thou rise again, but in thine own land, even in Kerry. Therefore, go thou thither, for that people will gain the mercy of God by thy means. This is a place of men, not of women. Now is God calling me unto Himself out of the prison home of the body." When she heard that, she was grievously saddened at his premonition of death and said, "Beloved father we shall all die at thy death. For which of us can live when thou art alive and absent, much less when thou art dead?" And Brendan saith, "On the third day hence, I shall go the way of my fathers." Now that day was the Lord's Day. Thereon, having made the sacrifice at the altar, he saith to them that stood by, "In your prayers, commend my going forth." And Brig speaketh and saith, "Father, what fearest thou?" "I fear," said he, "I shall journey alone, that the way should be dark; I fear the unknown region, the presence of the King, the sentence of the Judge." After these things, he commanded the brethren to carry his body to the monastery of Clonfert secretly, lest, if they did it

⁷⁰ *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vii, 1857-1861, p. 300.

openly, it should be kept by them among whom they should pass. Then when he had kissed them all, one by one, he saith unto holy Briga, "Salute my friends on my behalf, and say unto them to beware of evil speaking even when it is true, how much the more when it is false." When he had so spoken and foretold how some things would be in time to come, he passed into everlasting rest in the ninety-sixth year of his age. This beautiful and touching trait is found only in one manuscript.⁷¹ The scribes of the other copies omitted it perhaps because they considered that such human shrinking was unworthy of a saint. Indeed, the writer of the *Codex Salmanticensis* has added in the margin alongside this passage, "nota de timore."

The intense popularity enjoyed by the Brendan legend is shown by the wide range of places and persons stamped more or less consciously with, or influenced by, the name of its hero, such an English, Brandon, Brenton; German, Branden; Italian, Brandano, Brentano; Portuguese, Brandão. Our saint has many dedications in Scotland and has left his memory on the local nomenclature of some of the Western Islands.⁷² In accordance with the legends which made him visit the Orkneys, the Hebrides and the Shetlands, he is sometimes commemorated as the "Apostle of the Scottish Isles," "Sanctus Brandanus Abbas Apostolus Orcadum et Scoticarum insularum." In the year 514, he is said to have founded a monastery "in regione Heth," which has been identified with the island Tyree (Lat. Terra Heth), and a cloister, Ailech, but whether that place was in Scotland (Perthshire), or in Brittany, or an island, is uncertain. St. Brandan's Hill overlooks the port of Bristol. On the island of Mull is Cuil-Bhrannain, "Brendan's Retreat," which is pointed out to this day, and the sound which separates Arran from Kintyre bears the name of Kilbrannan. There is also a church in the Island of Seil, off the coast of Lorn, dedicated to him. The island of Bute (found as Bót, in *Hákonar Saga*) is said to take its name from a bothy or cell which the saint erected on it. In Perthshire is "St. Brandon's Haven," and many churches in Mull, St. Kilda and other parts of Scotland still preserve his name.⁷³

⁷¹ PLUMMER, *l. c.*, i, 150 note; *Codex Salman.*, pp. 771-772.

⁷² FORBES, *Calendars*, 233, 286-287.

⁷³ O'HANLON, pp. 466-477.

According to the Irish sources, Brendan undertook a journey to, and spent some time in, Britain, as a penance after his seven years' voyage; and the lives⁷⁴ of his disciple Machutus, or Malo, say that, before the famous quest, he was founder and abbot of the celebrated monastery of Llancarvan, in Glamorganshire, and that it was from there that the voyage started. He has probably also left recollections of himself in the Isle of Man, and in the Church of St. Piran (which may be the Irish Ciaran), at Perranzabuloe, in Cornwall, is kept, among other treasures, a tooth of Saint Brendan. Many of the allusions in the Latin lives of Brendan to Britannia have been understood as referring, not to Britain, but, to Brittany, whither he is supposed to have gone from Wales or Cornwall, and where he founded an abbey not far from the beautiful city now called after the name of his pupil, St. Malo. Just at the entrance to the Bay of St. Malo is the fortified island Césembre (September),⁷⁵ which contains the grotto of St. Brendan. Numerous other places in Brittany keep his memory alive, though it does not necessarily mean that we must assume a visit of Brendan wherever we find a dedication or a festival to him. In the Gulf of Morbihan is l'Ile aux Moines, worthy of having been visited by St. Brendan and his companions. South of St. Briec, in the Côtes-du-Nord, is a village called by his name, and at least half a dozen other communities have him as their patron, such as Kerlouan, Lanvellec (in the canton of Pontrieux), Locbrévalaire, St. Broladre, St. Brandan, Trégrom, and Broladre, in Normandy. According to the popular Breton almanacs, St. Brendan is invoked for the cure of sores and ulcers. His legend has even penetrated into the Orient. In a very old and defective Irish poem going back to the early part of the tenth century, found written on the lower margin of two pages of the Book of Leinster,⁷⁶ and which may be but a fragment of a lost life of Brendan, an unknown person addresses a welcome to the saint and celebrates him for having traveled to the far-off land of Ceylon, and, as a "pilgrim of Ireland," to the cold waters of the Jordan, to Mount Zion, the cities of Greece, to Rome and

⁷⁴ *Deux Vies inéd.*, pp. 37, 46, 182, 139.

⁷⁵ *Prima Vita Sti. Mach.*

⁷⁶ *Book of Leinster*, pp. 366, 369; *Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. preuss. Akad.*, 9 Mai 1912, pp. 436-443; *Zeitschrift für celtische Philol.*, ix, 187.

Tours. The poem begins: "Mochen, mochen, a Brénaind, a breó rochloss co Lletha," "Welcome, welcome, O Brendan, flame whose praise was heard to Gaul. Welcome, Lord of Cluain, to whom the victories of the world do service," and concludes with the following lines:

Áillge deit indá midól
Ocus fáilte fri fledól
Tú it luing ó ailén d' aileón
Rom chrideón is mochenón.

Dearer to thee than quaffing mead and good cheer at banquet, is it to sail in thy boat from island to island. Welcome, my heart.

As might be expected, the places most closely associated with Brendan's name are in southwest Munster, and more particularly in his native County Kerry, of which he is the patron. Such places are very numerous. On Valentia Island is a well-known cliff called Colbha, which means literally "a bed post," with a natural fissure along its face, where, so tradition says, St. Brendan landed after one of his voyages. Brandon's Bay, with its oval beach, is some 5 miles west of Castlegregory. A few miles north of Dingle and near the wind-blown coast is the cloud-capped Mount Brandon, Cnoc Bhréantháin, as the old people call it, the second highest mountain in Ireland. From this lofty eminence the sight is truly grand. Almost at the foot of the mountain the Atlantic dashes itself into foam and spray on the tall precipitous headlands. From that point the saint is said to have scanned the broad expanse of the "Mare Brendanicum," as that ocean has since his day been called, toward the setting sun and the longed for Land of Promise. Not far away are Brandon Peak, one of the highest mountains in County Kerry, with Brendon's Oratory and Brendon's Well on its summit, Brandon Head, and, on one of the Blasquets, the westernmost of all Irish islands, is the Cloghan, where the sailor-saint is believed to have lived for some time. For a long time the inhabitants regarded the western slopes of Brandon Mountain so sacred as not to allow any animal to be killed there, except fish in certain rivulets, which was given to the poor and had to be eaten at once. The cattle, wild deer and boars which lived there were unmolested and the birds and hares were nearly tame. The people of the Dingle peninsula

imagine some religious connection between Kilmalchedar, near which is Fotharach Brandain, "the Ruins of Brendan's House," mentioned in the saga of Cellachan of Cashel, and Brandon Mountain. Near Cahirciveen are several beehive-shaped houses and an old church, and, on the island of Innistooskert, in the foaming Atlantic beyond Mayo, is a stone cell believed to have been built by St. Brendan. Proceeding north we find on Inishglora, St. Brendan's Oratory, and it is said that sailors from Mayo when sailing by Inishglora used to lower their sails in honor of St. Brendan. Near the church and monastery of Ardfert is a clear spring of water called Brandon Well, which is reputed to be holy, and there is also a townland of the same name in the parish of Ardfert.

The earliest extant account of the life and adventures of Brendan dates from at least 500 years after the events are said to have taken place. The first mention of a sea voyage made by our saint is found in the two instances quoted above in connection with the life of St. Brigit, where he is spoken of as "navigans mare" and "quaerens terram repromissionis," and in the entry in the ninth century Martyrology of Tallaght, March 22, "egressio familiae Brendani." Leaving aside the belief which was current in the twelfth century, that Brendan himself left behind a written account of his adventures, and a Latin life of the saint which Washington Irving⁷⁷ and others, on what authority we do now know, assert once existed in the archives of the Cathedral in the Grand Canary, and such scattered notions of a legendary quality as are found in the lives of saints already referred to, our main sources of information on the subject are the following: First, the incomplete Irish *Betha Brandain*, "Life of Brendan," which is found in the Book of Lismore, a fifteenth century manuscript.⁷⁸ A fragment of this *Betha*, closely resembling the Lismore text, is found in a nineteenth century manuscript containing the life of St. Finan.⁷⁹ The *Betha Brenainn* is not an original work but essentially a Middle Irish production which could not have arisen before the end of the eleventh or the

⁷⁷ *Life of Columbus*, Appendix.

⁷⁸ Text and translation by Whitley Stokes, *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*; text, pp. 99-116; translation, pp. 247-261; notes, pp. 349-354.

⁷⁹ *Zeitschrift für celtische Philol.*, ii, 564-565.

beginning of the twelfth century. Moreover, the fact that it is not mentioned among the *Immramha*, or "Sea-Voyages," in the old catalogues of Irish literature, is significant. Its prototype may be lost; at all events, though it contains material not found elsewhere, it shows the influence of other versions and can by no means be regarded as the source of the later texts. There are also Irish versions in two manuscripts at Brussels, in the British Museum and in the *Liber Flavus Fergusorum*, in the Royal Irish Academy.⁸⁰ Our second main source of information is the Latin "Vita Brendani," which is preserved in several manuscripts, and the third is the Latin *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, of which there are numerous versions⁸¹ and which would appear to have been known on the continent before they were known in Ireland. The oldest form of the *Navigatio* thus far discovered is found in a British Museum manuscript⁸² which dates from the tenth century, but which is clearly a copy of a yet earlier manuscript. It has been alleged that a version also exists in a ninth century manuscript in the Vatican Library, but this statement has not been proved. The unknown author of the *Navigatio* composed his compilation out of whatever material he had at hand, and, to fill up the events of the seven years' voyage already ascribed to Brendan, he drew chiefly from the Voyage of Maelduin and other Irish sea voyages, and, for the description of heaven and hell, he had recourse to such Irish tales as the Vision of Adamnan and the Tidings of Doomsday. These three main versions differ much from one another. The Latin recension in John Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Anglie* (London, 1516) was compiled from the *Acta Brendani*.

Some idea of the marvelous popularity and spread of the Brendan story may be got by considering the number of extant manuscripts which contain it, and the number of translations, transformations and imitations which have been made of it. It was probably Irish monks who first carried it to the continent, where it enjoyed even greater vogue than at home and where it

⁸⁰ Egerton, 1781. For these MSS., see O'CURRY, *On the Manuscript Materials*, p. 533.

⁸¹ *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, ix, 75 ff.; *Romanische Forschungen*, vii, 1893, 1-48.

⁸² Additional, 36736.

was believed and read and listened to with feverish admiration and afforded entertainment for centuries. It would seem as if every great monastic and public library of medieval Europe possessed it in some form or other, and it has been treated in almost every modern European language. The Spanish and Portuguese versions mentioned by Jubinal²³ (the statement has been repeated by Douhet²⁴ and others) have not been discovered, unless possibly in sea tales in which the name of the hero is St. Amaro. The most famous of the redactions in a popular language of the Middle Ages is the Anglo-Norman poem which was composed by a certain Donz Beneciz, about the year 1121 for, and dedicated to, Adelaide of Louvain, shortly after her marriage as second wife of Henry I, "Beauclerc," of England. The work is clearly a translation, but of what is uncertain, unless it be of some version of the Latin *Navigatio*. It is the second oldest Norman poem written on English soil. The opening lines in which the poet, who was perhaps a bishop, expresses the hope that Lady Aelis will bless England with religion, justice and peace, are as follows:

Donna Aaliz la reine,
 Par qui valdrat lei divine,
 Par qui creistrat lei de terre,
 E remandrat tante guerre
 Por les armes Henri lu rei
 E par le cunseil qui ert en tei,
 Salvet tei mil e mil feiz
 Li apostoiles danz Benediz
 Que comandas ço ad enpris,
 Secund sun sens entremis,
 En letre mis e en romanz,
 E si cum fud li teons cumanz,
 De Saint Brendan, le bon abeth;
 Mais tu l' defent ne seit gabeth.

There are many other French versions in verse and prose. Next to the Anglo-Norman poem in order of age is the Flemish prose version, *De Saint Brandainne le moine*, dating from the end of the twelfth century, and to about the same period belongs a French poem entitled *De Saint Brandans qui erre vii ans par*

²³ Page x.

²⁴ Pages 278-279.

mer et les merveilles qu'il trouve. The version in an Arsenal MS. begins:

Seignor, oiés que jo dirai,
D'un saint home vos conterai:
D'Yrlande estoit, Brandans ot non,
Molt ert de grant religion.

There is a short version dating from the fifteenth century in Old Provençal, which is an abridgment from a Latin "*Legenda in Festo Sti Brendani*." According to it our saint, who is called "Sant Branda, lo sant baro," was possessed of a desire "to see the relics of the saints." It contains some curious mistakes. For instance, the name Ahenda is given to an island instead of to the holy man, Aende, who dwelt in it. Its only reference to the whale-island is a misunderstanding of the Latin "*in dorso bellue*," which it renders "*en la ciutat de Velluer*," thus making it the name of a city. Another interesting Romance group consists of four Italian texts dating from the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, of which one is in old Venetian, and another in Tuscan, prose.⁸⁶ In several respects the Venetian version differs from the Latin *Navigatio*, its description of hell being especially graphic, for example, where the demons call out the various torments which await their victims: "E oldiua bosie che sonaua dir: al fuoco, al fuoco; altri diseua; al' aqua, al' aqua; altri diseua: liga, liga; altri diseua: muora, muora, tuti di nostri nemisi che se serui de dio! . . . E oldiua bosie che diseua: rosti, rosty, meti in fuoco, baty, baty, taia, taia, siega, siega, strenzi, strenzi." The influence of the Brendan story is seen more or less directly elsewhere in Italian literature, as in the description of the enchanted gardens in Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato* and in Pulci's *Morgante Maggiore*, while Armida's garden in which Tasso represents Rinaldo as detained has been identified with St. Brendan's Fortunate Island.⁸⁸ Other poems merely mention Brendan as a figure well known in medieval literary circles. The following lines in the *Roman de Renart*,⁸⁷ where the Fox, disguised as a Breton minstrel, says:

⁸⁶ *La Leggenda di S. Brandano*, P. VILLARI, *Antiche Leggende e Tradizioni che illustrano la "Divina Commedia"*, pp. 82-109, Pisa, 1865; NOVATI, *Navigatio Brendani*, xiii-xiv.

⁸⁸ *Gerusalemme Liberata*, Canto xvi.

⁸⁷ I, 2389 ff.

Ge fot savoir bon lai breton
 Et de Merlin et de Noton,
 Del roi Artu et de Tristan,
 De chevrefoil, de Saint Brandan,

are important as showing that in the thirteenth century there existed a French *lai* on St. Brendan and that his legend was regarded, incorrectly of course, as belonging to the Arthurian cycle. In Chrétien de Troies *Yvain*⁸⁸ there is a passage describing the numerous birds on trees "singing Mass," a motive which seems to be borrowed from the "Paradysus Avium" or "Fowelen Parays," in the Brendan story. Again⁸⁹ Chrétien describes birds singing canticles. Consequently, he must have been acquainted with the Voyage of St. Brendan and with the idea, common in Celtic belief, of souls appearing in the form of birds. Furthermore, the Brendan legend is closely related to the literature of vision, of which it forms an important chapter and, possibly in ways yet to be discovered, it will be found to throw some light on the Grail romances. In Pseudo-Chrétien, for example, Perceval's mother is described as going on pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Brendan.⁹⁰

There are two renditions of the Brendan story in early English, one, in verse, belonging to the fourteenth century, the other being Wynkyn de Worde's prose redaction of two hundred years later. Caxton, the first English printer, published a translation of the Brendan Voyage in 1483, so that it was among the very first books printed in English. A most interesting group of vulgar versions consists of those in German and Dutch, and an Old Norse fragment which seems to be Norwegian with an Icelandic coloring. By the end of the twelfth century arose a Middle Frankish poem, now lost, from which grew all the German versions. Most closely related to it is a Middle Dutch poem of the first half of the thirteenth century, *Van Sinte Brandane*, the original of which is lost. Also to the twelfth century belongs another recension of the Middle Frankish, which is represented by the poem, *Von Sente Brandan*, and probably arose on the right bank of the lower Main. In the fourteenth century was

⁸⁸ Lines 471-472; *Zeitschrift für vergleich. Literaturgeschichte*, XI, 492-498.

⁸⁹ Lines 384 ff.

⁹⁰ ALFRED NUTT, *The Legend of the Holy Grail*, 265; *Revue Celtique*, X, 347.

composed the Low German version, *Van dem hilgen Sunte Brandan*. The German prototype may go back to a lost Latin redaction of the *Navigatio*, which differed from the existing version. It is just as likely, however, that the German redactor got the story from one of the many Irish monks who were along the middle and lower Rhine in the twelfth century.⁹¹ There are reminiscences of St. Brendan in the *Lohengrin*, the *Wartburgkrieg*⁹² and other old German poems. In the Middle High German poem by Moriz von Craon, we read

Ich waene sant Brandan
Durch wunder her gevarn ist.

I think St. Brendan has come here by a miracle.

Many German chap books were printed on the life and adventures of Brandan. One which appeared at Augsburg about 1475 is entitled *Sant Brandon Legend: Hir hebt sich an sand Brandon's Buch was er wunders erfahren hat*.⁹³ Others, with almost identical titles, such as *Ein hübsch lieblich lesen von sant Brandon, was er wunders uff dem mör erfahren hat*, were published at Basel, Ulm, and Strassburg. The Strassburg print of 1510 contains woodcuts representing Brendan throwing his books into the flames, and relates how he made a ship well bound with iron, after the fashion of Noah's ark, and took on board great stores of food and clothing for twelve years and consecrated a chapel on board. It shows Judas Iscariot sitting on a half-hot, half-cold stone, half-frozen and half-roasted. In the German versions the motive of Brendan's voyage is explained in an original manner. One day he read in a rare book a description of all sorts of impossible things, of three heavens, two paradises, nine purgatories, monsters of the deep and such like extravagances, which so disgusted the good man that in anger he threw the book into the fire. Then an angel appeared to him and chided him for his incredulity, saying, "Why hast thou despised the truth? Knowest thou not that God can do greater wonders than thou hast read of in the book?" As a penance he was made to wander for seven years on the ocean in order that he might see with his own eyes the wonders which had seemed to him so incredible, and after-

⁹¹ *Literaturblatt für germ. u. roman. Philol.*, 1919, p. 82.

⁹² Edit. M. Haupt, 1871, I. 884-885.

⁹³ *The Irish Book Lover*, ix, 133.

wards to describe what he had witnessed. In Ireland, too, we find that Brendan had acquired, as early at least as the first half of the twelfth century, the reputation of being a doubter, for in a litany in the Book of Leinster he is called the Irish "Thomas Apostolus."

In a group of Irish versions,⁸⁴ Brendan's voyage is motivated in a more poetic manner. Once the twelve apostles of Erin were learning with Findan of Clonard and he had prepared a feast for them. And when the feast was at its height the guests saw a wondrous large flower appear, as a sign from the Land of Promise. They disputed as to who should go to seek the land of the flower, but no one claimed it more than another, and they cast lots in pairs and it fell to the lot of the two Brendans. These two then decided between them and Brendan of Birr was chosen, and all felt sore at heart that the oldest of the saints of Ireland should go "into the maw of the sea and of the great ocean." Our Brendan then volunteered to undertake the journey. Other Irish lives state that it was the words spoken at his ordination, "And every one that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my name's sake, shall receive an hundred-fold, and shall possess life everlasting," (Matt., xix, 29) and those other words, "Exi de terra tua et cognatione tua" (Acts, vii, 3) which left so deep an impression on his mind that he asked the Lord to give him a secret land in the sea removed from men. And as he slept he heard a voice saying, "Brandane, exaudita est postulatio tua a Domino," and again, "Brandane, fiet tibi secundum desiderium tuum." According to some French versions, the Arsenal manuscript for example,⁸⁵ Brendan prayed God to show him the paradise where Adam first lived, and also hell. One version of the life of St. Malo⁸⁶ explains that it was not out of a desire to see marvelous things but to escape from the envy and jealousy of their comrades that Brendan and his young disciple decided to sail to the solitary islands. The usual exordium, however, is that one day Brendan was visited by his master, Barintus, whose foster son, Mernoc,

⁸⁴ Gorman's *Martyrology*, ix, x; Egerton, 1781; Liber Flavus Fergus., and two Brussels MSS.; *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, X, 1915, pp. 408-420.

⁸⁵ *Zeitschrift für Roman. Philol.*, II, 1878, pp. 438-457.

⁸⁶ *Annales de Bretagne*, xxii, 709.

had retired to a solitary place in the promised land of the saints where he found a very delectable island. Mernoc had persuaded his foster father to accompany him on one of those voyages. In the Middle English version, Brendan chides Barintus for his sadness:⁹⁷ "And saynt Brandon comforted him the best wyse he coude, sayenge, 'Ye come hyther for to be joyful with me, and therefore for Goddes love leve your mournynge, and tell me what mervayles ye have seen in the grete see ocean, that compasseth all the worlde aboute, and all other waters comen out of hym, whiche renneth in all the partyes of the erth.'"

Let the Irish life tell us how Brendan and his companions put to sea:

So Brendan, son of Findlug, sailed then over the wave-voice of the strong-maned sea, and over the storm of the green-sided waves and over the mouth of the marvelous, awful, bitter ocean, where they saw the multitude of the furious red-mouthed monsters, with abundance of great sea-whales. And they found beautiful, strange islands, and yet they tarried not therein.⁹⁸

And they took no provisions with them, for they trusted that God would sustain them wheresoever they might go, and they sailed wherever the wind carried them; time, distance and direction meant nothing to them.

Now when the Easter was nigh, his crew kept saying to Brendan that he should go on land to celebrate the Easter. "God," saith Brendan, "is able to give us land in any place that He pleases." Now after the Easter was come, the great sea-beast raised his shoulder on high over the storm and over the wave-voice of the sea so that it was level, firm land, like a field equally smooth, equally high. And they go forth upon that land, and they celebrate the Easter there, even one day and two nights.⁹⁹

So far, the Lismore Irish account of this, the best known, episode of the Brendan legend. The Latin and Romance versions, however, especially the Old Venetian, describe the sea monster in greater detail. The remainder of the adventure may best be told in its Middle English setting:

Hi makede fur and soden hem fisch in a caudroun faste.
 Er this fisch were i-sode, somdel hi were agaste.
 For tho this fur was thurf hot, the yle quakede anon,
 And with gret eir hupte al up; this monekes dradde echon.

⁹⁷ Edit. Wright, p. 35.

⁹⁸ Stokes' translation, with slight changes.

Hi bihulde hou the yle in the see wende faste,
 And as a quic thing hupte up and down, and that fur fram him caste.
 Hi suam more than tucí myle while this fur i-laste.
 The monekes i-seze the fur wel longe, and were sore agaste;
 Hi cride zurne on seint Brendan, what the wonder were.
 "Beoth stille," quath this gode man, "for nozt ze nabbe fere!
 Ze weneth that hit beo an yle, ac ze thencheth amis;
 Hit is a fisch of this grete see, the gretteste that ther is,
 Jascom he is i-cleped, and fondeth nize and dai
 To putte his tail in his mouth, ac for gretnisse he ne mai."⁹⁹

The whale-island was a very popular myth in the Middle Ages, and many references to it are found in the literature of the time. It is seriously referred to in an Irish poem describing the characteristic virtues of the Irish saints and among them the rigor of Brendan's rule.¹⁰⁰ This poem has been attributed to Cuimin of Condeire, Bishop of Noendruim, †658, but its language points to the twelfth rather than to the seventh century. It begins, "Carais Brenainn biothcrábudh."

Brendan loved lasting devotion,
 According to the synod and assembly;
 Seven years on the great beast's back he spent:
 It was a difficult mode of devotion.

The Irish writers may have got the fancy of the whale-island from the Anglo-Saxon version of a Latin *Physiologus*, and it is found in connection with other saints, as well as with Brendan.¹⁰¹ A somewhat similar notion occurs in Greek, in Lucian's *Traveller's Tale*, and in Norse in the idea of the midgard serpent, the great kraken, a form of the underlying world-serpent which figures so largely in the mythic cosmogony of the Scandinavians, but it is by no means to be regarded merely as a development of a kenning for a ship, and of viking origin. Rodulphus Glaber, who wrote his *Historia Sui Temporis* ¹⁰² about the year 1047, but borrowed his reference from a text we know not how much earlier, thus describes the whale adventure of Brendan: "At even Brendan and his companions saw an island and they went on it to pass the night and sleep; but Brendan remained on watch, and he

⁹⁹ WRIGHT, pp. 8-9.

¹⁰⁰ *Lismore Lives*, l.3611 ff.; *Zeitschrift für cell. Philol.*, I, 62.

¹⁰¹ BILL's *Life*, ch. xxvi; *Anonymous Life*, ch. xiii.

¹⁰² Book ii, ch. 2; *Zeitschrift für cell. Philol.*, v, 137.

saw that the island on which they were moved eastward. They spent several days on their island-ship which brought them at last to a wonderful island." In the Anglo-Saxon version in the *Codex Exoniensis*¹⁰³ the monster is called "Fastitocalon," "the ocean floater," where ships cast anchor and sailors go ashore and make a fire, whereupon the whale dives down and ship and crew are drowned. The same story, together with a number of other extravaganzas on the Brendan legend, is found in the *Peregrinatio Ioan. Hesei ab Hierusalem instituta*, Antuerpiae, 1565.

A definition of the sea-beast which received general acceptance in the Middle Ages is given in a few lines by Philippe de Thaun in his Anglo-Norman *Bestiaire*; and almost in the same words in Italian prose by Brunetto Latini in his *Tesoretto*, which was composed about the year in which Dante was born. The former is as follows:

Cetus ceo est mult grant beste, tut tens en mer converse;
 Le salbon de mer prent, sur son dos l' estent,
 Sur mer s' esdreceat, en pais si esterat.
 Li notuners la veit, quide que ille soit,
 Illoc vait ariver sun cunrei aprester.
 Li balain le fu sent e le nef e la gent:
 Lores se plungerat, si il pot, si's neierat.

Cetus is a great fish which most people call whale. This fish raises his back in the high sea and will lie so long in one place that the wind brings sand and spreads it on his back and thereon grow trees and little shrubs. Seafarers are often deceived by it, for they think that it is an island where they land and drive stakes and make a fire to prepare their meals, but when the fish feels the heat he cannot bear it, but will plunge down to the sea and drown all that he has on him.¹⁰⁴

The Old Norse fragment reads:

"Kynliect thykeir ythr, hui æy thessi ferr sia?" Tha suorothu thæir honum: "Oss thykkir einka kynlekt, oc rædder eru ver um for æyiar thessar." Tha suarathi B.: "Boern min, verit eigi rædder, guth syndi mer i nótt, huat that iartegnier; that er eigi ey, er ver bioggum i, that er fiakr, sa er mestr er i hæiminum, oc ferr at leita at sporthi sinum oc villdi koma ollu saman sporthi oc hofthi, oc má eigi, sua er hawn mykill, enn hann heitir a bok Jaskonius."

"Wonderful, ye think, that the island so travels." Then they answered him: "It seems very wonderful and fearful to us, because of

¹⁰³ Ed. Thorpe, London, 1842; Early English Text Society, No. 104.

¹⁰⁴ Wright, *The Percy Society*, p. 60.

the movement of the island." Then answered Brandan: "My children, be not afraid. God hath disclosed to me last night what this meaneth: It is no island on which we were; it is a fish that is the greatest in the world, and it strives to reach its tail and bring head and tail together, but it is so large that it cannot, and it is called in a book, Jaskonius."

This fable suggested a bold simile to Milton where, in *Paradise Lost*, he likens Satan to

that sea-beast
Leviathan, whom God of all his works
Created hugest that swim the ocean stream;
Him, haply, slumbering on the Norway foam,
The pilot of some small night-foundered skiff,
Deeming some island, oft, as seamen tell,
With fixèd anchor in his scaly rind,
Moors by his side under the lee . . .¹⁰⁶

Even in the Orient we find the same fancy or something similar to it. In the ancient Indian myths there is a story of a girl sailing over the waves on the leaf of a water lily.¹⁰⁶ In the Middle Dutch Brendan, the saint meets a man who was only a thumb long, floating on a leaf and holding a little bowl in his right hand and a pointer in his left. The pointer he kept dipping into the sea and letting the water drop from it into the bowl; when the bowl was full, he emptied it out and began filling it up again; and that was his doom, to be measuring the sea until judgment day.¹⁰⁷ Among the tales that occur in the Talmud is one told by Rabba, how one day he and his companions saw a whale, and earth and sand were on it. They disembarked and baked and cooked on its back; but when the fire became hot, the beast turned over, and if the ship had not been near they would all have been drowned.¹⁰⁸ The episode is found also in the Zend Avesta¹⁰⁹ and, in more modern times, there is the picture of the fish-island described by Ariosto in the *Orlando Furioso*,¹¹⁰

"Veggiamo una balena . . ."

¹⁰⁶ *Paradise Lost*, i, 201-207.

¹⁰⁶ MÜLLENHOFF, p. 340; NANSSEN, ii, 234.

¹⁰⁷ JACOB GRIMM, *Deutsche Mythol.*, 3 edit., i, 420; STALLYBRASS'S trans., ii, 451
BLOMMAERT'S *Oudvlaemsche Gedichten*, i, 118b; ii, 26a; *Revue Celtique*, vi, 214.

¹⁰⁸ FREUDENTHAL, BENFEY.

¹⁰⁹ J. DARMESTETER, i, p. 88.

¹¹⁰ Canto VI, st. 37 ff.

There we behold a mighty whale, of size
 The hugest yet in any waters seen;
 More than eleven paces, to our eyes,
 His back appears above the surface green:
 And (for still firm and motionless he lies,
 And such the distance his two ends between)
 We all are cheated by the floating pile,
 And idly take the monster for an isle.¹¹¹

But the instance of the fable with which everybody is familiar is found in the story of Sindbad in *The Thousand and One Nights*. There has been much discussion whether the whale episode was transmitted to the Arabs from Ireland or the reverse, or, if the imagination of two peoples of such different cultures as the Irish and the Arabs created it independently. We must allow that there are many other striking resemblances between the Sindbad story and the story of Brendan, and it is not improbable that there was some reciprocal borrowing between the two peoples. Another possible explanation is that an Irish monk traveling in the East told the story of Brendan or heard the story of Sindbad, and that in that way the fable passed from one literature to the other. It can scarcely be doubted, however, that the Arabian geographer, Edrisi, who wrote about the year 1150 at the Court of the Norman King, Roger II of Sicily, and mentions a Sheep Island, an Island of Birds, and other scenes belonging to the Brendan story, got his knowledge of these wonders from one of the Latin or Romance Brendan versions which were current on the continent in the twelfth century. Valuable testimony to the Irish origin of the fable is afforded by the name given to the leviathan in all the versions of the story except in the Irish itself. In the latter it is called merely "Míl mór," "the great beast"; elsewhere it bears the name Jasconius, Jascon, Gasconius, Jascon, Iastoyn, or Yeson, all of which are neither more nor less than the latinization of the Irish word *iasc*, "a fish." In the Anglo-Norman version this word has again reverted to a common noun, *li jascuines*. The whale-island is even depicted on early maps and manuscripts of the Brendan story, for example, in a copy of Richard Fournival's *Bestiaire d'Amour*,¹¹² which contains two illustrations showing Brendan's

¹¹¹ Rose's translation.

¹¹² P. GAFFAREL, *Découverte de l'Amérique*, Paris, 1892, I, 256.

ship moored along-side the whale, and two monks sitting on the beast's back and a blazing fire between them. But the most detailed picture of the scene is found on a map accompanying a book written in 1621 by a Benedictine monk in the monastery of Seittenstött, in lower Austria.¹¹³ The map is in other respects also largely fanciful, but shows "Hispania" and "Cabo Finis Terrae" in fairly correct position. Northwest of "Cabo Finis Terrae," in the ocean, is an island of irregular shape, extending from east to west and bearing the legend "Is. S. Brandano." To the southwest is a group of seven islands labeled "Insulae Fortunatae," only one of which, the center one of the group, is named, "M. Canarie." Between this group and "Is. S. Brandano" is an enormous sea-beast making towards Gibraltar, with curved tusks, a thin beard, a collar of scalloped skin around its neck, and spouting great streams of water from two openings in its forehead. It propels itself by means of huge fins, and its tail, which terminates in a two-forked tuft, is curled up over on its back. Standing round are four vessels built like Chinese junks, with a capacious cabin fore and aft, and with four or five banks of oars, one or two masts and a flag flying from them. In the foreground is a boat in which a monk with a halo around his head stands and paddles, while two other monks sit in the stern perusing a book. The largest ship in the fleet rests athwart the whale near its tail with a ladder reaching down to its back; on its shoulder an altar has been erected; a chalice and crucifix stand in the middle with a lighted candle at either side. The celebrant, wearing Mass vestments, kneels before the altar, and around him seven men, all dressed in the Spanish style of the seventeenth century, have found lodgment for their knees in the scales of the marine monster.

After their first fright, Brendan's sailors are on good terms with Jasconius, the obliging king of fishes, and wherever they might be, when the Easter of every year was at hand, the whale would heave up his back so that it was dry and solid land, "and anone they sawe theyr caudron upon the fysshes backe whiche they had left there xij monethes to-fore."¹¹⁴ On their second

¹¹³ *Nova Typis Transacta Navigatio Novi Orbis Indiae Occidentalis*. HONORIOUS PHILOPONUS, *Navig. Patrum ord. S. Benedicti*, facing page 13.

¹¹⁴ English prose version, ed. T. Wright, p. 45.

voyage, the mariners experienced a similar marvel. As they rode nimbly over the ocean they beheld a monstrous animal swimming after them: "As big as a brazen cauldron was each of his two eyes, a boar's tusks had he; furzy hair upon him; and he had the maw of a leopard with the strength of a lion and the rage of a hound. . . . Then a huge sea whale arose between them and yon monstrous sea beast. And each of them began drowning the other, and battling savagely, till each of them drowned the other in the depth of the sea, and neither of the twain was seen thenceforward."¹¹⁵

After some further adventures, the pious sea-farers reach the Isle of Paradise, which they have sought so perseveringly for the space of seven years. Here the Irish narrative comes to an end, and we shall have to fall back upon the Latin, Romance and Germanic versions for an account of the other incidents of the voyage, each step of which is a wonder. It is not the purpose of this study, however, to follow our pious sea-farer over all the seas he sailed nor to describe in detail the marvels the tale tells of: the Isle of the Sleepy Well, the Isle of Grapes, the Sheep Island, where the animals governed themselves according to laws of their own. On one island was a beautiful grove covered with trees, flowers and fruits; as the sun rose, the trees peeped out of the ground, and little by little grew with the sun till noon when they stopped an instant, and then, as soon as the sun had passed the zenith, the trees began to dwindle, so that when the sun had set beneath the horizon the grove too had disappeared in the earth and there was no sign to show where it had been. Another was the Isle of Silence, wherein no voice was heard. Whoever needed anything knelt before the master, who took a style and tablet and, by revelation from God, wrote his answer to what the other had asked for in his heart. There the altar lamps never grew less and were lighted by a flaming arrow which flew in at the window from the sky. Each island was inhabited by saints who were nourished in a miraculous manner, and who spent their time in prayer, fasting and singing.

In the grete see of occian forth hi rewe faste,
And triste al to oure Loverdes grace, and nothing nere agaste.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ Stokes' translation, with slight changes. *Lismore Lives*, pp. 113, 258.

¹¹⁶ WRIGHT, O. C., p. 5.

and the travelers came to the Paradise of Birds where they conversed with the souls of the angels who remained neutral at the time of Lucifer's rebellion: "And on every bough sate a fayre byrde, and they sate so thycke on the tree that unneth ony lefe of the tree myght be seen, the nombre of them was so grete, and they songe so meryly that it was an heavenly noyse to here. Wherefore saynt Brandon kneled down on his knees, and wepte for joye, and made his prayers devoutly unto our Lord God to knowe what these byrdes ment. And than anone one of the byrdes fledde fro the tree to saynt Brandon, and he with flykerynge of his wynges made a full mery noyse like a fydle, that hym semed he herde never so joyful a melodye." In the Book of Lismore¹¹⁷ is a poem in Irish, beginning "Dia do betha, a Brenainn, sunn," "Welcome here, O Brendan," addressed by the "senior" of an island, in welcome to Brendan and his crew. The "senior" relates how he came to be there, how he and his companions, twelve in all, had left Ireland "seeking heaven," and that all but himself had died. He revealed to the saints-errant the land they sought, even the Land of Promise, and then, having partaken of Christ's Body and His Blood, he went to heaven. One day the wind bore Brendan's boat northward to a horrid island. When they had come to within a stone's throw of it, they heard a great puffing and blowing of bellows, and a striking of sledges on anvils. But they could see nothing, wherefore they were sore afraid and blessed them oft. Then behold one of the islanders appeared and he was all hideous and black and burning with fire. And when he caught sight of Brendan's crew he stared full ghastly on them with great, staring eyes and hurried back to his forge, shouting "Ho! ho!" and, at that, all the dwellers of that island ran to the shore bearing iron tongs and glowing massy balls of fire which they hurled at the servants of Christ. But they harmed them not, but the sea, where they fell, seethed and hissed like a cauldron full of red hot coals. Wherefore the fiends roared and hurried back and fired their smithies, and all the island and the sea seemed one mass of fire, and all that day and night the terrified travelers saw the flames and heard the awful wailing and howling of the demons. They hoisted the sail, had out the oars and made haste away from that dreadful isle.

¹¹⁷ Stokes' edition, pp. 113-114.

On the Feast of St. Peter they came to a place where the sea was perfectly clear. And under the water was a great city with castles and towers, and myriads of sea monsters and fishes, in the shape of all the beasts of the earth, lay on the bed of the ocean motionless, as if they were asleep, and each with the tail of another in its mouth. The monks were sore afraid and counseled Brendan to speak softly lest he wake the fishes and they break the ship. But the God-fearing admiral laughed and told them to fear not, and then, in the words of the Venetian version, "he began to sing the most he could, and as soon as he had begun the Mass, all the fishes arose round about the ship and some went under the waves and others stood out of the water like gnats on wine, and not one of them touched the ship but swam around it here and there at a respectful distance until the Mass had been sung, when they disappeared. The sailors next skirted the "Smoky Mountain," and after sailing due south a course of seven days, they came upon some strange-looking object standing out of the sea. According to the Provençal version, when they saw it from afar, some of them thought it was a wreck of a boat and others said it was a dead fish. The same doubt is expressed in a Dutch version which is literally translated from the Latin.¹¹⁸ "Somich van den brueders sechden, dat het een vogel waer; somich waenden dat het een scepe waer; ende die man Gods hoerden dat si daer van, ende sechte: 'En wilt niet twisten; stuert dat scepe tot die stede'."¹¹⁹ On coming nearer they descried that it was a rock, and thereon sat a shaggy, misshapen man. Before his face hung a cloth the size of a bag, supported between two iron poles, wherewith the wind and the waves smote him upon the eyes and up to the crown of his head, as a little skiff is struck by the tempest. When again the waves fell away they laid bare the rock whereon the unhappy man sat. The Anglo-Saxon¹²⁰ description deserves to be quoted:

A wrechedde gost, naked & bar, in meseise inouz:
 Aboue him was a cloth iteid: myd twei tongen vaste,
 The nether ende tilde to is chynne; ouer al the wynd it caste,
 Tht (wan tht) water him with drouz tht cloth, tht heng so heie,

¹¹⁸ JUBINAL, p. 43.

¹¹⁹ MOLTZEN, p. 33.

¹²⁰ Ashmolan, 1.521-529; *Archiv für das Studium der neuer. Sprachen u. Literaturen*, xxix Jahrf., 53 Bd., p. 32.

Bet, as the wynd it bleu, then wreche amydde the eie.
 The wawes bete ek of the se bi uore & bihynde;
 Wrecchedore gost then he was ne dorte nomon fynde.
 S. brendan him bad agodes name to telle him wat he were.
 & wat he hadde god mysdo, & wat hi dude there.

This "wretched ghost" was Judas Iscariot who, through the divine mercy, on Sundays and the other holy days of the year, enjoyed a mitigation which seemed happiness and repose in comparison with his ordinary sufferings in the pit of hell. It was part of the "theology of sentiment," in the Middle Ages, as distinct from the idea of an irrevocable damnation, to believe that the greatest of sinners and the one least worthy of pardon or pity enjoyed a respite from the intensity of his sufferings, because of some small fragments of goodness which he had done in his lifetime.¹²¹ The stone whereon he sat, he once had placed in a muddy path for the ease of them who went that way; wherefore it easeth him now. The cloth which dulled the cut of the waves, yet lashed him in the eyes and face, he once had given to a leper, but it was bought with money that he stole from our Lord's purse, wherefore now it galls him more than it soothes. The iron forks, (or, according to some versions, the two oxtongues), which hung before him, he once had given to the priests of the Temple, whereon to hang pots, and, since they were bought with his own money, they are a comfort to him now, for the fishes gnaw on them and spare him. "Now," quoting from the Latin version, "when the vesper hour had covered the face of Thetis, the devils came to hale their fellow, Judas, to the master, the great devil, but, to their great chagrin, his torments were stayed for that night through the intercession of the blessed Brendan." In a fifteenth century German chap book on St. Brendan, Judas is made to say: "Had I had real rue, so would God have shown me His great grace and mercy, even though I had sold Him," and, in our own day, the French symbolist Paul Verlaine has maintained that Judas's punishment was because he had despaired: "Judas is damned," he says, "but not for having betrayed Christ; no, not for that. He is damned for having hanged himself in despair, for having doubted the infinite mercy of God."

¹²¹ *Romania*, xviii, 1889, p. 636.

The meeting of Brendan and Judas is not described in the Lismore version, but it is found in other Irish manuscripts.¹²³ The lament of Judas on his sin, addressed to Brendan, is very powerful and poetic in the Old Irish:

Maire dorighe maircc dogni. maircc a thurus for bith cé.
Intí doní saint tarró. Maircc fa dó 7 maircc, a dhé.

Uch, a Brenainn, fégaídh me. cech a ndénaim damh is mo
Ifern dona daer dubh dall. uch as ann atú sa béo.

Woe to him that hath done this. Alas for him that does it.
Sad his journey in this world; the covetous man is joyless.

Ah, O Brendan, look at me. All I do brings me more pain.
Dire hell, hateful, black, and blind: Alas, 'tis there I am living.

In the Tuscan prose version¹²⁴ there is a curious passage in which Judas gives the reasons why he betrayed Christ. From the Brendan legend, the Judas episode passed into Gautier de Metz's *Image du Monde* and into a poem of Baudouin de Sebourg; it is also found in a story of Huon of Bordeaux¹²⁵ which tells how, during a storm at sea, he perceived a man swimming in the midst of the waters. It was Judas, and his only protection from the fury of the wind and waves was a small piece of cloth which, while on earth, he had bestowed in charity. The meeting with Judas is described in greatest detail in the Latin *Vita Secunda*¹²⁶ and in the Norman-French poem, both of which contain passages which are not unworthy of being placed alongside the *Divina Commedia*. In fact, in his conception of the punishment inflicted upon Judas and because of the pity and commiseration which he feels for him, the unknown writer has produced something infinitely more tender and poetic than the picture which the great Florentine has left of him, with his head munched by Satan and kicking his legs in the air:

"Quell' anima lassù, c' ha maggior pena,"
Disse 'l Maestro, "è Giuda Scariotto,
Che 'l capo ha dentro, e fuor le gambe mena"

¹²³ Brussels, 5100-5104; Fermoy fo. 58a.

¹²⁴ Villari, *o. c.*, pp. 96-97.

¹²⁵ Dunlop, *History of Prose Fiction*, London, 1896, I, p. 128.

¹²⁶ Plummer, *o. c.*, II, 286-287.

"That soul up there which has the greater pain
Judas Iscariot is," my guide averred.

"With head inside and legs that outside strain."¹²⁷

Thence the voyagers sail south "glorifying God in all things," and on the third day they reach a small round island difficult of access, wherein they converse with Paul the Hermit, whose snow white hair covered him like a garment. He informs the godly sailors that they are near their journey's end, even "Dat lant der gelofften der heiligen," the "Terra Repromissionis Sanctorum." The Irish life of Brendan breaks off abruptly without giving any idea of the appearance of the earthly Paradise. A later scribe has tried to make good the defect by appending a long portion of a description of heaven as seen in a vision by another Irishman, Adamnan, but the addition has nothing whatsoever to do with the voyage of St. Brendan. Indeed, in all the versions the Land of Promise is described with a sobriety which appears excessive when we remember that this is the scope of the voyage and consider the prolixity with which things of much less account are narrated.

When the days of their pilgrimage on the ocean were over, the seafarers reached home in Ireland where the news of their arrival spread rapidly. Their relatives rejoiced at their safe return and gave thanks to God:

La nuvele va par pais
Que venuz est de paraïs.
Ne sunt haitet sul li parent,
Ainz sunt tres tuz comunement.¹²⁸

We may be sure that Brendan and his companions often sailed their voyage over in the gardens and halls of the cloister,—"qui navigant mare, enarrant pericula ejus"—and thus their adventures became hardly less edifying to the brothers who had remained at home than to be intrepid sailors themselves. One winter day as the man of God was strolling with the brothers, a storm of snow and hail came upon them, so that they could scarcely walk. The snow completely covered the ground. And the brothers said to one another, "Could the punishment in hell be worse than this cold?" Brendan, hearing their question,

¹²⁷ *Inferno*, xxxiv, 61-63. Sidney Gunn's translation.

¹²⁸ Anglo-Norman poem, lines 1816-1820.

answered: "Listen, brothers, to what I tell you. One day on my voyages we heard a great groaning and wailing in the sea, so that the spirit of each of us shuddered. And we sailed to a place nearby to learn the cause of the weeping. And behold we saw the mouth of the sea opened, and therein we espied a solitary rock, whereon sat that sad and piteous voice. For the sea swept over the rock from every side, and from the east it dashed waves of fire, and from the west waves of ice and of intolerable cold. And thus was verified the word of God, 'Let him pass from the snow waters to excessive heat, and his sin even to hell.'"

All the copies of the story conclude with a pious prayer for intercession. In the Old Venetian it runs in this wise: "May Brendan, in his holiness, pray God for me too, and may God give me grace to make good end of soul and of body. And also may he pray God for all who read this, his legend, and for those who hear willingly his story, to the honor of God and of him who was a good man, a saintly and upright monk from his boyhood to the day of his death. Deo Gratias. Amen."

Various attempts have been made to interpret the St. Brendan legend. It is, of course, out of the question to accept one extreme view of it and to regard it as a true narrative in every particular. Nor is the other extreme view any more likely to be correct, which is, to look upon the story as nothing but a hermit's dream, a pious romance or mystical allegory intended to represent the cloistral life, or a monk's progress from one ideal monastery to another. The tradition according to which St. Brendan became a celebrated sailor and discoverer who made a seven years' voyage in search of the Land of Promise must be based on some kernel of truth, which, however, has long since been obscured by the workings of the Celtic imagination. The very instincts that are most characteristic of the race among whom the legend arose, as disclosed in the literature of the pagan Irish—a profound religiosity, a desire to penetrate the unknown and to make the unseen world actual, a thirst for an ideal, a craving after new adventures and extravagant wonders—all prevail to a high degree in the voyage of St. Brendan. Superimposed on those typically Celtic qualities, are these virtues which are chiefly due to Christian influence—patience and charity, a feeling for humanity, equality

and democracy—Brendan addresses his brothers lovingly as “*commilitones mei*” and “*combellatores*,” “fellow warriors, soldiers, comrades”—a feeling of nothingness and helplessness in the face of the grandeur of creation and an utter faith in the power and goodness of God to avert all perils. There is also something particularly attractive about these sailor-monks who not only could fast and pray, but could sail a ship with some of the spirit of the buccaneers.

Ernest Renan has written a charming page à propos of the voyage of St. Brendan and the singular combination of Celtic naturalism and Christian spiritualism from which it sprang: “What more delightful dream than that Land of Promise where reigns perpetual day. There, all the plants bear flowers, all the trees bear fruits. Only a few privileged men have visited it, and, on their return, they are known by the fragrance which their garments keep for forty days. In the midst of these dreams appears with surprising truth the sensation of polar voyages picturesque with the transparence of the sea, vistas of ice islands melting in the sun, volcanic phenomena of Iceland, the sporting of whales and the characteristic appearances of the fiords of Norway; the sudden fogs and the sea as calm as milk; green islands crowned with verdure descending to the waves. This fantastic nature, created expressly for another humanity, this strange topography, dazzling with fiction and speaking with reality, make the poem of St. Brendan one of the most astonishing creations of the human mind and, perhaps, the most complete expression of the Celtic ideal.”¹²⁹

Despite the profound study which has been given to the subject, considerable obscurity still remains as to the source of the episodes which have been employed to construct the mosaic-like story of the Voyage of St. Brendan: old Irish myths, reports of earlier sea voyages, Christian legends of Irish missionaries, and perhaps even the Orient, have probably all contributed material, though in different degree. Some of the episodes appear strikingly like reminiscences of classical literature, the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid*, for example, with which the early Irish were familiar.

Navigation and shipbuilding had reached a high stage of development even among the ancient Celts. In the short cam-

¹²⁹ *Essais de Morale et de Critique*, 4 ed., 1889, p. 443.

paign which he carried on in Britain, Julius Caesar obtained ideas of naval construction from the native ships which he turned to advantage the following year, in his sea fight with the Celtic Veneti in the Bay of Biscay. Though the Romans were successful in that engagement, the naval equipment of the Celts was superior and there may have been some Irish ships in the fleet of the Veneti.¹³⁰ There is no reason to believe that Irish sailors were not at least as daring and enterprising as the mariners of other lands. Tacitus, writing in the first century after Christ, says that the harbors of Ireland were better known on the continent than were the harbors of Britain. In the fourth and fifth centuries of our era, the Irish carried on a flourishing commerce with southern and western Gaul, not via Britain, but directly, bringing back, among other commodities, wine in exchange for the products of their own country. They are known to have been north of the Clyde in the fifth century A. D., where they fought the Picts, the British and the Angles; that they were on the west coast of Wales and Cornwall in the same century is testified to by inscriptions of Irish origin which are found there. It is stated in the mythical history of Ireland that King Mogh Corb, son of Cormac Cas, in the third century, A. D. went, "with a manning of 300 ships," to invade Scandinavia.¹³¹ Later, however, in the ninth and following centuries, when the Irish came into contact with the Northmen, who were above all a seagoing people, these Vikings controlled the seaport towns which they established in Ireland and gathered into their hands all Irish commerce. A mark of their influence is seen in the fact that most of the words for large ships and parts of a ship in Irish are of Scandinavian origin. In ancient Irish saga tales, such as *Echtra Connla*, "The Adventures of Connla," appear boats of glass in which fairy women came to earth, or copper boats, as in the tale known as *Serglige Conculaind*, "The Sick Bed of Cuchulainn," or such a crystal boat as Merlin sailed in in search of the blessed islands. There is mention also of a self-moving boat which led through a blinding mist to Manannan's marvelous island. But the Irish had also safer and more businesslike ships, provided with sails, ropes and tackle and everything needed to steer and

¹³⁰ *De Bello Civili*, I, liiii.

¹³¹ KEATING, *History of Ireland*, ed. DINNEEN, II, 354-356.

manage the vessel. Adamnan mentions no less than nine kinds of ships as in use among the Irish of his day (seventh–eighth century), of which the “*navis longa*” and “*navis oneraria*,” cargo ships, must have been capable of going on extensive voyages. But the boats to which the Irish mariner monks trusted themselves on the sea were very light, their sides and bindings being of osiers fixed to some solid pieces of wood and overlaid with hides and smeared with oil and gum. They were small enough to be drawn overland, when necessary, and brought down again to the sea when it was time to leave. Boats of this kind are called *curach*, in Irish, and they are not quite extinct on the west coast of Ireland.¹²² They are described, in ancient times, for example, by Caesar,¹²³ Lucan,¹²⁴ Pliny,¹²⁵ Avienus,¹²⁶ and Solinus,¹²⁷ Lucan speaks of the Britons navigating the ocean in their boats of osier: “. . . the bending willow into barks they twine, then line the work with skins of slaughtered kine.”¹²⁸ Sidonius Apollinaris¹²⁹ describes the British boatman,

. Cui pelle salum sulcare Britannum
Ludus et assuto glaucum mare findere lembo.

and Avienus tells how “They sew skins to skins and plow the pathless seas in furthest parts with keels of leather.” Finally, Auguste Brizeux, the poet of *Les Bretons*, describes the Irish sailor-monks:

Dans leurs barques d’osier recouvertes de peau
Ils voguaient, engourdis par les vagues glacées
Et les côtes partout de neiges hérissées.¹³⁰

In the Irish Book of Lismore is a poem in four quatrains, by an unknown poet, which describes Brendan’s boat and crew, the company which he took with him and the number of ships in which they sailed. It begins, “*Trí longa seolais in saoi*”:¹⁴¹

Three vessels the sage sailed
Over the wave-voice of the very wet sea:

¹²² REEVES’ *Adamnan*, p. 170, note k.

¹²³ *De Bello Civili*, i, liiii.

¹²⁴ *Pharsalia*, iv, 130–135.

¹²⁵ *Hist. Natural.*, vii, c. 57.

¹²⁶ *Ora Marit.*, v, 101–107.

¹²⁷ *Polyhistor.*, c. 22.

¹²⁸ *Pharsalia*, iv, 136.

¹²⁹ *Carmen* i, 1.370–371.

¹³⁰ *Les Bretons*, chant III, p. 31.

¹⁴¹ *Lismore Lives*, p. 106.

Thirty men in each vessel he had.
Over the storm of the crested sea.

When he returned home from his first cruise his foster mother counseled him to sail again, but this time in a wooden ship. He then built in Connaught "a great marvelous vessel," which held all his household, his wrights and smiths, his plants and seeds, and everything that was needed for the voyage.

Brendan was not the only Irish monk who filled his sails with adventurous winds and embarked on a monastic journey. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,¹⁴² under the year 891, tells of three Irishmen named Dubslane, Macbeth, and Maelinmuin, who set out to visit King Ælfred: "And they came in a boat without oars, from Ireland, whence they had stolen away; because for the love of God they desired to be on pilgrimage, they recked not whither. The boat in which they sailed was made of two hides and a half; and they took with them provisions for seven nights. And on the seventh night they came on shore in Cornwall and fared at once to King Ælfred." In Manus O'Donnell's *Betha Colum Chille*, "Life of Columcille,"¹⁴³ is related an adventure of Columcille with Mongan mac Fiachna, son of the king of Ulster, who came to match skill and knowledge with him and who declared that he had knowledge of many of the countries and islands and the hidden isles of the world. "In especial know I the thrice fifty islands that are westward from Erin in the sea. And thrice the measure of Erin is each of these islands." "And who is it dwelleth in those lands and districts whereby until today we have had no tidings?" saith Columcille. "There dwell therein," saith Mongan mac Fiachna, "worshipful folk of fair shape and form, both men and women, and there be bright cows with red ears there that have with them calves of like hue. And there be white sheep, exceeding many. These be the cattle and gear they have."¹⁴⁴ Columcille himself was a good sailor. On a time that he was traveling the sea by the coast of Alba, a great wind arose so that the ship was in great danger of sinking. And through humility Columcille bailed the bilge-water out

¹⁴² Edit. Thorpe, ii, 69, Master of the Rolls Collection.

¹⁴³ Pp. 78-81.

¹⁴⁴ O'KELLEHER and SCHOEPPERLE, *Life of Columcille*, p. 78.

of the ship.¹⁴⁵ Many if not most of these sea tales grew out of the practice of Irish monks of seeking a solitary place of meditation, penance and prayer, in the deserts of the ocean. During the course of the sixth century there arose in the seacoast dwellers of Ireland the same desire to go forth and become hermits and missionaries which, in the preceding century, had won for their countrymen the reputation for wandering which they enjoyed during the early Middle Ages. Possibly another reason why the Irish sought retirement on distant islands was because Roman ecclesiastical customs were beginning to spread all over Ireland. At the close of the Synod of Whitby, held in 664, when the king of Northumbria decided in favor of the institutions of Saint Peter as against the Irish practices of St. Columcille, several conformed to the practice of their opponents, the others retired in silent discontent to Iona.¹⁴⁶ Later, with the spread of the new regulations, the stubborn Irish monks were obliged to retreat into the very ocean. This yearning for a place of utter retirement from the world became with the Irish a passion. It is constantly referred to in the lives of Irish saints and has left its impression on the topography of the country in the Latin word *desertum*, which, though disguised in Anglo-Irish writings under a variety of spellings, most frequently occurs as Dysart or Dysert. Such was the ascetic ardor of these Irish anchorites, as almost to outdo the hermits of the sandy deserts of Syria and Egypt. Yet deserts of sand still attached them to earth, from which, if they could, they would escape entirely. So they sought for a desert in the ocean: "*Eremum in oceano quaerere*," and "*Pro Christo peregrinare votens, enavigavit*," are constantly recurring expressions. Gradually their island cloisters studded the coast of Ireland, "*insulas veluti monilia*," "like a necklace,"¹⁴⁷ and the circle widened until finally, in the latter part of the fourth century,¹⁴⁸ there was hardly a spray-swept isle off the coast that was not occupied by a small community or by an Irish anchorite, and the more inaccessible and further their retreats were removed from the mainland, the more saintly were held to be those who

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

¹⁴⁶ LINGARD, *The History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, 2d edit., vol. i, ch. 1.

¹⁴⁷ AMBROSE, *Hexam.*, iii, c. 5.

¹⁴⁸ BURY, *Life of St. Patrick*, pp. 294-295.

dwelt in them. Many of these adventurers must have lost their lives which they had entrusted to cockle shells of wattled twigs, and, as no tidings were ever heard of them, the belief could easily have arisen that they had reached the far off shores of the Land of the Blessed, from which there was no return. In a litany in the Book of Leinster,¹⁴⁹ and the Speckled Book,¹⁵⁰ is mention of an "anchorite whom Brendan met in the Land of Promise, with all the saints that had perished in the dark islands of the ocean." Those whom they had left at home in the ease and peace of the cloister dreamed of the terrible adventures, which, they supposed, had befallen their fellows. These dreams they told for mere amusement or for edification; other tales were highly colored yarns, purporting to be accounts of their adventures in search of the Land of Promise, spun by the adventurers themselves who were fortunate enough to return to their native land. In Adamnan's *Life of St. Columcille* is mention of a certain Baitan, who was Columcille's first successor in the monastery of Iona, and who, along with others, sought a desert "in pelago intransmeabili."¹⁵¹ About the same time, St. Cormac ua Liathain sailed to northern seas for the same purpose. He made at least three voyages and became known as Cormac Leir, "Cormac of the Sea,"¹⁵² "qui tribus non minus uicibus eremum in oceano laboriose quesivit, nec tamen inuenit." Similar tales are connected with St. Ailbe (Albaeus), of Emly, who lived at the close of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century, and his "family."¹⁵³ It is related of him that he had planned to sail to Ultima Thuli, but being dissuaded by the King of Cashel to undertake the voyage alone, he agreed to send twenty-four of the brethren in his stead. On his own journey, Brendan came upon the monastic family of Ailbe on an island which has many of the characteristics of the Land of Promise, though it is not identical with it. Punishment was sometimes inflicted by setting the guilty person adrift in a light skiff or wicker boat with one paddle, or in a leathern box without any paddle at all,

¹⁴⁹ *Book of Leinster*, p. 373, col. 4.

¹⁵⁰ *Leabhar Breac*, "The Speckled Book," p. 23, col. 2, l. 43.

¹⁵¹ ADAMNAN, ii, 14; *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, viii, 1883, p. 704.

¹⁵² ADAMNAN, i, 6; ii, 42; iii, 17; WAHLUND, *o. c.*, xxii.

¹⁵³ COLGAN, *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 241.

with a vessel of meal and water and sometimes with a club for keeping off the beasts of the sea. Many even imposed such an ordeal upon themselves as a penance. This punishment of setting adrift is described in detail by Muirchu¹⁴⁴ and is referred to in the *Ancient Laws of Ireland*¹⁴⁵: the criminal "must go unarmed to the shore, having nothing but a small and vile garment. He must bind his feet with an iron fetter and fling the fetter-key into the sea. He must then enter a 'navis unius pellis,' a coracle whose wicker framework was covered with hide only one fold deep, and, without food, sail, or rudder, commit himself to the mercy of the elements."

Besides the love of wandering, which was a peculiar ascetic trait of the early Irish Church, the mysterious attraction which the sea has always exercised on the minds of the Celts was a powerful impulse in driving many of the holy men of Ireland to the islands of mid-ocean. This attraction was reinforced by a lingering belief which they held in the existence of a delectable island beyond the waves, where the setting sun sinks in the western regions, and by the belief of the learned Fergil the Geometer, and possibly of other early Irish scholars, in the existence of men at the antipodes. This belief in a Great Land in the west was originally essentially pagan, and, even as such, vestiges of it still haunt the imagination of the longshore folk of Brittany and the west of Ireland. Such a belief in a happy other world is found, of course, among other peoples besides the Celts, but, with the latter, the spirit that pervades it is peculiarly Celtic. This pagan Elysium of the "Sidh" ("fairy") dwellers, the Irish called, and still call, *Tír na n-óg*, "the land of the (ever) young," *Tír na mbeó* "the land of the living," *Tír na mban*, or *Tír na nIngen*, "the land of women," *Mag Mór*, *Mag Mell*, *Trag Mór*, "the great plain," "the plain of delight," "the great strand," and by other names. The joys of this "Isle Delightsome," or "Lond of Biheste," were anything but spiritual. It remained for Christianity to add the spiritual element, and it is the incomplete amalgamation of Elysium and Eden which has produced the Irish conception of *Tír Tairngire*, "the Land of Promise," sought by Brendan.

¹⁴⁴ *Tripartite Life*, ii, 222, 228, clxiv; O'KELLEHER and SCHOEPPERLE, *Life of Columcille*, p. xviii, note.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. *Chronicon Sclorum*, 622; *Cáin Adamnáin*, ed. Kuno Meyer, p. 43.

Men thought it a region of sunshine and rest,
And they called it Hy-Brasil, the isle of the blest.¹⁵⁶

The garments of those who had spent but a few hours in that Promised Land bore the sweet scent of its fragrance for forty days. In the Dutch "Brendan" the returned voyagers ask: "En kendi niet den roeke van onsen clederen dat wi in dat paradijs hebben geweest,"¹⁵⁷ "And know ye not from the fragrance of our garments that we have been in paradise?"

Thus one reason for the great popularity which the Voyage of St. Brendan enjoyed was that it had its roots in an older popular tradition. Another was that, unlike most of the other sea voyages, it had the good fortune to be written in Latin as well as in Irish. It thus came within the ken of western Europe and became a part of the world's literature. Moreover, it was pervaded by a strong mysticism, a peculiar sense of magic, a terrible yet graceful supernaturalism, a vivid love of natural beauty, and by luxuriousness of detail and color. Still another reason was that it combined the marvelous with the edifying and satisfied a natural desire to read of voyages even though one is not able to take part in them. The Irish imagination always ran riot in the oversea voyage literature; nay, the marvelous voyages of the Argo and of Ulysses are reasonable and possible when compared with those of the Irish. And what legends took rise among them! Legends of saints who put to sea in cockle shells and even in *stone* troughs, in which they were wafted without oar or rudder from Ireland to Wales or from Wales to Brittany. And what stronger proof of the reality of those voyages could we demand than the very stone troughs themselves which are still to be seen in Brittany and in which fond mothers place their babes as a cure for many of the ills that flesh is heir to!

When in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Irish historians and encyclopedists gathered into great collections the disjecta membra of the old tradition, they quite arbitrarily classified them according to subject under several heads. The tales of the oversea type they divided into two classes, to which they gave the technical names "Longes" and "Immram." By "Longes," an abstract built on the Irish word *long* (Latin *navis longa*),

¹⁵⁶ Gerald Griffin.

¹⁵⁷ MOLTEER, *Loven*.

"a ship," they meant a voyage entered upon involuntarily or a banishment over the sea. In later times the word was used to mean any banishment, not only by sea or abroad but even from one Irish district to another. The most famous example of the class is *Longes mac nUsnig*, "The Exile of the Children of Usnech." The word "Immram" (pl. Immramha) had a wider scope. Its primary meaning was "a sailing round" or "circumnavigation," but it came to import a voyage of discovery or adventure, or any freely undertaken sea voyage wherein the description of the incidents is the leading motive. The Voyage of Brendan is also called, in Latin, *Navigatio* and *Peregrinatio*, and *Muridecht Brenainn*, in Irish. These tales of the sea seem to have developed between the middle of the seventh and end of the ninth century. Though there must have been many such, only seven are catalogued in the Book of Leinster,¹⁸⁸ and, of these, only three are known to exist, to which must be added the Voyage of Snedgus and Mac Riagla, which is not mentioned in the catalogue. The "Immramha" may be divided into what, for the sake of convenience, may be called, the one, a pagan, and the other a Christian, group, though in all of them there is a curious overlapping of ecclesiastical and secular elements. In general, the pagan framework has been preserved in the Christian "immramha," and it is only in spirit and influence that the two classes differ. The chief representative of the Christian class is the Voyage of Brendan. To this class belongs also the Voyage of the hÚi Corra, which in some of its parts is one of the earliest of the "Immramha." From the events narrated, it would appear to belong to the middle of the sixth century of our era, though the manuscripts in which it has been preserved are much later. The Voyage of Snedgus and Mac Riagla, like the Brendan story, bears a strong ecclesiastical stamp. It is a poetic description of a voyage of some Irish clerics who were driven by a tempest northwestward to the Shetlands. The piece was probably written originally in verse, which was afterwards replaced by a prose version which appears to belong to the end of the eleventh century. There are, besides, many smaller tales or mere episodes having the character of this group, such as the story of the

¹⁸⁸ *Book of Leinster*, 189c, l.29 ff.

Three Young Clerics and their Cat, the navigation of two Monks of the Order of St. Columba, who had been driven into northern seas and saw strange marvels there,¹⁴⁹ the Voyage or Exile of Breccan, who was shipwrecked off the Irish coast, famous in the literature and legends of Wales. Breccan had fifty boats trading between Ireland and Scotland, and on one of his voyages he was swallowed up in the great whirlpool. His fate was not known until, many years after, Lugaid, the blind poet, came to Bangor. The poet's attendants strayed from the town down to the strand, where they found the bleached skull of a small dog on the beach. They brought it to Lugaid and asked him whose it was. The poet commanded them to put the end of his poet's wand upon the skull, and then he told them that the skull was that of Breccan's little dog, and that Breccan himself with all his ships and people had been drowned in the whirlpool which ever since is known as "Breccan's Cauldron." Of the "Immramha" which are pronouncedly secular, the most remarkable are *Immram Brain maic Febail*, "The Voyage of Bran to the Land of the Living," which, partly by reason of the name of its hero, may have had considerable influence on the development of the Brendan legend—in fact, there are almost identical episodes in both stories—and *Immram Mael Duin*, "The Voyage of Maelduin," which has always been regarded as the type of this class of mythic literature, since it is both the oldest and shows no signs of Christian influence. Its composition probably antedates the raids of the Vikings in Ireland. Both the Maelduin and the Brendan story have so many points in common that the latter would appear to be nothing but the Christian adaptation of the former, or at least to have had its principle source in it.

Thus, in these and other pagan "Immramha," the author of the Voyage of Brendan had a framework ready at hand and elastic enough to allow the inclusion of all sorts of adventures, but it would be difficult to account for his choice of Brendan as his hero, unless the legend was founded on some basis of fact. In the earlier versions of the saga, Brendan set out in search of a place of retirement amid the waves of the ocean. In the later conception of the event, he engaged in a seven years' voyage to

¹⁴⁹ Todd's *Analysis of the Book of Fermoy*, p. 28.

discover the Earthly Paradise, and it is on the strength of this that he has chiefly acquired his reputation of a navigator. The former idea must have had an historical basis: it was only one of a large number of cases of which there can be no uncertainty. Whatever doubt remains concerns only Brendan's reputed voyage to the Land of Promise. He had been preceded in his quest, as we have seen, by his master Barintus, and by Mernoc, and in turn Brendan's example was followed by his favorite disciple, Machutus. This youth, who is also known as Maclovius, or in modern times as Malo, was born between 510 and 520 in Monmouthshire, and, consequently, was a Welshman but, according to Joannes a Bosco he was an Irishman, and according to Sigebert of Gembloux, a Breton. The story of his life is nearly as remarkable as that of his master. He became a disciple of Brendan at Llancarvan, in his native county, and is credited with having been one of the sailor-monks who sailed under the great Irish navigator. In the course of the development of the legend of St. Malo, the rôles of master and disciple have become inverted and in some versions the pupil seems to have usurped the place of his superior and got his celebrity, it would seem, at the expense of St. Brendan. St. Malo also was the hero of a strange Sindbad-like adventure on a whale's back and he is said to have been persecuted by the wicked Britons who, owing to a curse which he had laid upon them, suffered various reverses in battle. Saint Brendan intervened in the quarrel. In the following lines Johannes de Garlandia describes the punishment which Brendan inflicted upon the Britons for having ill-treated his disciple:

Fracta pace Deus irascitur: Edocet illud
 Prælustri sancto Scotia clara viro.
 Brandanus Eusebio maledixit teste Britannos:
 Iccirco flebant multa pericla pati.
 Trans mare se misit et eos prece solvit eorum;
 Et peregre licuit ire venire viro
 Frangentes igitur pacem maledictio franget;
 Gratia nec fractos quæ reparabit erit.¹⁰⁰

Sufficient instances have perhaps been adduced to show that the early medieval Irish were daring and enterprising sailors,

¹⁰⁰ USSHER, *Works*, vi, p. 51-52.

and, what is more, it is now generally held by geographers that it was Irish sailor-monks who effected the earliest voyages northward to the Arctic Circle, of which there is literary mention. The celebrated Irish geographer Dicuil has never been charged with being a fantastic writer. About the year 825 he wrote his famous work *Liber de mensura orbis terrae*, in which we find the following statement: "A certain priest who is worthy of credence has told me that, after a sail of two summer days and one night in a small ship with two thwarts, he landed on one of the islands (Shetlands). There is also another group of small islands (Faroes) divided from one another by narrow sounds, in which for about one hundred years (i. e. from 725 to 825) dwelt hermits from our Ireland. But as from the beginning of the world these islands were always deserted, so now, because of the destruction by the Northmen, there are no anchorites on them, but they are occupied by great flocks of sheep and a great variety of sea birds." Dicuil's statement is confirmed by Icelandic sources, and there is an interesting bit of Irish testimony to the same effect, going back two and a half centuries earlier. In the year 565 St. Columcille happened to be at the court of Brudeus, the converted king of the Picts of Scotland, and, the chief of the Orkneys being present, he told the king that some of his clergy had lately emigrated in the hope of finding a desolate country "in the impenetrable ocean," and he asked Brudeus to recommend those monks to the chief of the Orkneys so that he might take them under his protection.

It is now known positively that Irish anchorites were in the Orkneys as early as the year 579 and that they were driven out of the Shetlands in 620. It is also recorded that, about the year 670, some of them came to the Faroes; nor were they necessarily the first comers, but they may have been going to kinsmen who had settled there we know not how much earlier. But the tranquillity which they sought in those northern regions was of short duration: neither the rigorous climate nor the dull skies could save them from the incursions of the robbers of the sea, which, beginning in 725, finally in 795, drove the Irish settlers to an uninhabited island in the sea of ice which we now know as Iceland. In the year 861, even this place of refuge was discovered by the Northmen. It so happened that a Norwegian

pirate named Nadoddr, while sailing toward the Faroes, was surprised by a storm and driven within sight of a strange land covered with snow.¹⁶¹ He went ashore, climbed to a tall mountain, looked for a sign of habitation, and returned to Norway, praising the verdure and climate of the land he had visited and which he named Snaeland "Snowland." Nearly a century elapsed and, during the political troubles in the reign of Haraldr Hárfargi "Harald the Hairy" (860-930), the first king of Norway, many Norwegian refugees sailed over to Iceland and forthwith proceeded to inflict upon the Irish settlers there even worse cruelty and oppression than they themselves were fleeing from in Norway. Most of the Irish were slaughtered. Of those who escaped, some no doubt were lost at sea; others found their way back to Ireland, and still others, perchance, reached Greenland and even the shores of the Western Continent. The Book of Leinster¹⁶² and the Martyrology of Donegal¹⁶³ mention the massacre of Donnan, abbot of the island of Eig (Egg), slain as he said Mass, and of his fifty companions, whose names are given. It remained, however, for a descendant of those Norwegian invaders, namely, Ari Thorgilsson, the father of Icelandic history, surnamed Fróde "the Learned" (1067-1148), to atone for the wrongs which his forefathers inflicted upon the unfortunate Irish colony, by handing down to posterity the most precious account we possess of the presence of the first Irish navigators in Iceland. In his *Islendíngabók*, and similarly in the Prologue to *Landnáma*, he says, speaking of Iceland at the time the Norwegians reached it: "Thá voru hêr menn kristner, their er Northmenn kalla papa, en their fóru síthan a braut, af því at their vildu eigi vesa hêr vith heithna menn, ok létu eptir boekr Írskar ok bjöllur ok baglar. Af því mátti skilja at their voru menn Írskir." Christian men were there whom the Northmen call Papae, 'priests,' and they left the place because they did not wish to remain there with pagans, and they left behind them Irish books, bells and croziers, from which one may conclude that they were Irishmen." We are not to conclude from this, however, that all the Irish Icelanders

¹⁶¹ *Islands Landnámabók*, pt. I. ch. I, p. 5-8.

¹⁶² *Book of Leinster*, 359a.

¹⁶³ April 17.

were clerics. According to the *Breve Chronicon Norvegiae*,¹⁶⁴ "Papae vero propter albas vestes, quibus ut clerici induebantur, vocati sunt, unde in teutonica lingua omnes clerici Papae dicuntur," "They are called Papae because they wore white clothes and dressed like priests, wherefore in the Teutonic tongue all priests are called 'Papae.'" This word, which may be simply the Latin word *papa* or from the ecclesiastical use of *popa*, "master," has left its mark to this day on several of the islands in the Shetlands group and thereabouts. The Norwegians also called the Irish Icelanders "Westmen," "men come by sea from the west," that is, from Ireland, which, to the Norwegians, was a western land.

This article is not intended, nor is the present writer competent, to treat, with the fullness it deserves, of the thorniest question which still awaits solution in the intricate St. Brendan problem, if indeed the question can ever be decided without peradventure, namely, the discovery of America by Irish seamen. The literature on the subject is almost without limit and most of it has been printed. This material, however, both published and unpublished, must all be thoroughly sifted again with the closest scrutiny, and new light thrown on the subject from untried angles and with the aid of all the resources of Celtic and Scandinavian philology, geography and the allied sciences. Here it will be sufficient to state briefly a few phases of the problem and to refer to some of the greatest authorities for a more detailed discussion of the subject.

Most of our information concerning the early voyages of the Irish we owe to Icelandic historians, who have never been accused of drawing overmuch on their imagination or of lacking in a good memory, sobriety, and veracity. The twelfth century Danish historian, Saxo Grammaticus,¹⁶⁵ speaking of them, could truthfully say, "Indeed, they count it a delight to learn and to consign to remembrance the history of all nations, deeming it as great a glory to set forth the excellence of others as well as to display

¹⁶⁴ In *Monumenta historica Norvegiae*, pp. 89, 208. L. Duvau, in *Journal des Savants*, 1899, pp. 697 ff.

¹⁶⁵ *Saxonis Grammatici historia danica*, recens. Müller, Copenhagen, 1839, I, pp. 7-8.

their own." There are three Scandinavian documents which are supposed to refer to Irish settlements in America. In the *Landnámabók*, Ari Thorgilsson, referred to above, tells how his great-grandfather, Ari Marsson, a powerful Icelandic chief, who lived toward the end of the tenth century and was descended from Carroll (Irish *Cearbhal*, Icelandic *Kiarvalr*), king in Dublin, and some other Icelandic adventurers were blown by a storm upon Hvíttramannaland, "White Men's Land" (that is, men of white (not red) skin, or because they dressed in white), by some called Írland it Mikla, "Great Ireland." That country, it has been proved, was situated toward the west, near the sea and near Vínland it Góðha, "Wineland the Good," six weeks' sail, as they said, from Ireland. Ari goes on to relate how his great-grandfather was hospitably received by the Christian settlers in "White Men's Land," was converted and became chief of the colony. This story was first told by a certain Hrafn Hlymreksfari, "Hrafn the Limerick trader," who was a contemporary of Ari Marsson and had lived for a long time in Limerick, Ireland, and had probably heard it from Irish or Icelandic sailors returned from "White Men's Land." Further, Ari Fróde records that his own uncle, Thorkell Gellison, remembered hearing Icelanders say that they had heard Thorfinn, Earl of the Orkneys (whose father Sigurd was killed at Clontarf, in 1014), tell about Ari Marsson, how he had been recognized in "White Men's Land" and settled down there. Now, this celebrated expedition of Ari Marsson must have taken place about the year 983, and Vínland, near which was "Great Ireland" or "White Men's Land," is generally regarded as corresponding roughly to the northern New England States and New Brunswick. It must be admitted, of course, that it does not necessarily follow from the mere fact that the new land was called "Great Ireland" that it had been discovered by the Irish; it is just as possible that it was so called merely because of some imagined resemblance to Ireland. It is interesting to note that an echo of the Scandinavian belief in the existence of "Great Ireland" was heard as far away as Sicily, whither the Normans had carried it with them and where, in the twelfth century, the Arabian geographer Edrisi translated the name of the country into Arabic as "Írlandah-al-Kabirah."

The next Icelandic text which is supposed to refer to pre-Columbian Irish in America is the *Eyrbyggja Saga*, which was composed after the year 1148. It tells how a certain Iclander, Gudhleif Gudhlaugsson, was sailing home from Ireland, whither he had gone on business, when his ship, being west of Ireland, was driven by a great northeast wind southwestwards, until finally it reached a great land where the people seemed to be speaking Irish. After spending some time among them, Gudhleif and his companions returned to Ireland where they passed the winter and then in the spring sailed home to Iceland. The third of these texts is the mythical saga of Thorfinn Karlsefni, also known as the Saga of Eiric the Red, who, while sailing from Vinland to Greenland, which he discovered in 986, was driven by a south wind to Markland (Newfoundland) which, he was told, faced "White Men's Land." Still another possible reference to Írland it Mikla may be seen in the famous work of the Venetian Zeno brothers, though the authenticity of the narrative has been disputed. They engaged in several voyages late in the fourteenth century and on their return they reported rumors of an island far in the west. They landed and met one of the inhabitants who spoke Latin, and from him they learned that the island was called Estotilanda, which may possibly point to "Great Ireland," Labrador, or to some other northern region on the east side of America, or may be merely an error for Escotilanda ("c" and "t" being often indistinguishable in medieval manuscripts) and refer to Ireland or Scotland. It is the "cold Estotiland," of which Milton wrote.¹⁰⁶

Probably many more Icelandic mariners than those mentioned here were driven by violent winds on to the coast of "Great Ireland," but those are the only ones whose names have been preserved. In view of the frequent sailings off the west coast of Ireland, which is proved by numerous voyages that are recorded as having taken place during a century at least to and from the northern islands, it would be surprising if no Irish ship was blown out of its course in a storm and forced to cross the Atlantic. It need not be objected that such extensive voyages were not feasible in the simple vessels that were in use in those days. Some no doubt were shipwrecked, but that the feat was not impossible

¹⁰⁶ *Paradise Lost*, x, 686.

has been proved by authentic cases of boats no larger than those of the Irish drifting or in some way making the trans-Atlantic voyage. Furthermore, it is known positively that from the year 1003 to the year 1347 sailings between Iceland and Nova Scotia were not uncommon. While the Icelandic texts just quoted may prove nothing or may prove very much, this much is certain, that the Icelanders themselves believed that it was the Irish who first reached the western shores and first introduced Christianity into the New World. Nowhere do they ascribe to themselves the credit or glory of the discovery. Even had they been so disposed, one may conjecture that the claims of the Irish were too notorious to be disputed. And is it not inconsistent that, while nobody hesitates to take the candid word of the Scandinavians when they state that the Irish had preceded them to Iceland, their most positive statements that they had also gained the start of them in reaching America awaken suspicion? While, then, it has not yet been proved, to the entire satisfaction of all unbiased minds, that America was first discovered—and in part colonized—by Irish mariners, it would be unreasonable to reject *en bloc* all the evidence which has been advanced in favor of the reality of the Irish sea voyages, merely because there is so much of the marvelous in them. The early writers, unfortunately perhaps, were not so much concerned with placing on record historical events and geographical discoveries as with providing edifying or amusing stories, and it is precisely the fabulous elements that explain the preservation of these legends. While we ought not to be too positive about asserting or denying the truth of the events narrated, it is not too much to allow that there must have been some framework of fact on which was woven the web of adventure. The possibility, nay, the probability, of Irish forerunners of the Norsemen in America has been admitted by some of the most eminent modern geographers, Alexander von Humboldt, for example, whose opinion deserves to be quoted: "I do not at all share the contempt with which these national traditions have often been treated. On the contrary, I am firmly persuaded that with a little diligence the discovery of facts entirely unknown today will clear up many of these historic problems." It has also been admitted by such distinguished historians as Rafn, and Tarducci, and by the American authority who has made the most

exhaustive study of the question: "It seems likely," says Mr. Babcock, "that America was actually reached by the Irish even before the Norsemen and certainly long before all other Europeans;"¹⁸⁷ and again, "In view of what they (the Irish) really achieved, their known fearlessness and very special impulsion, why should it be incredible that in one thing more they should outstrip others, reaching at some point the mainland of America, though they might not be able to return, and their settlements must die out if reinforcements failed? If their supplanters in Iceland, the Norsemen, had not recorded the presence there of these ecclesiastical Irishmen, it is likely that we should still be debating it today, though it continued so long;"¹⁸⁸ and finally, "One must feel that Irish monks, blinded to everything beyond their absorbing purpose, may very well have been here before any Norsemen; but it seems at present beyond proving."¹⁸⁹

It is to be feared that the case for the Irish discoverers has been discredited by the extravagant nature of some of the claims advanced in their favor by overzealous partisans. There have been many fantastic notions regarding the Celtic pre-Columbian discoveries of America. The height of absurdity was reached some fifty years ago by a French geographer who maintained that the Irish in America were descended from Brendan or from some one of the obscure Irish precursors of Christopher Columbus, and that there is a close likeness between the Irish language and the Algonquin and other Indian dialects. Some of these would-be philologists have indeed proved to their own satisfaction that the word Algonquin itself is of Irish origin! It will be sufficient merely to mention in passing some of the most fanciful statements which have been put forward in connection with this subject. From time to time we read in the newspapers of the discovery of Celtic remains in the New World. Wherever towers are found, as in Colorado and New Mexico, showing the slightest resemblance to the round towers of Ireland, or heaps of stones suggesting Irish beehive cells, the discoverers at once jump to the conclusion that they must be due to Irish builders. The letters of old navigators, like Cartier, Champlain, and Cortes, have been ransacked for

¹⁸⁷ W. H. BABCOCK, in *The Glories of Ireland*, p. 37.

¹⁸⁸ *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, p. 27.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

the purpose, and any superficial analogies which they show to have existed between the rites and customs of the American and Mexican Indians and Christianity have been singularly exaggerated and attributed to the influence of Irish missionaries. The Indians, as is well known, had immemorial traditions of the presence of white men in the country before the coming of the Spaniards, and some of their tribes were taught that their ancestors crossed a great lake full of islands, very much as Irish sailors may have crossed the Atlantic by using the northern islands and Greenland as stepping stones. Some writers have held that the white Esquimaux are descendants of early Irish settlers! The civilization that existed in Mexico from the seventh century onward has been said to have been founded on the laws and customs of the ancient Irish, and some have even gone so far as to assert that Quetzalcohuatl, the more or less mythical Mexican hero-god or reformer, was one of these Irish legislators, or, who knows, perhaps even St. Brendan himself! But the Welsh were the greatest sinners, in the long yarns they spun of Indians speaking Welsh or Irish.¹⁷⁰ This was chiefly in the days when celtomania was rampant. For example, at the time of Sir Walter Raleigh, reports spread in England that the English colonists in Virginia were surprised to be saluted in Welsh by the redskins. Then there is the well-known case of the Rev. Morgan Jones, who was made prisoner in Virginia in 1669 by the Tuscaroras, who, he discovered, spoke a language resembling his own. Jones afterwards preached to the Indians and became their adviser in difficult matters. An almost identical story is told by Charles Beatty in his *Journal of Two Months' Tour* (1768), how a party of Carolina savages were about to scalp him, but they spared his life when he happened to exclaim a few words in Gaelic. Captain Stewart believed that he had come across Celtic books among the Natchitoches on the Red River,¹⁷¹ and the Carolinians were said to possess a copy of the Bible in Irish. All these questions were for a long time a hotly controverted point of Welsh history. A few years ago a rusty knife blade, bearing the date 1257, and heavily incrustated with sulphur, was dug up

¹⁷⁰ *Dictionnaire des Sciences Naturelles*, t. xxi, p. 392; *Revue Encyclopédique*, No. 4, p. 162.

¹⁷¹ HUMBOLDT, *Examen crit. de l'histoire de la Géogr. du nouv. Cont.*, 1837, ii, 144

from an Indian mound near Sulphur Springs, Ark. The finder, Mr. Thomas W. Barton, also claimed to have collected legends among the Creek Indians of the existence of a colony of white men among them some 600 years before, and that the Creek language has preserved many Welsh words which have been handed down from generation to generation. According to Mr. Barton, some boat-loads of Welshmen must have been blown across the Atlantic into the Gulf of Mexico, where they entered the Mississippi, went up the Arkansas, and became assimilated with the Indian tribes of New Mexico and Arizona. While all such stories as those just cited must of course be received with the utmost caution, the Welsh really had a naval hero whose fame bid fair for a time to rival that of St. Brendan himself. It is an historic fact that in the year 1170 a dispute arose as to the succession to the throne of Owain, king of Gwynedd, North Wales. One of the princes, Madoc, disgusted with the civil wars, is said to have decided to leave his people and to set sail due west in the ocean. After a while he returned home, and, as a result of the glowing account which he gave of the land he had visited, he had no difficulty in persuading a large number of his countrymen to accompany him on another voyage. This event is referred to in the Welsh Triads¹⁷³ (transcribed probably in the twelfth century) which, enumerating the "three complete losses suffered by the Isle of Britain," mention "Madawg ab Owain Gwynedd," who put to sea in ten ships with three hundred men, "ac ni wyddys i ba le ydd aethant," "and arrived, no one knows where." It is also narrated by Caradog of Llancarvan in the *History of Cambria*, and by divers other historians.¹⁷³ In the margin of the St. Gall manuscript¹⁷⁴ is the following gloss in Old Irish: "Do inis maddoc dún. i. meisse 7 coirbbre," which may mean "we belong to the island of Madoc, I and Cairbre," and refer to an Inis Madoc (Island of Madoc), in the lake of Templeport, County Cavan, Ireland, or to a St. Maiddoc, or Mogue, of Ferns, who was born

¹⁷³ Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales, p. 401; J. LOEH, *Les Mabinogion*, 2 ed., ii, pp. 301-302.

¹⁷³ HAKLUTT's *Voyages*, iii (1600), p. 1; *The History of Cambria, now called Wales*, . . . trans. by Humphrey Lloyd, . . . corrected . . . by David Powel, London 1584, pp. 227-229.

¹⁷⁴ Page 194a.

near that lake.¹⁷⁵ Robert Southey made *The Voyage of Madoc* into an epic, now almost forgotten, and Thomas Stephens, the historian of Welsh literature, gathered the material into an exceedingly interesting though imaginative volume entitled, *Madoc, An Essay on the Discovery of America by Madoc*.¹⁷⁶ As late as the year 1792 a zealous Welshman named John Evans undertook a voyage to America to visit the Welsh colony which was believed to have been left here by Madoc. After traveling far and wide, exhausting his funds, being taken for a spy, thrown into prison and suffering many other hardships, he abandoned the quest and died of fever.

But, to return to St. Brendan. There does not seem to be any valid reason for doubting his existence, nor for doubting that he did make the voyage or voyages attributed to him. We shall probably never know positively what real journey is hidden under the accretions which grew in extravagance with each passing generation, or the exact time at which it was performed. Brendan's first sail would appear to be limited to the islands off the west coast of Ireland, perhaps extending to the Orkneys, the Hebrides, or the Faroes; the latter is unquestionably referred to in the description of the Sheep Island. His second voyage indicates a more extended navigation over a vast expanse of ocean in a more southerly direction, beating about from one island to another in the archipelagoes of the eastern Atlantic. In the course of time the accounts of the two voyages became contaminated, and while we find that some of the versions represent Brendan as sailing west, as is rather to be expected, others read "contra solitium estivale," "encontre midi," or "vers orient," eastward and southward. For the same reason, we find in one and the same text mention of extreme cold and floating structures which may be icebergs, and other phenomena belonging to high latitudes, together with luxuriant herbage and foliage, singing birds and other features characteristic of a temperate or subtropical climate. Consequently it is almost impossible to trace with any confidence on a map the course followed by Brendan. Yet some of the geographic details are curiously accurate, and all the evidence

¹⁷⁵ J. C. ZEUS, *Grammatica Celtica*, xiii; O'CURREY, *Manuscript Materials*, p. 27. JOYCE, *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, I, p. 489. E. HOGAN, *Onomasticon Gadelicum*.

¹⁷⁶ London and New York, 1894; *Revue Celtique*, xv, 124.

seems to combine to indicate that his first stopping place was most probably the Azores, and then the Madeiras. Curiously enough, one island of the latter group is called Las Desertas, and another bears the name Porto Santo, which can be traced back at least to the middle of the fourteenth century, if that has any bearing on the question. It is significant also that some of the Madeira Islands formerly bore birds' names; the chart of Gabriel de Valesque, 1439, has drafted an island, apparently in the Azores, called Ylha de Oesels. These may be souvenirs of the Bird Islands, which play such a prominent part in the Voyage. Brendan's next haven was in the Canaries, which were also celebrated for their sheep and birds. The Island of Fire has been identified with Hecla, but it is much more likely that by it is meant Tene-riffe, which may have been at that time in eruption. Brendan next seems to have made a considerable sojourn in and near Cape Verde Island, and may even have set foot on Africa near Mount Atlas, where he came to a great river, though this latter excursion is altogether unlikely. Thus far it seems only reasonable to follow him on his voyage. But it is not without the bounds of possibility that on his way home his boat was caught by favorable trade winds and swept into an ocean current. The southern branch of the Gulf Stream passes around Maderia and the Canaries, and its extension is the North Equatorial Current which empties into the sea of the Antilles and the Bahamas. This would carry him necessarily in a great sweep southwest and west to the coast of North or South America.

However gratuitous the attempts which have been made to plot the course of Brendan's voyage, there is no doubt that the spread of the story had a considerable effect on the development of cartography and geographical knowledge. Even though conjecture was given a wide latitude by the early map makers, there seems to have been, for a time at least, a sort of general agreement as to the location of St. Brendan's Islands or, later, Island. Their earliest appearance, thus far recorded, is on the so-called Hereford (England) map which was made by Richard de Haldingham about the year 1275 or 1280, that is, shortly after the discovery of the Canaries.¹⁷⁷ There they are put down with full confidence opposite Mount Atlas, in the location of the

¹⁷⁷ WESTROPP, p. 240 ff.

Canaries, the identification being, no doubt, due, to some extent at least, to the influence of the ancient geographers who placed the Fortunate Islands in that region. The reading on the Hereford map is "Fortunate Insulae sex sunt Insulae Sct Brandani," "The Fortunate Islands. There are six. The Islands of St. Brendan." The Hereford map was not based on actual discovery, however. The first map drawn along the lines of what may be called serious geography is by Angelinus Dulcert, of Majorca, which dates from 1339. It marks the Islands of St. Brendan distinctly as "Insulle Sa Brandani." The Parmesan map of the Pizzigani Brothers, which dates from 1367,¹⁷⁸ agrees with the Dulcert map in identifying and naming the islands of St. Brendan. It contains not only the legend "Isola Marieniga, isola Canaris, isola Brandani," but also a figure in a monastic garb, intended perhaps to represent St. Brandan himself, bending over the islands as if bestowing a blessing upon them. In general, the maps of the fifteenth century, such as that of the Genoese Battista Beccario, the Weimar map, the maps of the Venetian Graziolo Benincasa, of Fra Mauro and of the Venetian Andrea Bianco, all identified St. Brendan's Island with Madeira, less often with the Canaries. The map of Jacobus de Zireldis (1443), however, places these islands north of Ireland, while the portolano in St. Mark's, Venice, shows an island not far from the west coast of Ireland with the legend "La Montagna de Sto Brandan." Toward the end of the fifteenth century we begin to see the Brendan island moving toward the west and coming nearer to the Equator. At first, the words "St. Brendan's Fortunate Islands" lie between the Madeiras and the Azores and may apply to either group or to both. In Bianco's second great map of 1448, the wandering island is westward of the Azorean archipelago, the largest island of which, corresponding to what is called Terceira today, bears the title "Ya fortunat de sa beati blandan." In the same year as the discovery of America appeared Martin Beheim's (Bohemus) celebrated globe, at Nuremberg, on which St. Brendan's Island is placed still farther west and south in midocean, lying between Africa and South America and near the Equator. It seems to be confused with the Antilles and bears the following legend in German: "Nach Christi Gepurt 565 Jar kam Sandbrendan mit

¹⁷⁸ JOMARD, *Les Monuments de la Géographie*.

sein Schiff auf dise Insel, der doselbst vil wonders besah und der über sibem Jar darnach wider in sein Landt zog." "In the year 565 after Christ's birth, Saint Brendan, with his ship, came to this Island. He there saw many wonders, and after seven years he came again to his own land." On the map which the Florentine Paolo Toscanelli made for Christopher Columbus and which served as the great discoverer's sailing directions on his first voyage, the island of St. Brendan occupies its customary place southwest of the Canaries and Madeira. In the sixteenth century, as the seas came to be better known, map makers were forced to locate St. Brendan's Island more and more out of the range of navigation. Its general trend was now northward and westward, though the Englishman, Thomas Nicholls, still identified it with Madeira. On the magnificent map painted on parchment, by order of Henry II of England, it is located between Iceland and Newfoundland. About the same position is assigned to it in the so-called Sebastian Cabot map of 1544, which places it in the latitude of the Straits of Belle Isle in the wastes of the North Atlantic. In Ortelius's map (1560), it is brought somewhat nearer to Iceland, west of and in the latitude of Ireland. Similarly in Mercator's map of 1569. In the map by Mathias Quad, of Cologne (1608), it is shown well out to sea between Ireland and North America. Even in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries St. Brendan's Island still existed on paper; for example, in a French geographical chart of as late a date as 1755, in which it is placed 5° west of the island of Ferro, in latitude 29° N., and, finally, it took refuge near the Mascarene Islands in the Indian Ocean.

But though St. Brendan's Island constantly shifted position and finally disappeared altogether from geographies, a belief in its existence was confidently clung to during the entire Middle Ages and even after the oceans had been traversed and known in all their parts and the American coast had been discovered from Labrador to Tierra del Fuego. It was supposed to be an isle of supernatural beauty and wonders, and occupied by a saintly Christian people; an echo of this belief is expressed by Camões:

Passadas tenho ja as Canárias ilhas,
Que tiveram por nome Fortunadas.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ *Os Lusíadas*, Cant. v, estan. viii.

Having left the Canarian Islands far behind—
Named of yore "The Fortunate."

In his *Imago Mundi*¹⁰⁰ (*Image du Monde*), written in 1130, Honoré d'Autun describes the paradisiacal island which is found only by chance and sought for in vain. He calls it "*Quaedam Oceani insula dicta Perdita*," and adds, "*ad hanc fertur Brandanus venisse*":

Une autre ille est que on ne puet
Veoir comme on aler se veult,
Et aucune fois est veue:
Si l'appelle on l'Ille Perdue;
Celle ille trouva sains Brandains,
Qui mainte merveille vit ains.

Brendan's Island is also referred to in the *Weltchronik* of Rudolf von Hohen-ems (middle of the thirteenth century), who thus describes it: "*Ein isel heizet Perditâ—das irdensche Paradis*," in which all one's desires are fulfilled:

Der vil wunderliche gotes degen
Der abbet sante Brandân
Kam drin—als ich vernomen hân—
Übr manic hundert jâre sider
Dâ sich liez ûf die erde nider
Un Nôê diu grôze diet.¹⁰¹

The Abbot, St. Brendan, God's very wonderful knight, came thither—as I have heard—many hundred years ago, when Noah with his numerous folk let himself down on earth.

While engaged in missionary work in Guatemala, Friar Alfonso de Espinosa, a member of the Order of Preachers, heard of the Holy Image of our Lady of Candelaria, in Teneriffe. He afterwards spent many years on that island, and in his book *Del Origen y Milagros de la Santa Imagen de Nuestra Señora de Candelaria*—an interesting work, though of uncertain trustworthiness, published in 1594—he describes how the venerated image had been discovered on the seashore, and quotes a tradition of the few surviving members of the Guanches, or old native population of Teneriffe, to the effect that a party of sixty strangers with a bishop among them had long ago landed in the north of the island, at a place called "The Gathering Place of the Mighty One."

¹⁰⁰ I, 36; *Patrologia Lat.*, c'xxii, p. 133.

¹⁰¹ *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, xiii, p. 202.

Then, on the strength of a certain "Kalanda," he continues: "Fortunatae insulae sex numero—in Oceano Atlantico ab occasu Africae adjacentes. Hic Blandanus (*sic*) magnae abstinentiae uir ex Scotia pater trium millium monachorum cum beato Maclonio (*i.e.*, Maclouio) has insulas septennis perlustravit." These things, Espinosa says, were done during the reign of the Emperor Justinian.

Not only did St. Brendan's Island find a place on the maps of Europe and in literary works for at least 400 years, but it was a geographical puzzle which many adventurous souls sought to riddle with almost as much persistence as the passage to the Indies itself. Raoul Glaber declares that people were convinced that it was on St. Brendan's Island that Don Rodrigo, the last Gothic king of Spain, took refuge after his defeat by the Saracens at Jerez de la Frontera (A. D. 711), and that he still, like another Arthur, abides there. At a later period the Spanish believed that it was to that same island that the Portuguese king, Sebastian, retired after his defeat and death at the battle of Alcazar Quivir (1578). When, in 1519, Emmanuel of Portugal signed the Treaty of Evora, he relinquished Portugal's claims to the Canaries and also expressly included in the cession the Island of St. Brendan, which had not yet been discovered. Shortly afterwards, in 1526, two adventurers, Fernando de Troya and Fernando Alvarez, equipped an expedition and set out in search of the mysterious island. Toward the end of that century, in 1589, the Dutch navigator, Van Linschoten, on his return from the Indies, reported that the Canary Islanders firmly believed in the existence of the Isle of San Borondon about one hundred leagues to the right of the Canaries. In the year 1570, inquiries were instituted on Palma and elsewhere in the Canaries, to which pilots and other credible witnesses were summoned. Some of them swore that they had not only seen the mysterious island, but had even set foot on it. Though all agreed as to its general position and outline, some thought it was 100 leagues away, others 50, others only 10. As a result of the inquiry, a flotilla was fitted out and despatched to discover the illusive island. But the difficulty was not to see it but to find it. However clearly it was discerned from a distance, when the sailors came near, a tempest or mist always arose to blot it out and snatch it from their grasp, so that

the saying arose concerning the island, "Quando se busca no se halla," "When it is sought for it is not found." Yet in spite of all these vain efforts, new expeditions continued to go out in search of it. There was one in 1604 under Lorenzo Pinedo and G. Perez de Acosta, and another in 1633. Well might it be said of the Canarians, "superstitiosi enim ultra modum quam dici potest fuerunt populi canarienses."¹⁸² The Jesuit, Don Joseph de Viera y Clavijo, in his very interesting book, *Noticias de la historia general de las islas de Canaria*,¹⁸³ in which he examined thoroughly the question of St. Brendan's Island, was forced to admit that there never was a more difficult paradox in the science of geography; since, on the one hand, to affirm its existence was to go counter to all reason, science and criticism; while, on the other, to deny it, was to destroy all faith in tradition and experience, and to suppose that all the trustworthy witnesses who had testified to having seeing it were out of their senses. He left the matter unsettled and concluded by saying that "the impartial reader is at liberty to judge the matter for himself and to take whatever side he pleases, if the matter be one in which there is any certainty to take." Even after the appearance of the learned Jesuit's book, voyages to discover the island continued to be made. In 1721, at the instance of the Governor of the Canaries, a fleet was fitted out on a grand scale and entrusted to Don Gaspar Dominguez, a man of probity and talent. Washington Irving, in his *Life of Columbus*,¹⁸⁴ relying on Nuñez, Viera and other early Spanish authors, describes the excursion as follows: "As this was an expedition of solemn and mysterious import, he (Don Gaspar) had two holy friars as apostolical chaplains. They made sail from the island of Teneriffe, toward the end of October, leaving the populace in an indescribable state of anxious curiosity. The ship, however, returned from its cruise as unsuccessful as all its predecessors." As late as the year 1759, nearly forty persons on one of the Canaries declared that they saw the mysterious island together. By that time people had come to the conclusion that it had a miraculous or diabolic power of appearing and disappearing. It was seen only at intervals, and not only in

¹⁸² *Nova Typis*, etc., (vd. note 113).

¹⁸³ Book ii, ch. 28.

¹⁸⁴ Vol. i.

stormy weather but even on the brightest summer days when the atmosphere was most pure and clear. The phenomenal island was, no doubt, an optical illusion, one of those mirages which are common at sea when the image of a real coast is reflected in the clouds; but we are not able to say if it has been seen in our own days.

As early as the twelfth century doubts were expressed and protests raised against the Brendan legend. Giraldus Cambrensis¹⁰⁸ had a fling at it when he wrote "these things might truly be thought incredible except that, in those who believe, all things are possible." In the thirteenth century, the learned Dominican, Vincent de Beauvais (Vincentius Bellovacensis) in his *Speculum Historiale*,¹⁰⁹ was even more severe: "hujus autem peregrinationis historiam," he wrote, "propter apocrypha quaedam deliramenta quae in ea videntur contineri penitus ab opere isto resecamus." Vincent was not consistent, however, for he gave place in his *Mirror* to the story of St. Machutus, which is not less apocryphal than that of St. Brendan. Other writers also considered the whole story fabulous and employed almost the very words as those just quoted regarding it: "vana fictaque vel apocrypha deliramenta, praesertim de septennali ejus navigatione ad insulas prius incognitas," qualifying it as "silly, lying, apocryphal ravings." To judge by the satirical references to St. Brendan which are found in medieval Latin literature, it is not at all unlikely that they are largely the voice of monastic jealousies which grew out of the preposterous claims which Irish monks on the continent were accused of making for their famous countryman. A lively account of their braggadocio was written, between 1281 and 1283, by Nicolai de Bibera Erfordensis. Speaking of the Irish monks in the monastery of St. Jacobus Scotorum in Erfordia (Erfurt), Germany, he says,

Sunt et ibi Scoti, qui cum fuerint bene poti,
 Sanctum Brandanum proclamant esse decanum
 In grege Sanctorum, vel quod deus ipse deorum
 Brandani frater sit et ejus Brigida mater.
 Sed vulgus miserum non credens hoc esse verum
 Estimât insanos Scotos simul atque profanos

¹⁰⁸ *Top. Hib.*, Dist., ii, ch. xlii.

¹⁰⁹ Book xxi, ch. 81.

Talia dicentes. Accedant scire volentes,
 Ex evangelico textu probo quod tibi dico:
 Qui non dilinquit, sed qui perfecerit, inquit,
 Velle mei patris, illum voco nomine fratris.
 Immo meus frater est et soror et mea mater.
 Sic sancti quique, qui regnant hic et ubique,
 Et possunt fratres simul et Christi fore matres,
 Si non ignores, et possunt esse sorores.
 Sic Brigidam, Brandanum dicite patrem
 Nam perfecerunt, quecunque deo placuerunt.

There are some Irishmen there who, when they have drunk too much, proclaim that St. Brendan is the dean of the flock of saints and that the God of gods is the brother of Brendan, and that Brigit is His mother. But the poor people do not believe this to be true: They look on the Irish making such statements as insane and at the same time profane. Let those who desire to know approach: I will prove what I say by a text from the Gospel (here follows a gloss: "quicumque fecerit voluntatem patris mei ipse meus frater, soror, mater," quoting inaccurately from Matt. xii, 50), to wit, "He that sins not, but does the will of my Father, Him I will call brother." Nay, he is my brother, and sister and mother. So, when one thinks of it, the saints, whether they reign here or elsewhere, can be both brother and mother and sister of Christ, like Brigit and Brendan, because they lived according to the will of God.

According to Giraldus Cambrensis,¹⁸⁷ the saints of Ireland were not only exalted by their merits above those of other lands, but, he adds, they appear to have been of a vengeful temper. An instance of this vindictiveness is seen in the following strange story: One day Brendan had commanded a brother to guard a ship which was drawn up on the beach, and, when the tide rose, another brother who was in the ship was in danger of being drowned, and the first brother went to his rescue. Brandan coming up rebuked him and said, "Dost thou love him more than me? Go then and die in his place." Thereupon the brother saved his comrade and was drowned in doing so. The case was tried by the Synod of holy men, who referred it for decision to Brendan's foster mother, Ita, who imposed upon the criminal a sea voyage as a penance, and it was in fulfillment thereof that Brendan went to Britain. In later times St. Brendan came to be regarded as particularly hostile to the Scandinavian invaders, perhaps because he disliked them as rival navigators!

¹⁸⁷ *Top. Hib.*, Dist., ii, ch. lv.

In *Three Fragments of Irish Annals*, it is chronicled under 863 A. D., that Earl Tomar, a fierce, rough, cruel man of the Norsemen, came from Limerick to Clúain-fearta-Brenainn (Brendan's favorite establishment at Clonfert), expecting to find great prey in that church, but word of his coming had gone out a short time before him. Some of the monks whom he found on the floor of the church and in the churchyard he put to death. But in that same year Tomar died of madness, and at his last moments he saw in a vision Brendan killing him.

The bitterest attack that ever was launched on the Brendan legend was made by an unknown poet, in a metrical life of St. Brendan in Latin, preserved in an eleventh or twelfth century manuscript at Lincoln College, Oxford.¹⁰⁰ It begins:

Hic poeta, qui Brendani uitam uult describere,
Graue crimen uiro Dei uidetur inurere.

This poet who would fain write the life of Brendan, seems to attach a serious crime to the man of God.

The author exclaims against the folly of believing that St. Brendan forsook the 3,000 monks who were intrusted to his care and for whose guidance he would have to render an account to God, and that,

Currens semper ad occasum uelo, uento, remige,
Coursing ever towards the west, under sail, with the wind, and by oar,
he sought in the sea what is to be found only in heaven.

O rem miram, risu dignam, et plenam stulticie!
Fabulosum est, non uerum, neque ueri simile.

Oh, how strange, laughable, and full of folly—A fable it is, not true nor even truthlike.

He objects to the demons singing praises to the Creator which, he holds, is contrary to Catholic doctrine. Then with a burst of indignation he exclaims:

O quam macra et infelix spes est Hibernensium,
Quibus post hanc vitam tota merces operum
Terra nuda et lapilli atque flores arborum!

How lean and miserable is the hope of the Irish, whose only reward for their labors after this life is a bare land, with stones and the flowers of trees.

¹⁰⁰ PLUMMER, *o. c.*, ii, 293-294.

On the other hand, very high praise is bestowed upon Brendan, and the reading of his *Voyage* is warmly commended, in another Latin poem which consists chiefly of a translation of the well-known Anglo-Norman version. It contains 311 rhymed quatrains in catalectic tetrameter, and was written, it would appear, for a certain Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln.¹⁸⁹ It begins:

Vana vanis garriat	pagina pagana,
Greges agros prelia	vox Virgiliana,
Mundi dilectoribus	placeant mundana;
Alexandri studia	pia sint, non vana.

To the vain, the pagan page chatters its emptiness; the voice of Virgil sings of flocks and farms and wars. Let those who find pleasure in this world, delight in worldly things. But let Alexander's reading be of holy, not of empty, subjects.

The poem contains some eloquent passages, as the description of the whale and the account of the meeting with Judas, who, enjoying a short respite due to Brendan's intercession, exclaims "Horror hic pro requie mihi reputatur." The author borrows lavishly from classical mythology and delights in verbal conceits, for example, in this description of Brendan's monastic regime:

Abbas jam de monacho,	mater fit in patre.
Patris ei gravitas,	amor dignus matre.
Patrem matre temperans	imperabat grate.
Sic qui fratres regitis	patres imperate!

These two Latin poems may be taken as representing the two extreme views which have been held and are still held concerning the Brendan legend. It remains to say a word about the influence which the legend exercised over two great Italians. For the first of these it will be sufficient to quote the words of the foremost living American Dantean scholar: "Among the numerous medieval accounts of the terrestrial paradise which Dante may have used in the composition of his *Purgatorio*, there is one with which he seems to have been particularly familiar. Between the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* and the *Commedia* there are resemblances so clear as almost to exclude the possibility of chance coincidence or indirect influence."¹⁹⁰ Now it is important

¹⁸⁹ ERNST MARTIN, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum u. d. Litt.*, Vol. xvi, Neue Folge, iv, 1873, p. 289 ff; MORAN, *Acta S. Brendani*, pp. 43-84.

¹⁹⁰ C. H. GRANDGENT, *Cato and Elijah*, Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, xvii, 1902, pp. 82-83.

to remember that it was from Dante that Christopher Columbus may have got the first idea of his voyage to the Indies. He must also have been acquainted with the writings of his townsman, Jacobus de Voragine (obit. 1298) who was Bishop of Genoa and who in his *Golden Legend* gave special prominence to the Promised Land of St. Brendan. For at least two centuries Brendan's name and expedition were very popular in Genoa, a maritime city, and we can easily believe that Columbus, who was blind to everything but his great mission and studied with avidity all the theories, stories and conjectures that were current in his day, in fact every shred of information that pertained to the sea and especially to the Atlantic, could not fail to be familiar with the legend of St. Brendan. When he came to live in Portugal and married into a sea-going family, the chief topic of discussion was naturally voyages and discoveries, and among these the voyage of St. Brendan held the place of prominence. His son Fernando writes of his father, "gli piaceva molto ragionare con coloro che per quanta navigavano,"¹⁰¹ and, speaking of the inducements which led him to undertake the voyage, Fernando mentions "las (sc. islas) de San Brendan, de que se cuentan cosas admirables,"¹⁰² "the islands of St. Brendan, of which wonderful things are told." Thus the legend must have had a decided influence on the mind of Columbus, and helped to lighten the terrors of the unknown ocean. Under date of Jueves 9 de Agosto 1492, when on board ship on his first voyage of discovery, he wrote that, when he was in Portugal, in 1484, he had seen men who had come from Madeira to ask for a caravel to go in search of the land that continued to appear every year.¹⁰³ "I am convinced," he wrote, "that therein (namely, the Island of St. Brendan) must be the earthly paradise to which no one can come except by the will of God." Could it be that it was due to the influence of Brendan that Columbus took with him in the *Santa Maria* at least one Irish sailor, "Gulliermo Ires natural de Galuy en Irlanda?" It is worthy of mention that this William the Irishman was a native of Galway, Ireland's most flourishing

¹⁰¹ Ch. V.

¹⁰² *Historia del Almirante Don Cristobal Colon*, por Fernando Colon, su hijo, Madrid, 1892, i, 44.

¹⁰³ NAVARETTE, *Coleccion de los viajes y descubrimientos*, tom. i, Madrid, 1835.

seaport facing the Atlantic, and it is not too much to suppose that he was chosen as especially familiar with all Irish sea-lore and especially with the legend of the Voyage of St. Brendan. At the very least, then, one may say that, even if Saint Brendan was not the discoverer himself, which has not been proved, his story was one of the moving causes that led Columbus to the discovery of the New World.

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THE SACRED CONGREGATION DE PROPAGANDA FIDE (1622-1922)

The establishment of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide was decided upon by the Holy See at the flood-tide of that remarkable movement of the latter half of the sixteenth, and the first quarter of the seventeenth centuries, which goes by the inaccurate name of *Counter-Reformation*. The Council of Trent (1545-1563) had succeeded beyond the sanguine expectations of the day, in spite of great opposition, not only in determining for all time to come the doctrinal basis of the faith, but in formulating the first satisfactory method of correcting the abuses which had arisen within the Fold of Christ. "Never had a Council met under more alarming conditions; never had a Council been confronted with more serious obstacles, and never did a Council confer a greater service on the Christian world than did the nineteenth ecumenical Council held at Trent."¹

The Council of Trent removed the mask of hypocrisy from those who had joined in the Lutheran clamor for a reformation of the Church *in capite et membris*, and it defined without respect of persons the limits within which an orderly, chaste, prudent, and thoroughly orthodox reform could be carried out. Under the Providence of God, the Church has been blessed from that epoch down to our own with Popes who have never wavered from the spirit of Trent.

When the true reform did come, it came quickly, almost spontaneously; and it came efficaciously. From the day of its official confirmation by Pius IV on January 26, 1564, down to the latest reform in the organization of ecclesiastical law, begun by Pius X and brought to a successful conclusion by the present Holy Father, Benedict XV,² the vivifying stimulus of Trent has never weakened.

¹ MACCAFFREY, *History of the Catholic Church from the Renaissance to the French Revolution*, Vol. i, p. 199. London, 1915.

² By the *Providentissima Mater Ecclesia*, Pentecost, 1917. For a general survey of the New Code of Canon Law, cf. *The New Canon Law in its Practical Aspects*, published by the Dolphin Press, Philadelphia, 1918.

The reforms effected within the first fifty years after the Council almost surpass belief. They begin with the Roman Seminary for the education of the priests of Rome (1566); the erection of national colleges at Rome and the reorganization of those erected before the close of the Council; the foundation of over twenty Colleges in various parts of Europe for the education of English, Irish and Scotch youth;³ the beginning of Nunciatures in various parts of Europe;⁴ the publication of new editions of the Roman martyrology, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, the Breviary, the Missal, the Ceremonial and the Pontifical; the Gregorian reform in the Calendar (1582), and the sweeping reform in the papal curia by Pope Sixtus V, by the Apostolic Letter of January 22, 1587, *Immensa Aeterni Dei*, which placed the entire administration of the Church under the care of fifteen Congregations, in order that ecclesiastical affairs of all kinds might be conducted henceforth with despatch and accuracy. The Counter-Reformation has also to its credit the founding of the Company of Jesus by St. Ignatius, which received official approval on September 27, 1540⁵; and the unparalleled missionary success of the Jesuits and the older religious orders from that time down to the establishment of Propaganda Fide gave to the founders of the Sacred Congregation a trained body of workers, a field in which fresh discoveries were being constantly made, and a plan of action which had stood the test of almost a century.

The creation of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide by the Bull *Inscrutabili* of June 22, 1622, may be accepted as the completion of the formative stage of the Counter-Reformation. It was the last of the greater Congregations to be established by the Holy See, and it soon outshone all the others by the extraordinary extent of its powers and its jurisdiction. It resembled the other Congregations in its organization, but it differed entirely from them in the range of its authority⁶. From the

³ GUILDAY, *Les fondations religieuses anglaises*, in the *Annuaire de l'Université de Louvain*, 1912.

⁴ Cf. PIEPER, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der ständigen Nuntiaturen*. Freiburg, 1894.

⁵ BRUCKER, *La Compagnie de Jésus*, p. 17. Paris, 1919.

⁶ BOURRET, *La réorganisation des sacrées congrégations tribunaux et offices administratifs de la cour romaine*, p. 249. Montpellier, 1908.

beginning of its existence, the object of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide was definitely understood: it was to regain the faithful in all those parts of the world where Protestantism had been established, and to bring the light of the true faith to heathen lands. Botta has described its object as follows:⁷

Suo principale fine è la propagazione della fide cattolica in tutte le parti del mondo; ma l'opera sua non era totalmente ristretta a questa parte che non mirasse anche a diffondere le lettere, le scienze e la civiltà fra genti ignare, barbare e selvagge; che anzi una cosa aiutava l'altra; perchè la fede serviva d'introduzione alla civiltà, e questa a quella.

To reconquer by spiritual arms, by prayers and good works, by preaching and catechising, the countries that had been lost to the Church in the débâcle of the sixteenth century, and to organize into an efficient corps the numerous missionary enterprises for the diffusion of the Gospel in pagan lands, were the two distinct objects which soon ranked Propaganda Fide only a little less in dignity than the Universal Church.

The genesis of this ideal is not known with certainty. Benigni holds that it was the result of a slow evolution passing through two distinct periods, one creative and the other constitutive.⁸ The creative period ends with the *Inscrutabili Divinae* of June 22, 1622. That the reconquest of those parts of the Church which had been lost through the rise and prosperity of Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Anglicanism, had been a dominant factor in the deliberations at Trent is certain. Shortly after its cloture in 1563, Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585) created a cardinalitial Commission *de propaganda fide*, consisting of Cardinals Caraffa, Medici, and Santorio. The victory at Lepanto (1571) had naturally turned the minds of all lovers of the Cross towards the East, for the spirit of the Crusades had not died, and during the years this Commission held its sessions, churchmen were especially interested in following up the naval success at Lepanto with a spiritual victory: union with Rome of the Oriental Christians. It is to this spirit that we owe the celebrated Union of Brest (1598). The Gregorian Commission was hindered in its plans by the rapid succession of the four short pontificates which followed Gregory's death in 1585, so that it cannot be said

⁷ *Storia d'Italia, dal 1779 al 1814*, lib 24, tom 6, p. 117.

⁸ Article, *Propaganda* in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. xii, p. 456.

that the Sacred Congregation was an outgrowth of the work of this former body of Cardinals. Some writers see the origin of the Congregation in a remarkable folio volume published at Antwerp in 1613, by the Carmelite Thomas à Jesus, entitled *De procuranda salute omnium gentium, schismaticorum, haereticorum, Judaeorum, sarracenorum caeterorumque infidelium*, in twelve books.⁹ The Sacred Congregation may well be the result of many projects, similar in scope or identical in design with which the Holy See had become familiar shortly after the close of the sessions at Trent. It may not be unfair to these projects to single out the design of Dr. Vendeville, the friend of Allen and of the founders of the English College at Douay. In 1567, Vendeville went with Allen and Morgan Philips to Rome, where he intended placing before Pius V the plan of a congregation for the redemption of slaves in the Barbary States: "ut suas quasdam de infidelibus ad Christum convertendis cogitationes cum Pio Quinto Summo Pontifice communicaret."¹⁰

After its creation in 1622, the Congregation de Propaganda Fide began that long and honorable life of three centuries which will be rounded out within the next eighteen months. During those three centuries of remarkable success in spreading the light of the Gospel over every part of the world, only one definite change has been made in the extent of its jurisdiction, namely, that by Pius X, in the Constitution *Sapienti Consilio*, of June 29, 1908, when the United States and several other countries were withdrawn from its regimen. The history of the Congregation can be divided into three parts: (1) from the cardinalitial Commission *de propaganda fide* under Gregory XIII down to 1622; (2) from the founding of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide in 1622 down to the change effected by Pius X, in 1908; and (3) from 1908 down to the present.

⁹ The volume is rather rare. We take from the British Museum copy the following paragraph on America (fol. 3): "Denique America, quam orbis quartam partem Geographi constituunt, in extrema calamitate versatur. Nam et quod ad fidem christianam pertinet, parum culta est: et in europeis hominibus Indi avaritiae potius quam Christiani sibi exempla conspiciunt, quam Orientalibus Indiis quamplurimae provinciae, quibus Evangelium nondum delatum est."

¹⁰ KNOX, *Allen*, p. 6, London, 1882. Out of this desire came the first impetus towards the English College at Douay (1569), *ibid.*, p. 7. Cf. BELLESHEIM, *Wilhelm Kardinal Allen*, p. 24, Mainz, 1885; the subject is also discussed by DODD-TIERNEY, *Church History of England*, Vol. ii, p. 158. London, 1889.

It is not our purpose in this preliminary sketch to enter into the history of Propaganda, for that is to be written by a group of historical students chosen by His Eminence Cardinal Van Rossum, Cardinal Prefect, and by the Secretary, Monsignore Camillus Laurenti, and to be published as a tercentenary volume in 1922. The present writer has been asked to contribute the chapter on the United States under the general title: *L'opera della Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide nell'evangelizzazione degli Stati Uniti d'America*.

If just and reasonable pride be permitted in the work of carrying the message of the Gospel to the children of men, the Congregation may indeed be proud of its success in the United States. For two hundred and eighty-six years (1622-1908), Propaganda was the supreme court of administration and appeal, under the Holy Father, for the Church in this country. The Constitution of Pius X changes the Church here from the status of a missionary church and places us under the direct guidance of the Holy See. But to no other department of the Curia do we owe so much in the phenomenal progress of the faith in the United States as to Propaganda. And yet, one would search fruitlessly in American Catholic literature during the past century for any adequate appreciation of Propaganda's services. Writers such as Smith,¹¹ Murphy,¹² Hilling,¹³ Baart,¹⁴ Goddard,¹⁵ Humphrey,¹⁶ Taunton,¹⁷ and others who treat of the Propaganda for English-speaking countries and who had the opportunity of dwelling upon its great services to faith and science, merely give us a description of its organization. It is no excuse to say that the design of these writers was canonical in outline rather than historical; for, to their readers, the Congregation of Propaganda could not be simply one of the fifteen great administrative bodies of the Roman Curia, it was *the* Congregation—more important, practically speaking, than all the others

¹¹ *Elements of Ecclesiastical Law*. New York, 1888, 3 vols.

¹² *The Chair of Peter*. London, 1886.

¹³ *Procedure at the Roman Curia*. New York, 1907.

¹⁴ *The Roman Court*. Milwaukee, 1895.

¹⁵ *Manual of Ecclesiastical Law and Practice in Missionary Countries*. London, 1906.

¹⁶ *Urbs et Orbis*. London, 1899.

¹⁷ *Law of the Church*. London, 1906.

together. It is significant also to note that those who have written histories of the National Colleges in Rome, which are under the jurisdiction of Propaganda, fail to give their readers this historical appreciation.¹⁸ Our purpose is then to prepare the way for a general history of the Congregation, to sift and classify the source-material at our disposal for a detailed story of Propaganda's three centuries of activity. On such questions as: the jurisdiction of Propaganda, whether territorial, material, or personal; the organization of the Congregation, its powers, rights, privileges and duties; the faculties granted by Propaganda (Cf. PUTZNER, (*Commentarium in facultates etc.*, New York, 1897), and on all other aspects of its juridic life, sufficient has already been published, both for the period prior to the *Sapienti Consilio* (1908), as well as since. There is a bibliography of books on these subjects in OJETTI, *De Romana Curia, Commentarium in Constitutionem Apostolicam "Sapienti Consilio," seu de Curiae plana reformatione* (Rome, 1910, pp. 3-5). A special bibliography for Propaganda will be found in the same volume, pp. 107-108. Since it is rather difficult to find an accurate list of the Cardinals-Prefect and the Secretaries of the Congregation, we asked, while in Rome this summer, the present Archivist of Propaganda, Rev. Dr. Castellucci, to have one compiled. It is as follows:¹⁹

1. CARDINALS-PREFECT

SAULI, ANTONIUS MARIA (1622).
 LUDOVISI, LUDOVICUS (1622-1632).
 BARBERINI, ANTONIUS (1632-1671).
 ALTIERI, PAULUTIUS (1671-1698).
 BARBERINI, CAROLUS (1698-1704).
 SACRIPANTI, JOSEPH (1704-1727),
 PETRA, VINCENTIUS (1727-1747).
 VALENTI, GONZAGA SILVIUS (1747-1756).
 SPINELLI, JOSEPH (1756-1763).
 CASTELLI, JOSEPH MARIA (1763-1780).

¹⁸ STEINHEUBER, *Geschichte des Collegium Germanicum-Hungaricum*. Freiburg, 1896; BRANN, *History of the American College, Rome*. New York, 1908; GASQUET, *The Venerable English College, Rome*. London, 1920. Even in the *Memorial Volume* of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore (1884), where special praise is given to the Société de la Propagation de la Foi of Paris, Propaganda is scarcely mentioned.

¹⁹ A partial list is in the *Missiones Catholicas, etc.*, Vol. vii (1892).

ANTONELLI, LEONARDUS (1780-1795).
 GERDIL, HYACINTHUS SIGISMUNDUS (1795-1802).
 BORGIA, STEPHANUS (1802-1804).
 DI PIETRO, MICHAEL (1805-1814).
 LITTA, LAURENTIUS (1814-1818).
 FONTANA, FRANCISCUS ALOISIUS (1818-1822).
 CONSALVI, HERCULES (1824).
 CAPPELLARI, MAURUS (1826-1831).
 PEDICINI, CAROLUS MARIA (1831-1834).
 FRANZONI, PHILIPPUS (1834-1856).
 BARNABO, ALEXANDER (1856-1874).
 FRANCHI, ALEXANDER (1874-1878).
 SIMEONI, JOANNES (1878-1892).
 LEDOCHOWSKI, MIECISLAUS (1892-1902).
 GOTTI, HIERONYMUS MARIA (1902-1916).
 SERAFINI, DOMINICUS (1916-1918).
 VAN ROSSUM, GUILLELMUS (1918——).

2. SECRETARIES

INGOLI, FRANCISCUS (1622-1649).
 MASSARI, DYONISIUS (1649-1657).
 ALBERICI, MARIUS (1657-1668).
 UBALDI, FRIDERICUS, *Arch. Caesarien.* (1668-1673).
 RAVIZZA, FRANCISCUS, *Arch. Laodicen.* (1673-1675).
 CERRI, URBANUS, (1675-1679).
 CIBO, EDUARDUS, *Patr. Constantinop.* (1680-1695).
 FABRONI, CAROLUS (1695-1706).
 BIANCHIERI, ANTONIUS (1706-1707).
 DE CAVALIERI, SILVIUS, *Arch. Athenarum.* (1707-1717).
 CARAFA, ALOISIUS, *Arch. Larissen.* (1717-1724).
 RUSPOLI, BARTHOLOMAEUS (1724-1730).
 FORTEGUERRA, NICOLAUS (1730-1735).
 MONTI, PHILIPPUS (1735-1743).
 LERCARI, NICOLAUS (1743-1757).
 ANTONELLI, NICOLAUS (1757-1759).
 MAREFOSCHI, MARIUS (1759-1770).
 BORGIA, STEPHANUS (1770-1789).
 SANDODARI, ANTONIUS, *Arch. Adanen.* (1789-1795).
 BRANCADORO, CAESAR, *Arch. Nisiben.* (1796-1801).

- COPPOLA, DOMINICUS, *Arch. Myren.* (1801-1808).
 QUARANTOTTI, JOANNES B. (1808-1816).
 PEDICINI, CAROLUS MARIA (1816-1822).
 CAPRANO, PATRUS, *Arch. Iconien.* (1823-1828).
 CASTRACANE DEGLI ANTELMINELLI, CASTRUCCIUS (1829-1833).
 MAI, ANGELUS (1833-1838).
 CADOLINI, IGNATIUS, *Arch. Spoletanus.* (1838-1843).
 BRUNELLI, JOANNES (1843-1847).
 BARNABO, ALEXANDER (1848-1856).
 BEDINI, CAJETANUS, *Arch. Thebarum.* (1856-1861).
 CAPALTI, HANNIBAL (1861-1868).
 SIMEONI, JOANNES (1868-1875).
 AGNOZZI, JOANNES B. (1877-1879).
 MASOTTI, IGNATIUS (1879-1882).
 JACOBINI, DOMINICUS, *Arch. Tyrem.* (1882-1891).
 PERSICO, IGNATIUS, *Arch. Tamiathen.* (1891-1893).
 CIASCA, AUGUSTINUS, *Arch. Larissen.* (1893-1899).
 VECCIA, ALOISIUS (1899-1911).
 LAURENTI, CAMILLUS (1911—).

The historical material for the story of Propaganda may be divided into *Books* and *Sources*.

I. BOOKS

1. ON THE ROMAN CURIA AND THE MISSIONS

The general literature on the Roman Curia which has already been referred to, is too extensive to be listed here. The literature on the Missions in general and on the Missions conducted by the religious orders, all of which were under Propaganda's jurisdiction, is one of the richest we possess; and this source-material must be studied by any one who desires to write a complete or partial history of Propaganda. The story of Catholic missionary endeavor begins with the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, and in a certain sense it is equivalent to the universal history of the Church. The best guide to this literature will be found in HEIMBUCHER, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der Katholischen Kirche*, (Paderborn, 1917, 3 vols.). Among the general works on this subject are the following: WITTMANN, *Die Herrlichkeit der Kirche in ihren Missionen seit der Glaubensspaltung* (Augsburg, 1841, 2 vols.); KROSE, *Katho-*

liche Missionsstatistik. (Freiburg, 1908); HAHN *Geschichte der katholischen Missionen* (Cologne, 1857-65, 5 vols.); LOUVET, *Les Missions Catholiques au XIXme Siècle* (Lyons, 1894); HENRION, *Histoire des Missions Catholiques* (Paris, 1847); WERNER, *Katholischer Missionsatlas* (Freiburg, 1885); and the *Catholic Directories* of the different countries. For the United States, there are: the *Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland), 1886-91, 73 vols.); BARCIA, *Ensayo Cronológico* (Madrid, 1723); SHEA, *History of the Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes* (New York, 1855); DE SMET, *Western Missions and Missionaries* (New York, 1854), and *Oregon Missions* (New York, 1847); ENGELHARDT, *Missions and Missionaries of California* (San Francisco, 1908), and the *Catholic Directories*.²⁰ The general histories of the Church and the histories of the Church in particular countries should also be consulted. For example Shea's four volumes, covering the years 1492 to 1866 are indispensable for the story of Propaganda's work in this country.

2. ON PROPAGANDA FIDE

No history, official or otherwise, of the Congregation has as yet been published. The libraries of Rome, Paris, Brussels, and London were searched during the past summer for the purpose of finding source-material dealing with Propaganda, but apart from the few items which we list in this paper, nothing important was discovered. There is one exception to this statement: the two volumes of OTTO MEYER, entitled *Die Propaganda, ihre Provinzen und ihre Recht, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Deutschland* (Göttingen, 1852, 2 vols.). This work, as we shall see, was begun and completed in an unfriendly spirit. It is of minor use to the historian today, and is marred by inaccuracies which show a lack of canonical law values. Naturally all the greater Encyclopedias and Dictionaries contain summary articles on Propaganda. Moroni in his *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica* (Venice, 1840-61, s.v., Congregazione di Prop. Fide), gives a concise statement of its foundation and labors. Theodore Trede has an attack on the object of Propaganda in his article

²⁰ An excellent series of articles with bibliographies covering the question of Catholic Missions in general, and of those of Canada and the United States in particular, will be found in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. x, pp. 375-391.

Die Propaganda in Rom, ihre Geschichte und Bedeutung, in the *Deutsche Zeit- und Streit-Fragen*, vol. xiii (1884), no. 201. This is an anti-Jesuit pamphlet. The *bedeutung* of Propaganda is interpreted by Trede from the viewpoint that St. Ignatius' canonization (May 22, 1622) preceded the foundation of the Congregation (June 22, 1622). As is well known, the Discalced Carmelites were foremost among the religious orders in the project, among them being Dominico di Gesù e Maria, the General of the order. Baumgarten in the *Katholik* (vol. 79 (1899), pp. 250-261), summarizes the story of Propaganda in his paper: *Die heilige Kongregation zur Verbreitung des Glaubens und ihr Gebiet*. The best account of this nature in English is Benigni's article *s.v.*, Propaganda, in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (vol. xii, p. 456-461). This has the added merit of having been written after the change of 1908. The student will do well to consult the numerous references to Propaganda in the *Ecclesiastical Review*, of Overbrook, Pa.; an excellent account of the Congregation will be found in the article by MARTIN, *The Congregation of Propaganda* (*Ibid.*, vol. lx, pp. 524, ss.).

The leading articles and essays dealing with the successful theft by the Italian Government of the Congregation's property are: BONGHI, *La Propaganda Fide ed il governo italiano*, in the *Nuova Antologia* (vol. xxviii, pp. 280-312); *Propaganda e la conversione dei suoi beni immobili per opera del governo italiano* (2 vols., Rome, 1884), which contains the dossier of the case as it was tried before the Cour de Cassation in Rome; SODERINI, *La Propaganda Fide ed il governo italiano* (Rome, 1884); O'REILLY, *Propaganda Question and our Duty* (in the ACQR, vol. viii (1884), pp. 226 ss.); SPILLMANN, *Die Beraubung der Propaganda*, in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, (vol. xxvi, pp. 225 ss.); *Church Spoliation in Italy*, in the *Month*, Vol. xxii (1874), pp. 463-477—a review of Dupanloup's *Memorial on the Spoliation of the Church at Rome and throughout Italy*, which was translated into English (London, 1876), but which is now quite out of print. Articles will also be found in the leading continental newspapers of the day, *Osservatore Romano*, *Moniteur de Rome*, *Unità Cattolica*, *Journal de Bruxelles*, *Monde*, *Voce della Verità*, etc., and in the *Acta Sanctae Sedis*. The attempted theft of the American College at Rome by the Italian Government is treated by Brann.

A reliable account of the famous polyglot press of Propaganda will be found in MELCHIOR GALLEOTTI, *Della Tipografia poliglotta di Propaganda* (Turin, 1866).²⁰

For the extent and results of the change in the administration of Propaganda by the *Sapienti Consilio*, all the recent commentaries on the new Codex should be studied; in particular, OJETTI, *De Curiae plana reformatione* (pp. 107-128), and HILLING, *Die rechtliche Stellung der Propaganda Kongregation nach der neuen Kurialreform Pius X*, in the *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, 1911, pp. 147-158. The best commentaries in English will be found in the *Ecclesiastical Review*.

We come now to the actual history, partial or complete, of the Sacred Congregation. Probably the earliest account is that of BEYER, *Breve compendium historiae congregationis de Prop. Fide*, published at Königsberg, 1721. This volume we were unable to find in any of the large libraries of Europe during our search. The next publication in point of time is that by OTTO MEJER, *Die Propaganda in England* (Leipzig, 1851). This seems to have been inspired by the "uprising" of 1850, and is an attack on the Brief of September 29, 1850, restoring the English hierarchy under Wiseman. The book had a certain vogue, and this encouraged Mejer to write his larger work, the title of which is given above. This larger work in two volumes was the only one we were able to find in the libraries abroad, professing to give a complete history of the Sacred Congregation. Its author was a non-Catholic, and he writes as an opponent of the Church: "Wenn ein Protestant über die römische Propaganda schreibt, so kann er nur gegen sie schreiben (Vol. i, p. 1)." Despite this apriori attitude, Mejer gives us an interesting though incomplete account of Propaganda's labors up to that time. His work is divided into four books: Book I. contains the historical prolegomena necessary to the subject, and treats: (a) the Missions conducted by the Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites and Jesuits, up to 1622; (b) the National Colleges in Rome; (c) the foundation of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide; (d) official sources for the history of Propaganda; (e) Cerri's *Report of*

²⁰ Cf. *Catalogus Editionum quas prodierunt ex typographia polyglotta S. Cong. de P. F.*, Rome, 1878.

1677.²¹ Book II. describes the ecclesiastical provinces under the jurisdiction of Propaganda, the method of organization followed, choice of missionaries, their training and faculties, and the general work of Propaganda in Catholic lands. Book III treats these same subjects for the work of Propaganda in Protestant lands. Book IV. attempts to describe the canonical cases brought before the Congregation and deals with the alleged political influence of Propaganda in international affairs. Several Appendices are added; one being the 1844 edition of the *Notizia*. The work is frankly biased, but it could serve as a model for a general history of the Congregation. Propaganda, Mejer holds, is but a disguised branch of the Society of Jesus. Pieper published at Cologne in 1886, as a result of his studies in the Roman Archives, his well-written essay: *Die Propaganda-Kongregation und die nordischen Missionen im siebzehnten Jahrhundert*. A good description of the foundation of the Congregation will be found by this same writer in the *Akten* of the fifth international Congress of Catholic Scholars (Munich, 1900)—*Gründung und erste Einrichtung der Propaganda-Kongregation*.

II. SOURCES.

Trede makes a statement, which Mejer repeats, to the effect that Propaganda has never officially given the world any knowledge of its labors during the past three centuries—"Ist sie doch ein Institut welches nicht von sich spricht?" The Sacred Congregation has indeed said very little about its stupendous activity since 1622. Its field of labor has been coterminous with the universal Church. So much had to be done that there was little time to do more than publish yearly statistics from time to time. Propaganda reorganized in 1622, upon the then modern system of efficiency, the entire missionary activity of the Church. It correlated the forces at work in thousands of different directions and under thousands of different conditions. It supplied missionary workers for practically the whole known

²¹ *Relazione all' Santità di N. S. P. P. Innocenzo XI dello Stato di Propaganda Fide* (pp. 52), published by the Secretary of the Congregation Magr. Urbano Cerri. It was published (with an Introduction) in English by the Anglican Bishop Hoadly, under the pseudonym Sir Richard Steele: *An Account of the State of Religion throughout the World*, (Cf. CHR, Vol. i, pp. 478-480).

world. This task demanded unlimited courage on the part of its officials. As in every great undertaking, there were difficulties from the outset; difficulties with sovereigns who saw old rights and privileges invaded; difficulties with monastic orders and religious congregations, which up to that time had enjoyed a sort of laissez-faire in their choice of missionary fields and methods; difficulties arising from indefinite canonical regulations when regular and secular met on the same ground; difficulties of a material nature which often brought the work to a standstill. Literally speaking, there was too much to be done in the Missions, too few resources to call upon for the work, too few missionaries at hand, for the Cardinals-Prefect or their Secretaries to stop for the purpose of chronicling all that had been accomplished. There was more than the work of spreading the Gospel of Christ and of winning back to the fold erring children in the design of Propaganda. It was, and is today, one of the greatest civilizing forces the world has ever seen.

1. PROPAGANDA ARCHIVES

But even though Propaganda has not yet written its own story, its Archives are the pride of Rome and the delight of all who have had the privilege of working therein. These Archives are housed in the Collegio Urbano, Piazza di Spagna. They have not suffered the same vicissitudes as the other Roman Archives. They are among the best housed Archives in the world, are systematically arranged, and are bound in about seven thousand volumes. The indications on the backs of these volumes, however, are not accurate, but there is a complete and reliable set of Indexes. The Archives have been described by BOURGIN, *Les Archives Pontificales* (pp. 20-21); by GACHARD, in *Les Archives du Vatican* (Brussels, 1874, p. 31), who states there are 3,963 volumes of documents; by ANTON PIEPER, *Das Propaganda-Archiv*, in the *Römische Quartalschrift*, Vol. i, (1887), pp. 80-99, 259-265; by HINOJOSA in *Los Despachos de la Diplomacia Pontificia en España*; and by KOLLMAN, in *O Archivu Sv. Kongregace de P. F.*, in the *Casopis Musea Kralovstvi Ceskeho*, Vol. lxvi, pp. 423-442. The English reader will find an excellent description of the Archives in FISH, *Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and Italian Archives*, pp. 119-124, Washington, 1911. The chief divisions of the Archives are: Atti, Scritture originali

riferiti, Scritture non riferiti, Lettere, Udienze, Cause, Memoriali, Congregazione particolari, Miscellanea, Istruzione, Scripta Varia, and Visite e Collegi. The *Notizia* of 1843 (p. 477), speaks of the Archives as follows:

L'Archivio conserva colle lettere originali et le copie delle risposte loro date come ancora dei decreti, risoluzioni fatte, e de' rescritti, bolle, e brevi Apostolici: collezione pretiosissima alla religione, ed inestimabile pe' monumenti autentici d'istoria ecclesiastica che racchiude.

With the exception of a short period towards the close of the last century (HASKINS, *The Vatican Archives* in the *American Historical Review*, Vol. ii, p. 42), the Archives of Propaganda have been closed to research workers. Permission to use the documents was never readily granted. Cardinal Gotti told the present writer that these are not primarily historical documents but the *family* archives of the Church, and as such do not fall within the expressed wish of Leo XIII. Propaganda's answer to historical students has been, with few exceptions, the same as that issued on August 20, 1669—

Respondeatur non esse solitum ut Sacra Congregatio scripturas existentes in Archivio alteri communicet.

Some works, however, are the result of original research in the Archives: ROCCA DA CESINALE, *Storia delle Missioni dei Cappuccini* (Paris-Rome, 1867-76); MORAN, *Spicilegium Ossoriense* (Dublin, 1874-78, 3 vols.); BELLESHEIM, *Kirchengeschichte Schottlands* (Mainz, 1882); WERNER, *Katholischer Missionsatlas* (Freiburg, 1884); SHEA, Vols. i and ii of his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1886-88); BLOK, *Lijst van Dokumenten betreffende ons Land*, in the *Archief voor de geschiedenis van het Aartsbisdom Utrecht* (Vol. xxvii, pp. 329-376, Vol. xxviii, pp. 38-110); HUGHES, *History of the Jesuits in North America* (New York, 1907); GUILDAY, *English Catholic Refugees in the Low Countries* (London, 1914), and recently O'DANIEL, *Life of Bishop Fenwick, O. P.* (Washington, D. C., 1920).

2. COLLECTION OF SOURCES

The Sacred Congregation has guided the publication of certain volumes of sources entirely composed of archival material. The earliest of these is the *Constitutiones Apostolicæ Sacræ Congregationis de P. F.* (Rome, 1642, pp. 292). This is a rare

volume and is incomplete. The copy in the British Museum seems to have belonged to Propaganda itself. The *Bullarium Pontificium sacrae Congregationis de P. F.* (Rome, 1839-1841, in five volumes, with two columns of Appendixes), contains many documents prior to 1622, the extreme dates being 1207 and 1721. The *Collectanea S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide seu decreta instructiones rescripta pro Apostolicis Missionibus*, in two volumes (Rome, 1893-1907), contains documents from 1622 to 1866, and from 1866 to 1906. In all there are 2,317 *pièces*. This work should be completed from 1906 to 1908. These three monumental works are now superseded by the official publication of DE MARTINIS, *Jus Pontificium de Propaganda Fide*, in eight volumes, with a supplementary *Index Alphabeticus*, published at Rome (1888-1898). There are excellent onomastic tables at the end of each volume, and the *pièces* go from 1622 to 1878.²² Propaganda also published statistics from time to time, such as the *Notizia statistica delle Missioni cattoliche in tutto il mondo*, (Rome, 1843, pp. 305, 1844, pp. 718). Pieper seems to believe that these two volumes were meant for the private use of the Congregation.²³ Mejer bases much of his work on the *Notizia* of 1844, which he has published as an appendix to his work (Vol. i, pp. 477-562). There were issued also for a number of years from the Propaganda Press a series of annual volumes, entitled: *Missiones Ritus Latini cura S. Congregationis de P. F. descriptae*, which were begun in 1886 and apparently ceased in 1892. The history of the Church in the United States is given year by year without change, and we read of the "nobilis vir Hibernus nomine Baltimore" who made the foundation of Maryland in 1634. Excellent ecclesiastical maps are in some of the volumes.

"The prosperity of Propaganda," says Ranke,²⁴ "grew day

²² In dealing with the sources for Propaganda, care must be taken not to confound the great Roman Congregation with the Society for the Propagation of Faith of Paris-Lyons, founded in 1822. This mistake has been made by FISH, *op. cit.*, p. 122 note 22. Obviously, the archival sources of the Paris Society together with the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* contain material of first value for the historian of Propaganda.

²³ *Das Propaganda-Archiv*, I. c., p. 262.

²⁴ *History of the Popes*, Vol. iii, p. 244. London, 1852.

by day more brilliant. Who is there that knows not what the Propaganda has done for philological learning? In all respects it has ever striven, and perhaps most successfully in its earliest period, to fulfil its calling upon a vast and noble scale." Dupanloup has described Propaganda as the Prime Minister of the Church, as the foremost and the most indispensable of all the papal administrative offices. One of the best tributes given to Propaganda will be found in Balsimelli.²⁵ To Gregory XV, he says, the Church owes that Congregation——

che chiamasi la Propaganda, di cui non v'ha alcun esempio antico nè moderno, e che destò la meraviglia e l'invidia del più illustre conquistatore, che sia vissuto da molti secoli; ma lo scopo di essa risiede nel conquistare gli spiriti al vero, e alla virtù i cuori, abilitandoli coll'innocenza a godere in terra una felicità virtuosa e a fruire in cielo i gaudii della vera patria. Mentre i superbi potentati di Europa consumano le loro cure, e spendono sovente un tesoro di sudori e di sangue infinito per provvedere a volgari interessi o soddisfare a grette ambizioni, acquistando al loro dominio una nuova striscia di terra, la Propaganda abbraccia colle vaste e animose sue speranze tutto il genere umano, estende i suoi benefici influssi sino ai termini più lontani del mondo. Ella spedisce a tal effetto i suoi miti conquistatori, non ad uccidere, ma a convertire ed a mansuefare, e, se occorre, a morir perdonando; e questi uomini poveri ed umili, aventi per insegna una croce e per sole armi la fede e la persuasione congiunte ad una carità eroica e ad uno spirito illimitato di sacrificio, operano spesso quei prodigi, che sono interdetti al valore dei capitani e degli eserciti. Chi potrebbe descrivere le meraviglie dell'apostolato? Chi potrebbe dipingere adeguatamente ciò che vi ha di bello e di grande in una missione cattolica, che fra i trovati cristiani è forse il più stupendo, poichè con mezzi debolissimi in apparenza produce gli effetti più grandiosi e durevoli? Qual è l'istituto, che sia più degno della considerazione del filosofo, dell'amore e dell'ammirazione di chi anela a diffondere la civiltà, ed ha un animo benevolo per la famiglia universale de' suoi fratelli? La storia coetanea c' insegna a che riescano le spedizioni conquistatrici e trafficanti, per diffondere l'incivilimento e felicitare le nazioni barbariche ed infedeli, quando la cupidigia politica e mercantile non è raffrenata dalla religione. Le missioni cattoliche convertirono e addomesticarono la Spagna, la Francia, l'Inghilterra, la Scandinavia, la Germania, l'Ungheria, la Boemia, la Polonia, e vi seminarono quella gentilezza, che ora fruttifica e si spande sul resto del globo; il che basta per rispondere a coloro, che le giudicano inutili, o mettono i conquistatori e i missionari nella medesima schiera.

The Popes of the past three hundred years have been able to look out over the wide expanse of Christendom, over the *Provinciae*

²⁵ *Compendio di storia della Chiesa*, Vol. ii, p. 311. Rome, 1920.

Apostolicae, subject directly to the Holy See, and the *Terrae Missionum*, subject to the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, and to recognize the steady progress of the Gospel, comparable in every way with the first three centuries of the Church. No country in the world owes so much to Propaganda's influence and guidance as the United States. Down almost beyond the middle of the eighteenth century, American history is largely a history of discoveries and explorations. The thin edge of the Atlantic coast is small in contrast with those broad territories in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys and in the Far West, where the missionaries sent by Propaganda were the first to show the way to the trader and to the home-seeker; and every one of these soldiers of Christ was a sharer in the strong stream of humanitarianism, of benevolence, of religious zeal, that found its source in that Sacred Congregation which is now rounding out its third century of devotion to the highest good of mankind. Scholars of every science, both within and without the Church, will rejoice that Propaganda is at last to have its history written. It will be a record of marvelous successes—successes of which it has never boasted; all has been done for the edification of the Church, for the glory of God and for the betterment of the world.

PETER GUILDAY.

MISCELLANY

An American Martyrology

If it were as easy today to obtain the honor of the altars as it was a thousand years ago, the calendars of all the dioceses of the United States would show many feasts of local saints, martyrs, confessors and virgins. Since, however, the right of beatification and canonization has been reserved, first to Councils (in the 11th century), then to the Holy See exclusively (in 1634), the complicated mode of procedure has made canonizations rare occurrences in countries not belonging to the Latin races; yet the time may not be far distant when even the United States and Canada will kneel at the altars of duly canonized American Saints.

The American Martyrology which we have compiled, aims at giving the names of those Christian heroes who have died for Christ or for some Christian virtue, whilst laboring within the limits of the United States, or of those who have some special relation to them. This rule excludes the great heroes of Canada, Fathers Brebeuf, Lallemand, etc., who never set foot on United States territory.

We have found three lists of American Martyrs: one in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (vol. x, p. 390), another in the *American Catholic Historical Researches* (October 1906, p. 332) and a third, revised list, in the same publication (January, 1907, p. 75). These three lists simply give in chronological order the names of the martyrs and the dates and places of their martyrdom. Our present Martyrology follows the order of the Calendar and adds to the names a short sketch of the life of each martyr, as far as particulars are known. Where the date of death is unknown, we arbitrarily assigned a day, marking it with an asterisk.

We have added to the names of these martyrs those of the Venerable Servants of God whose process of beatification has, in some way, been inaugurated, e.g., Junipero Serra, Bishop Neumann, Madame Duchesne and others. The terms "martyr," "confessor" and "virgin" are used merely from convenience, it being understood that no official act of the Church authorizes the application of these terms to any of the missionaries or to their converts.

Our principal sources have been SHEA, *Catholic Missions amongst the Indian Tribes of the United States*, New York, 1855; ID. *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, New York, 1886; and CAMPBELL, *Pioneer Priests of North America*, New York, 1910. We have also freely used HAMMER, *Die Franziskaner in den Vereinigten Staaten Nordamerikas*, Cologne, 1892. Where the source is not given after the sketch, the information is taken from Shea; in fact, both of his works were used for nearly every sketch.

JANUARY 4. At Emmitsburg, Maryland, the memory of *Mother Elizabeth Ann Seton*, Foundress and first Superior of the Sisters of Charity in the United States. She was born at New York, August 28, 1774, of non-Catholic parents and married on January 25, 1794, to Wm. Magee Seton, by the Anglican Bishop Prevost. After the death of her husband, she was received into the Church by Father Matthew O'Brien at St. Peter's Church, New York, on March

14, 1805. (This was not Ash Wednesday, but the Thursday after the second Sunday of Lent). With her three daughters she, after many privations, opened a school for girls, next to the chapel of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, where her sons were being educated. When postulants arrived, Mother Seton took vows privately before Archbishop Carroll and, in 1808, the community was transferred to Emmitsburg. The rule was approved by Archbishop Carroll in January, 1812, when Mother Seton was also elected first superior. With 18 sisters she made her solemn vows on July 19, 1813. The Fathers Superior of the community were the Sulpicians, Fathers Dubourg, Davis, and Dubois. Great spiritual desolation purified her soul during a great portion of her religious life, but she cheerfully took the royal road of the cross. She died of a pulmonary affection, January 4, 1821. In 1880 Cardinal (then Archbishop) Gibbons urged that steps be taken towards her canonization. The results of the official inquiries were placed in the hands of the postulator of the cause on June 7, 1911. Her community of Emmitsburg was incorporated into the Congregation of the Vincentian Sisters of Paris in 1850. *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. xiii, 739. SADLER, *Elizabeth Seton*, New York, 1905.

JANUARY 5. At Philadelphia, Pa., the memory of the Servant of God, Bishop *John Nepomucene Neumann, C.S.S.R.* He was born at Praschitz, Bohemia, March 28, 1811. Directly before ordination he left Bohemia to consecrate himself to the American missions. He landed at New York, June 2, 1836, was incardinated and ordained by Bishop Dubois (June 25) and sent to western New York (Buffalo, etc.). In 1840 he entered the Redemptorist Congregation and was the first of its members professed in America (January 16, 1842). After having built St. Philomena's Church at Pittsburgh, he was made vice-provincial of the Redemptorists in America (1846). In 1852 Pius IX commanded him to accept the bishopric of Philadelphia; he was consecrated March 28, 1852. One of his first acts was to provide for Catholic schools. Noted for his devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, he was the first American Bishop to introduce the Forty Hours' Devotion into his diocese (1853). He died at Philadelphia, January 5, 1860, and was buried in a vault before the altar in a lower chapel of St. Peter's Redemptorist Church, Philadelphia. On December 15, 1896, he received the title of "Venerable," and the acts of the process of his beatification are now under consideration. *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. x, p. 773. Berger, *Leben und Wirken*. New York, 1883.

JANUARY 25. At Patali, in the country of the Apalache Indians, Florida, the memory of the Franciscan missionaries *Juan de Parga* and *Marcos Delgado*, Martyrs. When during the war of Spanish succession Governor Moore of South Carolina with his Apalachicola allies invaded Florida and marched into the Apalache country to sell the Indian converts as slaves, Father Juan de Parga, the missionary of Patali, addressed the Indians, urging them to fight bravely, for God's holy law, as no death could be more glorious than to perish for the faith and truth. After the unfortunate battle of Ayubale, Father Parga, under the eyes of Moore, was burned by the Indians at the stake, beheaded and his leg cut off. Another Religious, Marcos Delgado, endeavoring to save Father Parga, was slain, January 25, 1704. They were buried at Ybitacucho. SHEA, Vol. i, p. 461.

***JANUARY 26.** Amongst the Tanos Indians of New Mexico the memory of Father *Manuel Beltran, O. F. M.*, Martyr. After the reestablishment of the missions in New Mexico, in 1683, by Father Nicolas Lopez, Father Manuel was sent to

a church near a pueblo of Yumas and Tanos.¹ He labored there a few years, but about 1689 his own Indians rose against him and most cruelly slew him. After his death, since all other missionaries had been driven away to El Paso, the once flourishing Church of New Mexico disappeared. HAMMER, p. 47.

*JANUARY 31. In the country of the Apalaches, about Tal'ahassee, Florida, the memory of Father *Angel Miranda, O. F. M.*, the lieutenant *Juan Ruiz Mejia*, the Indians *Antonio Enija*, *Amador Cuipa Feliciano* and companions, Martyrs. When Governor Moore of South Carolina attacked the Spanish missions in the Apalache country, after the battle of Ayubale (January 25, 1704), P. Miranda and Lieutenant Mejia with many Indian converts fell into the hands of Moore and his Indian allies. Since the Spanish officer could not furnish the ransom demanded, Father Miranda, Mejia, some soldiers and a number of Christian Indians from the town of St. Luis, were burnt at the stake, at the end of January, 1704. Some of the Indians, while undergoing the torture, showed in prayer and exhortation the heroism of Christian martyrs. SHEA, Vol. i, p. 461.

*FEBRUARY 2. Near Donaldsonville, La., the memory of Father *Jean François Buisson de Saint-Côme* (Cosme), of the Seminary of Quebec, Martyr. He was born at Pointe-Levi, Canada, of a family which originally came from Saint-Cosme-le-Vert, France. He was baptized February 6, 1667, and ordained February 2, 1690. After serving for a time at Mines, Nova Scotia (Acadia), he was assigned to the western mission. He labored for a time at the Cahokia (Tamaroa) mission in Illinois, until succeeded by Father J. Bergier, about 1698. Then he followed Fathers Montigny and Davion, of the same Seminary, to the lower Mississippi and took up his residence amongst the Natches (December, 1699). Shortly after he returned to the Tamaroa (opposite the present city of St. Louis) and preached to them, until, in 1701, he was relieved and again descended to the Natches. The tribes of this region, however, were obdurate, so that by the end of 1704 all but the Natches mission had been abandoned, leaving Father St. Côme alone. To seek relief from a cruel illness, in 1706 he started from his mission for Mobile, accompanied by three Frenchmen and a slave. While asleep at night on the bank of the river, the party was attacked and murdered by the savage Shetimasha (Sitimaches), about fifty miles from the mouth of the Mississippi. *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. xiii, p. 342. La Haye, *Journal Historique*. New Orleans, 1831.

FEBRUARY 14. At Axacan (Ocoquan) on the Rappahannock River, Virginia, the memory of the Jesuit martyrs, Father *Luis de Quiros* and the lay brothers *Gabriel de Solis* and *Juan Mendez*. They had come to Virginia with the Vice Provincial P. Segura (v. February 18). When the missionaries found that their treacherous Indian guide, Luis de Velasco, did not return to them, P. Quiros with his companions set out to effect a return of the misguided man by a personal conference. But Luis met them with hypocritical excuses. When the disconsolate missionaries turned to leave the village, the Indians rushed on them and killed them with a shower of arrows, February 14, 1571. *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. xv, p. 455. *Historical Records and Studies*, New York, December, 1904, p. 355.

¹ After the revolt of 1680, the Indians of New Mexico abandoned their old towns, in the new pueblos, and tribal lines were broken up.

FEBRUARY 18. At Occoquan, on the Rappahannock River in Virginia, the memory of the Jesuit martyrs Father *Juan Bautista de Segura*, the novices *Gabriel de Granada* and *Sancho de Zovellos* and the lay brothers *Cristóbal Redondo* and *Pedro Linares*. With Father Rogel, the founder of the Florida mission, P. Segura, since 1568, had worked at various points along the coast of Florida, Georgia and the Carolinas, with little success. About to give up the impracticable field, he received orders from S. Pius V and S. Francis Borgia to persevere. Accompanied by a converted Indian chief, Luis de Velasco, Father Segura, Vice Provincial of Florida, with his companions (the martyrs of February 14) and four Indian boys, sailed from S. Helena (St. Augustine), and landed near the present St. Mary's on the Chesapeake Bay, September 10, 1570. But the Indian guide, a brother of the chief, apostatized, and the Indians, after having slain Father Quiros on February 14, killed Father Segura and his companions, with the hatchets they had taken from them, February 18, 1571. This martyrdom led S. Francis Borgia to abandon the mission of Florida for the more inviting field of Mexico. Father Segura was born at Toledo and had joined the Jesuits at Alcalá, April 9, 1566. He had been rector of the college of Valladolid, when he was sent to America by St. Francis Borgia in 1568. *Cath. Enycl.*, Vol. xv, 455.

***FEBRUARY 20.** Amongst the Fox tribe, in Wisconsin, the memory of Father *Leonard Vazier, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was killed in February, 1715. Unfortunately we have no details of his life and death. *Cath. Enycl.*, Vol. x, p. 391.

FEBRUARY 22. At Hawikuh (Aguico), amongst the Zúñi Indians of New Mexico, the memory of Father *Francisco Letrado, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He asked his superiors at Mexico City to send him to the Zúñi mission because it was the most discouraging of all the missions in New Mexico. When, on Sunday, February 22, 1632, he urged his people to come and hear Mass, he was pierced by a shower of arrows. *READ, History of New Mexico*, pp. 258ss.

FEBRUARY 23. At Denver, Colorado, the memory of Father *Leo Heinrichs, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was born at Oestrich, archdiocese of Cologne, Germany, August 15, 1867, arrived at New York, November 8, 1886, and entered the Order of St. Francis, in the province of the Holy Name, at Paterson, N. J., on December 4, 1886. He was ordained priest, July 26, 1891, after he had made his profession on December 8, 1890. Whilst distributing Holy Communion, he was shot by an Italian, in St. Elizabeth's Church, Denver, Colorado, on February 23, 1908.

FEBRUARY 27. At Hawikuh in New Mexico, the memory of Father *Martín de Arvide, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was killed by the Zipias Indians, February 27, 1632, shortly after Father Francisco Letrado. *READ, Hist. of N. M.*, p. 258.

***MARCH 2.** In Florida, south of St. Augustine, the memory of a *Franciscan Father* and an *Indian Chief*, Martyrs. A chief had been converted by the Franciscans, on the eastern coast of Florida, but his tribe demanded that the chief should renounce his faith and put the friars to death. On his refusal they killed him (1697) and one of the Franciscans; two others escaped. *SHEA*, Vol. i, p. 457.

***MARCH 3.** In Upper Louisiana, the memory of Father *Juan Mingues, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was killed in a massacre by Missouri Indians, about 1720. Further particulars are not known. *Cath. Enycl.*, Vol. x, p. 391. The martyrdom is given as doubtful by J. Mooney; Shea does not mention it.

*MARCH 10. At Onondaga, in the present State of New York, the memory of *Frances Gonanhatenka*, Martyr. Born at Onondaga, and converted by Father Fremin, with other Christians she had retired to Caughnawaga on the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence. She was a model of piety, modesty and charity. With her companions she was surprised by the Mohawks and English and tortured. Then she was brought to Onondaga, and, because she remained true to the faith, she was tortured again for three successive nights, then tied to the stake and, after being burned for a considerable time, scalped and forced to run till she fell beneath a shower of stones. She died for Christ c. 1692. SHEA, *Missions*, p. 325.

MARCH 16. At the Mission of Santa Cruz, on the San Saba River, Texas, the memory of the Franciscan Fathers *Alonso Giraldo Terreros* and *José Santiestevan*, Martyrs. Father Alonso, from the missionary college of Querétaro, was superior of the mission of San Saba.² On March 16, 1758, some two thousand Comanche Indians, shouting and firing, surrounded the mission, demanding that Father Terreros accompany them to the fort, a few miles off.³ He mounted a horse, but had ridden only a few feet, when he was shot; with a groan he fell dead from his horse. Then the Indians made a general attack, killing some of the soldiers stationed at the mission. Father Santiestevan fled to the storeroom, but that was the first place the assailants visited. He perished under the blows of their weapons. Father Miguel Molina was wounded, but escaped during the night. ENGELHARDT, *Missionary Labors*, in the *Franciscan Herald*, v. 145 ss.

*MARCH 20. Amongst the Tamarois Indians in Illinois, the memory of Father *Gaston*, Martyr. He belonged to the Seminary of Quebec and had been ordained there in 1730. When Father Thaumur de la Source returned to Canada Father Joseph Courrier and Father Gaston were sent to succeed him in 1730. The latter was killed by Indians soon after reaching Tamarois. SHEA, Vol. i, p. 577.

*MARCH 24. At Fort St. Louis, Texas, the memory of the Recollect Missionaries *Zenobius Membré* and *Maxime LeClerq*, and the Sulpician *Chefdeville*, Martyrs. Father Zenobius was born at Baupaume, Dep. Pas-de-Calais, France, and was a member of the Franciscan province of St. Antony. He arrived in Canada in June, 1675, and, in 1679, accompanied La Salle to the country of the Illinois, where, with very small success, he worked for the conversion of the Indians, around Fort Crevecoeur. In September, 1681, he returned to Green Bay with Tonti, but in 1682 accompanied La Salle down the Mississippi river, returned with him to Europe and was made superior of the Franciscan monastery in his home city. In 1684 Membré with two Franciscans and three Sulpicians followed La Salle into Texas. The commander erected Fort St. Louis on Espiritu Santo Bay in 1685 and left there Fathers Membré, LeClerq and Chefdeville with 20 persons. Having failed in establishing a mission amongst the Indians, the three priests with the garrison were killed and the fort burned by the Karankawas, in 1687. *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. x, 172.

MARCH 25. Near Fulton, Hawamba Co., Mississippi, the memory of the Jesuit missionary *P. Antonia Senat*, Martyr. He had arrived in America in 1734. When the massacre at Natches (November 29, 1729) involved the valley

² Founded by P. Miguel Aranda in 1753, among the Apaches. The missionaries had arrived April 17, 1757.

³ Near the present town of Menardville.

of the Mississippi in Indian wars, an expedition of French and Illinois was sent against the Chickasaws in 1736, and Father Antonin Senat, S. J., accompanied the force as chaplain. After some success the French corps, which was to cooperate with another from the south, was attacked by the whole Chickasaw army. Vincennes, the commander, d'Artaguiette, Father Senat and others were taken. The missionary could readily have escaped. He would not, however, abandon those who needed his ministry. The prisoners were tied by fours to stakes and put to death with all the refinement of Indian cruelty, on Palm Sunday, March 25, 1736. To the last the devoted Jesuit exhorted his companions to suffer with patience and courage, to honor their religion and country. *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. lxxi, p. 171.

APRIL 17. At Caughnawaga, Canada, the memory of the venerable servant of God, *Catherine Tegakwitha*, Virgin, the "Lily of the Mohawks." She was born at Ossernenon, New York, in 1656, of a Christian Algonquin mother and a pagan Iroquois father. When she was four years old her parents and brother died of smallpox, and the child was adopted by her uncle, chief of the Turtle clan. In 1667 she was instructed in the faith by Fathers Fremin, Bruyas and Pierron, S. J., and when the clan moved to the northern bank of the Mohawk, near the present town of Fonda, in 1674, she was baptized by Father Jacques de Lamberville. Thenceforth she practised her religion unflinchingly in the face of almost unbearable opposition, till finally she was assisted by some Christian Indians to escape to Caughnawaga on the St. Lawrence. Here she lived in the cabin of Anastasia Tegonhatsihonga, a Christian squaw, her sanctity impressing not only her own people but also the French and the missionaries. Her mortifications were extreme. She died April 17, 1680. Many pilgrims visit her tomb and the Councils of Baltimore and Quebec have petitioned for her canonization. *Cath. Enycl.*, Vol. xiv, p. 471.

***APRIL 18.** At Carniceria, Texas, the memory of Brother *José Pita O. F. M.*, Martyr. When, in 1721, Father Antonio Margil restored the missions in Texas, Brother José Pita, thinking that the presence of troops had made travel safe, undertook to reach the mission for which he had volunteered, without the proper escort. At a place which has since borne the name of Carniceria, about 60 miles from San Xavier River, and on a site on which subsequently a mission was erected, he fell into an ambushade of Lipan Apaches. He might have escaped, but to deliver a soldier, he begged the Indians to turn on him; but they killed him and his companion. He was the first Spanish Religious who died by the hands of Indians in that province. HAMMER, p. 72.

***APRIL 19.** At Cicuyé (Pecos), New Mexico, the memory of Brother *Luis de Ubeda* (or *Escalona*), *O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was a member of the Mexican province of the Holy Gospel and accompanied Coronado on his march to the Northwest, together with Father Juan de Padilla and Father Juan de la Cruz. He was appointed to instruct the Indians at Cicuyé. When Coronado gave up New Mexico in disgust, Brother Luis remained at his pueblo, where the Indians had assigned him a little hut outside the village. From there he visited the neighboring pueblos. We do not know what happened to him, after the soldiers of Coronado had left, but it is Regarded as certain that he became a martyr about 1544.⁴ PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches*.

⁴ Brother Luis, by several authors, erroneously, is identified with Father Juan de la Cruz. They claim that Luis de Escalona (Ubeda) was called Juan de la Cruz in religion.

*APRIL 20. At St. Francis Xavier Mission, Green Bay, the memory of Brother *Louis Le Boesme, S. J.*, Martyr. Born at Saintes, France, August 25, 1632, he entered the Society of Jesus in the province of Toulouse, November 24, 1650. He arrived the second time in Canada, after his first vows, in 1656. He was given as a companion to the Indian missionary, Father Jean Injalran, S. J., and, according to Griffin's *Historical Researches* (July, 1907, p. 260), was martyred by the Winnebagos in 1687, near De Pere, Wisconsin. The *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. lxxi, p. 149, however, do not state that he died a martyr.

APRIL 26. At Massacre Island, Louisiana, the memory of Father *Jacques Gravier, S. J.*, Martyr. He was born at Moulins, France, May 17, 1651, joined the Jesuits at Paris, October 29, 1670, and came to Quebec on June 16, 1685. In 1686 he went to Michilimackinac and, when the Recollects withdrew from the West, he succeeded Allouez in the Illinois mission begun by Marquette. In December, 1690, he was appointed Vicar General by Bishop Vallier of Quebec and the Illinois mission was given to the Jesuits. He is the true founder of that mission, where he spent ten years of incredible hardship and suffering. He first reduced the Illinois language to grammatical rules. Kaskaskia and Peoria Indians he grouped near Fort St. Louis on the Illinois River and despite the machinations of the medicine men moulded his flock into a model Christian church. In 1699 he was recalled to Mackinaw, but in 1700 we find him at the mouth of the Mississippi. Returning north he met the Kaskaskias who were about to migrate to the French colonies on the Gulf, but he induced them to settle at the mouth of the Okaw river, at the place which now bears their name. In 1703 he returned to the Peorias, but, late in 1705 he was attacked by his own fickle flock, who discharged a shower of arrows at him. One flint-headed weapon pierced his ear, but another struck him at the elbow and could not be extracted. He sought relief at Mobile, even at Paris, France. On February 12, 1708, returning from Europe, he reached the roadstead at Isle Massacre, in Louisiana, where he died of his wounds, April 26, 1708. *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. lxxi, p. 156.

*MAY 1. At Quivira, Nebraska or Kansas, the memory of Father *Juan de Padilla, O. F. M.*, the Protomartyr of the United States of America. He was born in Andalusia, Spain. After a short military career he took the habit of St. Francis, came to Mexico and joined the province of the Holy Gospel at Mexico City. First he was military chaplain to the expedition of Nuño de Gusman to Nueva Galicia (1529-1531). Then he made missionary tours through Michoacan and Jalisco, until he was appointed guardian of the convents first at Tulantzinco (Hidalgo), then of Tzapotlan (Jalisco). In 1540, with Father Marcos de Niza and three other friars, he accompanied Coronado on his memorable march to the fabled Seven Cities of Cibola (Zufi). From there, with Coronado, he penetrated as far north as Quivira, to the lower Loup River in Nebraska. When the general and his army in disgust abandoned New Mexico (1542) and returned to the Capital, Fathers Juan de Padilla and Juan de la Cruz, with the Brother Luis de Ubeda, resolved to remain and evangelize the Indians. Whilst the other friars stayed on the Rio Grande, Father de Padilla returned to Quivira, protected by only one soldier, the Portuguese Andrés del Campo, and two Mexican Tertiaries. He evangelized the Indians about the present town of St. Paul, Howard Co., Nebraska, with good success. When, however, Padilla, against the will of the Indians,

attempted the conversion of an hostile tribe, the Guas (Kaws, or Kansas), on his way south, he was attacked by a band of savages, somewhere in Hall Co., Nebraska. As he calmly knelt in prayer, they slew him, c. 1544. His companions escaped. Some believe that not St. Paul, Neb., but Junction City, Kansas, marks the site of Quivira and a monument has been erected there to Father Padilla. The Franciscan Juan de Padilla, buried in the church of Isleta, N. M., is not identical with this martyr of Quivira. ENGELHARDT, in the *Franciscan Herald*, May, 1919. *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. ii, 13 ss. READ, *History of New Mexico*, p. 165. CASTAÑEDA, in *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, 1907.

MAY 11. At Candelaria, Texas, the memory of the Franciscan missionary *José Francisco de Ganzabal*, Martyr. He had charge of the mission of San Ildefonso (founded a. 1747). In 1752, on Ascension Day, May 11, he went to pass the festival with his fellow Religious at Candelaria. At nightfall three Fathers were in the little room at the mission and a Spaniard was standing at the door, when some Coco Indians fired and killed the Spaniard, who fell at the feet of one of the Fathers. The missionary hastened to aid him, but when Father de Ganzabal called out to learn who the assailants were, he received an arrow through his heart. HAMMER, p. 75.

***MAY 12.** At Puaray, New Mexico, the memory of Father *Francisco Lopez, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was a native of Sevilla and, when 17 years old, took the habit of St. Francis at Xeres de la Frontera. As superior of the mission band of Brother Agustin Ruiz, he was sent to New Mexico in 1581. He set up his headquarters at Puaray, the principal town of the Tiguez Indians, opposite Bernalillo. The soldiers, under Chamuscado, having explored the neighborhood, returned to Mexico; the Friars, however, P. Lopez, P. Juan de S. Maria and Brother Ruiz remained at Puaray. In the spring following the departure of Father Juan, Father Lopez, while praying near the pueblo, was killed with two blows of a wooden warclub by a Tigua Indian in May, 1582. In February, 1614, his relics were found by P. Estévan de Perea, and transferred to the church of Sandía, where miracles are attributed to him. ENGELHARDT, in the *Franciscan Herald*, June and July, 1919. READ, *History of New Mexico*, pp. 168 ss.

***MAY 20.** At the pueblo of Santiago, amongst the Tigua Indians, New Mexico, the memory of Brother *Augustin Rodriguez (Ruiz), O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was a native of Spain, had taken the habit in the province of the Holy Gospel at Mexico City, but asked to be transferred to the custody of San Francisco de Zacatecas, to teach catechism to the Indians and gain the crown of martyrdom. He was sent to the exposed mission of the valley of San Bartolo, in the vicinity of Allende (Chihuahua), where he led a life of austere asceticism. After having visited the Indians, north of the Rio Grande near El Paso, he organized a missionary band, consisting of Father Francisco Lopez, Father Juan de S. Maria and himself. They left the mines of S. Barbara, June 5, 1581. After Fathers Juan and Francisco had lost their lives, he also was killed by a Tehua Indian at Santiago near Puaray. The Indian threw his body into the river. READ, *History of New Mexico*, pp. 168 ss.

MAY 24. At Gran Quivira (Tabira), New Mexico, the memory of the Venerable servant of God, *Maria Jesus de Agreda*, Abbess of the Nuns of the Immacu-

late Conception at Agreda in Spain. In 1623 Father Juan de Salas, O. F. M., went to the Xumana Indians, New Mexico, to bear the light of the gospel to them. To his surprise he found the Xumanas familiar with the Christian doctrines; they declared that they had been instructed in the faith of Christ by a woman. When Father Alonzo de Benavides returned to Spain, he learnt at the convent of the Ven. Maria de Agreda that she had in ecstasy visited New Mexico and instructed Indians there. The Franciscan writers from this time speak of this marvelous conversion of the Xumanas by the instrumentality of Maria de Agreda, as a settled fact. The Xumana nation, since, has been wasted away by wars and absorbed in some one of the New Mexican tribes. The Venerable Maria de Jesus was born at Agreda, April 2, 1602, and took the veil of the Poor Clares in 1618. She died at Agreda, May 24, 1665. ENGELHARDT, in the *Franciscan Herald*, December, 1920, and January, 1921.

JUNE 4. At San Cristóval de Tanos, New Mexico, the memory of Fathers *José de Arbisu* and *Antonio Carbonel*, O. F. M., Martyrs. In 1692 Don Diego de Vargas reasserted Spanish rule in New Mexico, where the churches had been destroyed and the missionaries martyred a. 1680. But on June 4, 1696, the Taos, Picuries, Tehuas, Tanos, Queres and Jemes Indians again rose in rebellion. Their first act was to profane the churches, the next to butcher the missionaries. At San Cristóval de Tanos they killed Father Joseph and Father Antony, missionaries of the Taos. HAMMER, p. 59.

JUNE 5. Amongst the Jemes Indians in New Mexico, the memory of Father *Francis of Jesus Maria Casañas*, O. F. M., Martyr. He had worked amongst the Asinais Indians in Texas, in 1690, and had been sent by the other missionaries to Mexico to obtain a regular establishment of the Texas mission by royal order (1692). At the reestablishment of the missions in New Mexico (1693) he accompanied the new custos, P. Salvador de San Antonio to Santa Fé and was sent to the pueblo of the Jemes. When, June 4, 1696, a rebellion broke out, he was lured out of the village by some pagans, under the pretext that a dying man wished a priest to hear his confession. Then the war chief of the pueblo and the interpreter killed him with their clubs, the holy missionary repeating the names of Jesus and Mary till he expired. HAMMER, p. 59.

JUNE 6. At Fort St. Charles, Minnesota, the memory of Father *Jean Pierre Aulneau*, S. J., Martyr. Born in France, at Moutiers-sur-Hay, diocese of Luçon, April 25, 1705. He entered the Society, December 12, 1720, and arrived at Quebec, August 12, 1734. He was sent to the West to study the languages of the Cree and Assiniboin nations and to push on farther to the Mandan Indians. Father Aulneau reached the Lake of the Woods with the expedition of Pierre Gauthier de Varennes de Laverendrye in the fall of 1735, and spent the winter in Fort Charles, which was built by Laverendrye on a stretch of land which now belongs to Minnesota. June 5, 1736, Laverendrye, dispatched to Mackinac three canoes, manned by his eldest son and 19 Frenchmen, to secure provisions and ammunition. Father Aulneau was of the party. After one day's journey they were surprised by a party of Sioux Indians and cruelly murdered, on Massacre Island, in Canadian waters, to the southeast of Fort Charles. Their bodies were found September 17, 1736, and interred in the chapel of Fort Charles on September 18, of the same year. The remains of Father Aulneau and his companions were discovered in the summer,

1908. *Hist. Records and Studies*, April, 1919, pp. 488ss. *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. lxxi, p. 170.⁵

- JUNE 8.** At San Ildefonso, New Mexico, the memory of Fathers *Francisco Corvera* and *Antonio Moreno, O. F. M.*, Martyrs. P. Corvera was missionary at San Ildefonso; P. Moreno from Nambé had come to visit him. During the night of June 4, 1696, the Tehua Indians closed up every window and opening of their cell, then set fire to the convent and the church, leaving the Religious to die suffocated by the smoke and heat. *PRINCE, Spanish Mission Churches.*
- JUNE 12.** On the coast of Florida, south of Tampa Bay, the memory of Father *Diego de Peñalosa, O. P.*, Martyr. He had come to Florida with Fathers *Cancer*, *Beteta* and *Garcia*, in spring 1549. The vessel missed the Bay of Tampa; after searching for it a few days and landing from time to time the Fathers, at last, went ashore a few days before Pentecost and conferred with the natives. Whilst Father *Cancer* continued the journey towards the Bay, Father *Diego* with *Fuentes*, a pious Spaniard, and an Indian woman who had acted as interpreter, remained on shore. But the woman betrayed them and the missionary was killed as well as the layman "with all kinds of ceremony and addresses." *American Eccl. Review*, Vol. xxvii, p. 1902.
- JUNE 21.** At Detroit, Michigan, the memory of the Recollect Father *Nicholas Bernardin Constantin Delhalle*, Martyr, the first pastor of the first French town in the West. He arrived in Canada from France, June 1, 1696, and was assigned to the pastoral work at Longueil and St. François de Sales. In the early summer of 1701 he accompanied La Motte Cadillac to the West. The latter founded Detroit (July 21, 1701) and Fort Pontchartrain; a chapel in honor of Ste. Anne, the mother church of the Northwest, was commenced on her feast-day, July 26, 1701. Father *Delhalle* served as chaplain to the troops (Aumônier of Fort Pontchartrain) and pastor of the French. In June, 1706, in consequence of the peculiar policy of Cadillac, hostilities broke out between the French and the Ottawas. As Father *Delhalle*, anxious to put an end to the slaughter, was entering the Fort, some Miamis joined him and the Ottawas opened fire on them. A ball struck Father *Delhalle* and he fell dead on the spot. He was interred in the church of Ste. Anne. *HAMMER*, p. 117. *American Hist. Researches*, Vol. xiii, p. 17.
- JUNE 26.** At Tampa Bay, Florida, the memory of Father *Luis Cancer de Barbastro, O. P.*, Martyr. He was a native of Saragossa, Spain, came to America in 1514, as superior of a band of Dominican missionaries and worked amongst the Indians of Vera Paz, in Central America. He composed many religious hymns in the Zapotec language. An ardent adherent of the Dominican Las Casas, he sided with him at the gathering, convoked by the Visitor Tello de Sandoval at Mexico (1546). Anxious to prove the efficacy of the methods proposed by Las Casas, he went to Spain and obtained there the grant of a vessel for his

⁵ Rev. J. J. Holaknecht in the *Hist. Researches*, July, 1907, and January, 1908, confounds Father Aulneau with P. Ignace Guignas, S. J., and claims that the latter was killed on a rocky little island in the Lake of Woods. P. Guignas, indeed, was tortured by the Indians and condemned to die at the stake, but was rescued by adoption. He still labored in his Dakota mission in 1736. *SHERA*, Vol. i, p. 630. The article of Father Holaknecht in July, 1907, contains many errors. P. Gil de Bernave and P. Henry Ruben were killed in Sonora, Mexico, not in Arizona, U. S. The Oblate Aubert is not a martyr of 1734, but an author of the 19th century. Brother LeMoigne, who, according to Rev. Holaknecht, was martyred in New York State in 1656, is Father Simon LeMoigne who was kept a prisoner by the Iroquois at Onondaga during the winter 1661 to 1662, but was set free and died in peace at Cape de la Madeleine, November 24, 1665.

pious mission in Florida. He sailed from Vera Cruz with P. Diego de Peñalosa, P. Gregorio de Beteta and P. Juan Garcia, in spring, 1549. Father Diego was killed somewhere south of the Bay of Tampa, by the Calusas. Still Father Cancer, having found the bay itself, resolved to remain and preach to the Indians. He landed on June 26, with the other Fathers. When near the shore, he sprang out and, not heeding the remonstrances of his friends, proceeded up the steep bank. A crowd soon gathered around and a heavy blow of a club stretched him lifeless on the shore, June 26, 1549. In an instant the savages had covered him with mortal wounds and rushing to the water's edge drove back the rest with a shower of arrows. LOWERY, *Spanish Settlements within the U. S.* New York, 1901.

JUNE 28. At Aguatúvi, Arizona, the memory of Father *Francisco de Porras, O. F. M.*, the protomartyr of Arizona. Born at Villanueva de los Infantes in Spain, he received the habit of St. Francis at the convent of San Francisco at Mexico, September 12, 1606. In 1623 he was appointed master of novices, which office he held for five years. He then asked to be sent to the Indians. In 1628 he left the motherhouse together with P. Andrés Gutierrez and Brother Cristóval de la Concepcion. On August 20, 1628, they founded the mission of San Bernardo amongst the Moquis; in a few years they converted 800 Indians. P. Porras was poisoned by the medicine men and died at Aguatúvi in the arms of P. Francisco de San Buenaventura, June 28, 1633. Probably also P. Andrés and the Brother were killed. ENGELHARDT, *Franciscans in Arizona*, p. 23.

JULY 17. At Purísima Concepcion (Fort Yuma, California), the memory of the Franciscan Fathers *Francisco Hermenegildo Garcés* and *Juan Barreneche*, Martyrs. Father Garcés, a famous explorer and missionary, had been superior at S. Xavier del Bac, Arizona; he first visited the Yuma country in 1768. He was the first Spaniard to penetrate to the Mojave Indians (1776) in long journeys through the wilderness. On July 17, 1781, he was massacred with the youthful Father Juan Barreneche, 20 colonists, 12 laborers and 21 soldiers, at Purísima Concepcion, a new mission, by the Yuma Indians. ENGELHARDT, *California Missions*.

JULY 17. On the same day at San Pedro y Pablo de Biscuña in California, the memory of the Franciscan Fathers *Juan Dias* and *Matias Moreno*, Martyrs. When a. 1781 Father Garcés undertook the establishment of a regular mission amongst the Yumas, these two fathers accompanied him to the mouth of the Gila and were appointed to the new pueblo of San Pedro y Pablo, eight miles southwest of Concepcion. They were killed by the Yumas on the same day with Father Garcés, July 17, 1781. ENGELHARDT, *California Missions*.

*JULY 20. Near the Rio Grande in Texas the memory of Father *Silva, O. F. M.*, Martyr. Father Silva worked amongst the Apaches but the friendly intercourse between the Franciscans and the Apaches, aroused hostile feelings among the Texas tribes in the missions, who regarded the Apaches as their natural enemies. Therefore a party of mission Indians killed Father Silva, about 1758. *Cath. Enycl.*, Vol. x, p. 391.

AUGUST 6. In the city of Mexico the memory of the venerable servant of God, Father *Antonio Margil, O. F. M.*, the Apostle of Texas. Born at Valencia, Spain, August 18, 1657, he entered the Franciscan Order in his native city, April 22, 1673. He arrived at Vera Cruz on June 6, 1683. Attached to the college of Queretaro, he preached missions all over the country, in Yucatan, Costa Rica,

Nicaragua and Guatemala. He always walked barefooted, fasted every day of the year, never used meat or fish and applied instruments of penance to himself unmercifully. June 25, 1706, he was appointed first guardian of the newly erected convent of Guadalupe, Zacatecas. In 1716 he led a band of three fathers and two lay brothers into Texas and founded the missions of Guadalupe among the Nacogdoches, Dolores amongst the Ays and San Miguel amongst the Adays. When the French destroyed these missions, Father Margil withdrew to the Rio San Antonio and remained near the present city of San Antonio for more than a year. He then returned with his friars to the scene of his former activities, restored the missions and even gave his attention to the French settlers in Louisiana. In 1722 he was recalled to Zacatecas, but later on resumed missionary work in Mexico. He died in the city of Mexico, at the convent of San Francisco, in the odor of sanctity, August 6, 1726. Pope Gregory XVI in 1886 declared Father Margil's virtues heroic. *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. ix, p. 657. VILAFANA, *Vida del V. P. Fr. Antonio Margil*, Madrid, 1775.

AUGUST 7. At Hawikuh (Zufi) in New Mexico the memory of Father *Pedro de Ayala y Ayald, O. F. M.*, Martyr. When the Apache Indians attacked the Zufi pueblo of Hawikuh, August 7, 1670, this pious missionary won a martyr's crown. *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. xiv, s. v, Zufi.

*AUGUST 9. Near New Orleans, La. the memory of Father *Jean Daniel Testu*, Martyr. He was a native of Cape-Saint-Ignace, Canada, was ordained in 1639 and went to join Father François Jolliet de Martigny of the Quebec Seminary, in 1712, when the latter took up the mission field in the Mississippi Valley. Father Testu founded a mission amongst the Choctaws in Louisiana in 1713. In August, 1718, on their way to Mobile, he and his party, while cabining at night on the shore, were attacked by Indians. At the first volley Father Testu received a fatal wound. His age is given as fifty. *Catalogue of the Indian Missionaries*, written by Vicar General Noiseux of Quebec and sent to Bishop Rosati of St. Louis by Bishop Signey of Quebec. (V. Jean Dequerre, November 10.) SHEA, *Missions*, p. 450. Charlevoix does not mention Father Testu, nor James Mooney in his article on the Choctaw Indians, in the *Cath. Encycl.* Probably he is a double of Father Saint-Côme.

AUGUST 10. At the Tesuque pueblo, New Mexico, the memory of Father *Juan Bautista de Pio, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was a native of Victoria, Spain, and was attached to the mission church of Santa Fé, New Mexico. On the morning of August 10, 1680, he had gone to Tesuque to say Mass, when the revolt of El Popé broke out. Father Pio was killed by the Indians, the first victim of the revolution. His Mass server, the soldier Pedro Hidalgo, escaped PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches*.

AUGUST 10. At the Tano pueblo of Santa Cruz de Galisteo, New Mexico, the memory of the Franciscan Fathers *Juan Bernal* and *Juan Domingo de Vera*, Martyrs. Father Juan was custodio of the missions of New Mexico, when the great insurrection of 1680 broke out. The plot was conceived by the Tejuan Indian El Popé (Poc-pec) who had been pursued by the Spaniards for committing murders and instigating the Indians to revive their old pagan rites. Father Bernal had been warned by the Tanos of San Cristóval and San Lázaro, but the Spanish governor took measures to prevent the revolt, when it was too late. Three hundred and eighty Spaniards, men, women and children, were killed, all the churches and Spanish settlements destroyed and every vestige of Christianity stamped out amongst the Zufis, Moquis, Návajos, Taos

Picuries and Tejuas. Both Father Bernal and Father de Vera were natives of Mexico City.

- AUGUST 10. At the Convent of Porciuncula, amongst the Pecos Indians in New Mexico, the memory of Father *Fernando de Velasco, O. F. M.*, Martyr. Juan Yé, the chief of the Pecos, communicated to the authorities the plans of El Popé to exterminate all the Spaniards. Finding his advice unheeded, he told Father Fernando: "Father, the people are going to rise and kill the Spaniards and missionaries. Decide then, whether you wish to go and I will send warriors with you and protect you." Thereupon Father Fernando hurried to warn Father Bernal at Galisteo, but was overtaken by the Indians and shot to death with arrows, at daybreak, August 10, 1680. He was a native of Cadiz and had served in the Mission of New Mexico for thirty years. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches*.
- AUGUST 10. At the Tehua pueblo of Nambé, New Mexico, the memory of the Franciscan missionary Father *Tomás de Torres*. He was a native of Tepeotlan, México. He was killed at the outbreak of the insurrection of El Popé, August 10, 1680. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches*.
- AUGUST 10. In the pueblo of the Tanos Indians, New Mexico, the memory of Father *Simon de Jesus, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He had served the Tanos for four-score years. Seeing the talent, intelligence and apparent piety of an Indian boy, Frasquillo, he devoted his time to the education of the youth. Frasquillo learned to read and write Spanish fluently; he became a good Latinist and the chants and services of the Church were familiar to him. When, however, August 10, 1680, the revolt broke out under El Popé, Frasquillo entered ardently into it and slew with his own hands the priest who had done so much to elevate him. The Tanos hailed the young monster as their king. BAPINOSA, *Cronica Apostolica*, Vol. i, p. 284. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches*.
- AUGUST 10. At the pueblo of San Lorenzo de Picuries, New Mexico, the memory of Father *Matias de Rendon, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was a native of Puebla de los Angeles, Mexico, and was killed by his own fickle flock during the revolt of El Popé, in August, 1680. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches*.
- AUGUST 11. At San Diego de los Jemes, New Mexico, the memory of the Franciscan missionary *Juan de Jesus*, Martyr. He was a native of Granada, Spain. He had worked amongst his people for nine years, when the Indian revolt of El Popé broke out. P. Juan was stripped, tied on a hog and chased through the pueblo amid the curses and blows of the rabble. Then they sat upon him and made him carry them around on all fours, until he sank lifeless, on August 11, 1680. His relics were taken, August 8, 1694, by Governor de Vargas, and deposited in the church of San Francisco at Santa Fé, August 11, 1694. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches*.
- AUGUST 11. At the Indian pueblo San Esteban de Acoma in New Mexico the memory of Father *Lucas Maldonado, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was killed by his Indians during the revolt of El Popé, August, 1680. He was a native of Tribugena, Spain, and held the office of Definidor actual. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches*.
- AUGUST 11. At the pueblo Purisima Concepcion de Alona, New Mexico, the memory of Father *Juan de Val, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was a native of Castile, Spain. After having worked at Alona for nine years, he was killed by the Zuni Indians, during the insurrection of El Popé, in August, 1680. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches*.

- AUGUST 11.** At the pueblo of San Geronimo de Taos, New Mexico, the memory of Father *Antonio Mora* and the lay brother *Juan de Pedrosa, O. F. M.*, Martyrs. Father Mora had been in service amongst the Taos, for nine years. He was a native of Puebla de los Angeles, Mexico. Brother de Pedrosa was born in Mexico City. They gave their lives for Christ during the insurrection of the Indian El Popé against the Spaniards, in August, 1680. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches*.
- AUGUST 11.** At the Indian pueblo of San Ildefonso, New Mexico, the memory of Father *Luis de Morales, O. F. M.*, and the lay brothers *Antonio Sanchez de Pró* and *Luis de Baeza*, Martyrs. Father Morales was born at Ubeda, Spain. Brother de Pró was a native of Mexico City; he had joined the Discalced Carmelites, but had gone over to the Observants of St. Francis, in order to be able to go to the missions in New Mexico. The three friars were killed at San Ildefonso during the revolt of El Popé, in August, 1680. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches*.
- AUGUST 11.** At San Marcos pueblo, New Mexico, the memory of the Franciscan Father *Manuel de Tinoco*, Martyr. He was killed during the Indian revolt of El Popé, in August, 1680. He had joined the Order of St. Francis in the province of San Miguel de Estremadura. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches*.
- AUGUST 12.** At San Bernardo de Aguatuvi, Arizona, the memory of Father *José de Figueras, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was born in the city of Mexico and came to Arizona in 1674; there he served the Hopi pueblo of Aguatuvi, 26 miles from the Zuni pueblos. When the Indians rose against the Spaniards in August 1680, he foretold them that within three years they would be at war with each other. He was killed with clubs and stones and his body thrown into a cave. ENGELHARDT, *Franciscans in Arizona*, p. 24.
- AUGUST 12.** At the pueblo of San Bartolmé de Xongopavi (Xenopoli) in Arizona, the memory of Father *José de Trujillo, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was born at Cadiz, Spain and joined the Franciscans in 1634. First he was sent to the Philippine Islands, then to Mexico. There he was named prior of the convent of San Cosmé without the walls of Mexico City. At last he went to the missions of New Mexico. He worked in the Hopi pueblo of San Bartolmé, seven leagues from Aguatuvi. His own Indians killed him during the insurrection of El Popé, in August, 1680. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches*.
- AUGUST 12.** At the pueblo of Santo Domingo, New Mexico, the memory of the Franciscan missionaries *P. Juan Talaban*, *Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana* and *Juan Montesdoca*, Martyrs. Father Talaban was a native of Sevilla, Spain, and had worked in the missions of New Mexico for twenty years; he had been custodio of the missions. Father de Lorenzana was born in Galicia, Spain. P. Montesdoca at Querétaro, Mexico. During the great Indian revolt of El Popé, in August, 1680, the three priests were locked up in their house by the Indians who set fire to it, thus stifling and burning the friars. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches*.
- AUGUST 12.** In the country of the Zúñi Indians, New Mexico, the memory of the Franciscan Fathers *Lorenzo Analisa*, *Juan Espinosa* and *Sebastian Casalda*, Martyrs. They were stripped, stoned, and at last shot to death in the public place. Their bodies were buried in the ruins of the church. HAMMER, *Die Franziskaner in den Ver. Staaten Nordamerikas*, p. 45. Shea does not mention these martyrs, nor PRINCE, (*Spanish Mission Churches*), but they are given in the list of Archbishop Salpointe, *Hist. Researches*, January 1907, p. 76.

AUGUST 14. On the Menominee River, in Wisconsin, the memory of the Jesuit Father *René Menard*, Martyr. He was born at Paris, March 2, 1605, and arrived at Quebec, July 8, 1640. He was assigned to work amongst the Hurons. After the destruction of the Huron mission (1649), he was sent to the Cayugas, in the Iroquois country (New York State), where, for the first three months, he was brutally treated, but succeeded in gaining the confidence of the savages. When the Iroquois mission was interrupted, he went to Three Rivers, but in 1695 started with 300 Ottawas for the far west. He reached the shores of Lake Superior in 1660 and endeavored to establish a mission in Keweenaw, Mich. From Keweenaw he set out to visit other tribes. On his way to the Hurons on Noquet Island at the mouth of the Menominee River, he was separated from his companion, a French blacksmith; he lost his way in the forests and was never heard of again. He was murdered by a roving band of Sioux, probably at the first rapids of the Menominee, near the present city of Crystal Falls, about August 4, 1661. *Cath. Encycl.*, x, p. 178. *Hist. Recherches*, July, 1910, p. 246. *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. lxxi, p. 144.

AUGUST 23. At Norridgewock Mission, Maine, the memory of Father *Sebastien Rale* (*Rale*) S. J., Martyr. Born at Pontarlier, France, January 4, 1657, he entered the Jesuit novitiate at Dôle, September 24, 1675. His theology he finished at Lyons in 1688 and arrived at Quebec, October 13, 1689. His first missionary work was in an Abenaki village near Quebec; next he labored in the Illinois country for two years. In 1694 he was sent to the Abenaki mission on the Kennebec. The colonists of New England regarded with suspicion and hatred the arrival of a Frenchman in the midst of savages who were hostile to the English. Hence the Indian outrages perpetrated on the eastern frontier of New England during Rale's long residence among the Abenakis were attributed to him. In 1705 the English burned his church at Norridgewock. When the territory in 1713 was ceded to England, Rale remained and rebuilt his church. After having escaped from an attack of the New Englanders in 1722, he was surprised by another expedition in August, 1724; he, with several chiefs and many of his flock, was killed, scalped and hacked to pieces by the Mohawk allies of the English, August 23, 1724. His Abenaki dictionary is preserved at Harvard College and was published in 1833. *Cathl. Encycl.* Vol. xii, p. 635. *Records of the Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. xviii; *Hist. Recherches*, January, 1908, 33.

AUGUST 28. In Monterey, Cal., the memory of the servant of God, Father *Junipero Serra*, O. F. M., the Apostle of California. He was born at Petra, Isle of Majorca, November 24, 1713. On September 14, 1730, he joined the Franciscans, taught philosophy at Palma and attached himself to the missionary college of San Fernando, Mexico, in 1749. For nine years he served at the Sierra Gorda Indian missions, north of Querétaro. Recalled to Mexico he became famous as a preacher of missions. In 1767 he was appointed superior of a band of 15 Franciscans for the Indian missions of Lower California, but in 1769 he accompanied Portolá's land expedition to Upper California. He arrived at San Diego on July 1, 1769, and on July 16 founded the first of the twenty-one California missions which accomplished the conversion of all the natives on the coast as far as Sonoma to the north. In 1778 he received the faculty to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation. He confirmed 5,309 persons, who, with but few exceptions, were Indians converted during the fourteen years from 1770. Besides extraordinary fortitude, his most conspicuous virtues were insatiable zeal, love of mortification, self-denial

and absolute confidence in God. He died at Monterey, Cal., August 23, 1784. *Cath. Enyel.*, Vol. xiii, p. 730. *Hist. Records and Studies*, vii, 168. ENGELHARDT, *Missions in California*.

***AUGUST 31.** At the Hopi pueblo of San Francisco de Oraibe, in Arizona, the memory of the Franciscan Fathers *José de Espeleta* and *Augustin a S. Maria*, Martyrs. P. Augustin was a native of Patcuaro, Mexico, and came to Arizona in 1674. Espeleta was born at Estela in Navarra; he had been custodio of the missions and had spent thirty years there. Both were killed during the revolt of El Popé, in August, 1680. Before P. Espeleta was massacred, the Indians kept him as a slave, like a beast of burden, an object of ridicule for old and young. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches*.

SEPTEMBER 9. On the Illinois River the memory of the Recollect Father *Gabriel de la Ribourde*, Martyr. He was the last scion of a noble Burgundian house; he renounced the world and its honors to enter the Order of St. Francis, and then, when advanced in years, renounced the comforts of Europe for the wilds of Canada. He came to Quebec in August, 1670, and soon became Commissary or Superior of his Order in the colony. Sent by his successor to Fort Frontenac, near the present city of Kingston, he was assigned as superior to La Salle's party. Later on he remained with Tonti at Fort Crevecoeur, evangelizing the Indians. When Tonti and his party gave up and destroyed the Fort, they set out in a wretched canoe to reach Green Bay. While Tonti and Father Membré, next day, were busy repairing the canoe, Father Gabriel retired apart to say his breviary. While thus engaged, he was met by a party of Kikapoes, out against the Iroquois, who ruthlessly murdered him and threw his body into a hole, September 9, 1681, in the seventieth year of his age. HAMMER, p. 111.

SEPTEMBER 10. Near the Tigua pueblo of Chilili, New Mexico, the memory of Father *Juan de Santa Maria, O. F. M.* He was a Catalan, joined the Franciscans at Mexico and, when still a young man, set out for the pueblos of New Mexico, from the Santa Barbara Mines, Chihuahua, on June 5, 1581. With him were Father Francisco Lopez, the superior, and Brother Augustin Ruiz (Rodriguez), the organizer of the expedition. They were protected by eight soldiers under Francisco Chamuscado, and six Mexican Indians. They visited the pueblos of the Piroas, Tigua and Queres nations. When the party arrived amongst the Tano Indians at the pueblo of Galisteo, Father Juan became anxious to return to Mexico to render a report, in order that more priests might be sent to the mission. He started alone from the Sandia mountains, trusting to his knowledge of the stars, but on his way, on the third day, he was killed under a huge stone by a party of roving Indians, near Chilili, Bernalillo Co., on September 10, 1581. *Cath. Historical Review*, October, 1920, pp. 308ss.

***SEPTEMBER 11.** Near Fort Adams, Mississippi, the memory of Father *Nicolas Foucault*, the first martyr of the Seminary of Quebec. He was born in Paris and ordained at Quebec, December 3, 1689. For ten years pastor at Batiscan, he was impelled by zeal for the missions to follow Montigny, and set out for the Mississippi in 1701. He had already accomplished much good amongst the Arkansas, when, in 1702, he set out for Mobile with his servant and two Frenchmen. They took as guides two Indians of the Koroa tribe, akin to the Arkansas. Led by hopes of plunder, or instigated by hatred, these treacherous savages murdered the whole party near the Tonica villages, in September, 1702. Father Antoine Davion at the time was ascending the Mississippi and discovered on the banks of the river the bodies of these victims of Indian ferocity. He interred them with the rites of the Church. SHRA, Vol. i, p. 445.

- SEPTEMBER 13.** At St. Augustine, Florida, the memory of the holy Martyr *Pedro de Corpa, O. F. M.* In 1593 sent to the province of Guala in Florida, he established a neophyte village amongst the Timucua Indians at Tolemato (now the cemetery of St. Augustine), but when he publicly reproved the profligate son of the Casique who had fled from Guala island to the pagans of Tolomato, he was killed by the young man's partisans whilst kneeling before the altar in September, 1597. His head was severed from the body and set on a spear over the gate. HAMMER, p. 17.
- SEPTEMBER 14.** At St. Augustine, Florida, the memory of Father *Juan de Silva O. F. M.*, Martyr. In 1593 he was sent as superior of a band of twelve Franciscan missionaries to work amongst the Timucua and Yamassee tribes on the lower St. John River and the islands on the southern coast of Georgia. He established regular villages of neophytes around St. Augustine, but was killed during the Indian conspiracy of September, 1597. HAMMER, p. 17.
- SEPTEMBER 15.** On St. Simon's Island, Glynn Co., Georgia, the memory of the Martyr *Francisco de Velasco*, Franciscan Priest. Sent to Florida in 1593 he formed a village of neophytes at Asao, on St. Simon's Island, Georgia. He was killed by the insurgent Yamassee Indians in September, 1597, whilst returning from his church. HAMMER, p. 17.
- SEPTEMBER 16.** At Toboqui in Florida, the memory of the Franciscan Father *Blas Rodriguez*, Martyr. He came to St. Augustine, Florida, in 1593, with Father Juan de Silva and established a village of neophytes at Toboqui near St. Augustine. He was killed in the chapel of Our Lady of the Milk after Mass, by the insurgent Yamassee Indians from Tolemato, in September, 1597. HAMMER, p. 17.
- SEPTEMBER 17.** On Amelia Island, Nassau Co., Florida, the memory of the Franciscan Father *Miguel de Auson* and the laybrother *Antonio de Badajos*, Martyrs. Father Miguel was sent to Florida a. 1593, with Father Juan de Silva, O. F. M. He established himself at Asopo on Amelia Island to the north of St. Augustine and was killed with clubs by the insurgent Yamassee Indians before the altar, together with the laybrother Antonio de Badajos, in September, 1597. Their bodies were raised a. 1605 and buried at St. Augustine. HAMMER, p. 17.
- SEPTEMBER 23.** At Andagaron, on the Mohawk River, N. Y., the memory of the Venerable Servant of God, *René Goupil, S. J.*, Martyr. He was a native of Angers, France, b. in 1607. Because ill health prevented him from joining the Society of Jesus, he attached himself to the Canada mission as a *donné*. After serving two years as physician and surgeon in the hospitals of Canada, he became the companion of Father Jogues and as such started with him to the Huron mission in 1642. Captured by the Iroquois near Lake St. Peter, like the other prisoners, he was beaten, his nails were torn out and his finger joints cut off. Brought to Ossernenon and Andagaron, he was repeatedly tortured. At last, because he taught the Indian children the sign of the Cross, he was felled to the ground by a hatchet blow by an Indian; he expired invoking the Name of Jesus, September 23, 1642. During his captivity, in August, he had bound himself to the Society of Jesus, pronouncing the religious vows in presence of Father Jogues; the latter called Goupil "an angel of innocence." MARTIN, *Isaac Jogues*, Paris, 1882, *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. vi, p. 684.
- SEPTEMBER 28.** On Cumberland Island, Georgia, the memory of Father *Pedro Martinez*, the protomartyr of the Jesuits in the United States. He was born at Celda, diocese of Saragossa (or at Teruel?), Spain, on October 15, 1533. In

1553 he joined the Jesuits at Valencia; with Fathers Juan Rogel and Francisco Villareal, he was sent to America by S. Francis Borgia, in June, 1566. He was a man of great learning, deep humility and fervent zeal. Driven by a storm to the coast of Georgia, he landed with a few companions, but his ship was thrown back to the high sea by the heavy waves. Whilst he tried to reach Florida on foot, he was killed by the natives on the isle of Tacatacuru (Cumberland), about September 28, 1566. *Hist. Records and Studies*, December, 1904, p. 352.

SEPTEMBER 29. At De Pere, Wisconsin, the memory of two Jesuit Fathers, Martyrs. These martyrs may not be a product of fiction. In 1765 they are said to have been killed by the Winnebagoes; but they cannot be identified. They are believed to have been the last Jesuit missionaries in the Mission of Wisconsin. The two Fathers, then at Michilimackinac, were Pierce Du Jaunay and Louis Marin Le Franc. But these cannot have been the martyrs, since they died in peace at Quebec, Du Jaunay on July 16, 1780, Le Franc on May 25, 1776. *Hist. Researches*, July, 1907, p. 260; *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. lxxi, p. 171.

*SEPTEMBER 30. At Saint-Sauveur, on Mount Desert Island, Maine, the memory of the Jesuit Brother Gilbert Du Thet, Martyr. The Jesuit Fathers Quentin, Masse and Briard, in June, 1613, established a peaceful settlement for the conversion of Indians on Soames Sound, Mt. Dessert Island. The post was destroyed by the English under Captain Argal of Virginia, in September, 1613; Brother Du Thet⁶ was killed, the Fathers were carried to Virginia as prisoners. *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. xii, p. 287; *Hist. Records and Studies*, December, 1904, p. 365; *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. lxxi, 137.

OCTOBER 4. At New Orleans, La., the memory of the Venerable Servant of God, Father Francis Seelos, C. SS. R. Born at Fuesen, Bavaria, he pursued his studies at Augsburg and Munich and entered the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, offering himself for the American mission. He arrived in America, April 17, 1843, made his profession at Baltimore, May 16, 1844, and was ordained seven months later by Archbishop Eccleston. He was assigned first to St. James, Baltimore, then, in May, 1845, to Pittsburgh; in 1851 he was appointed superior of the Pittsburgh community, where he labored for 9 years. His confessional was constantly besieged by crowds of people of every description. It was said by many that he could read their very souls. At Baltimore he was prefect of the professed students. In 1860 his name was proposed for the vacant see of Pittsburgh, but he humbly refused. In 1866 he was summoned to Detroit and in September of the same year to New Orleans, La. There he died, October 4, 1867. The cause of his beatification is in progress. *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. xiii, p. 681.

OCTOBER 12. At the Indian mission of Santa Cruz, California, the memory of Father Andrés Quintana, O. F. M., Martyr. He was a powerful man physically and fearless withal, but full of tenderness and solicitude towards his neophytes. In spite of his charity towards the natives, he was waylaid and killed in the most diabolical manner by his own mission Indians, October 12, 1812. ENGELHARDT, *California Missions*, Vol. iii, p. 12.

OCTOBER 15. At Perryville, Missouri, the memory of the Venerable Servant of God, Father Felix DeAndreis, C. M., Vicar General of the Diocese of Louisiana, and first Superior of the Congregation of the Mission in the United States. Born at DeMonte in Piemont, Italy, December 13, 1778, he entered the Congrega-

⁶ He came from the Province of France and had arrived at Quebec, January 23, 1612.

tion of the Mission (Lazarists) at Mondovi, November 1, 1795, and was ordained at Piacenza, August 14, 1801. From 1810, at Monte Citorio, Rome, he was constantly engaged in giving missions and retreats for the clergy or the seminarists. It was no unusual thing for him to preach four times a day on different subjects. In 1815 Pius VII appointed him for the missions of Bishop Dubourg in Louisiana; his party reached Baltimore on July 26, 1816. Until Bishop Dubourg arrived, Father DeAndreis taught theology at St. Thomas Seminary, Kentucky. Then he directed the novitiate of the Congregation in the Bishop's residence at St. Louis, where he died October 15, 1820. He was buried at the Seminary church at Perryville, Mo. His zeal and strenuous life as well as the hardships of missionary work in America had exhausted his weak constitution. His process of beatification has been begun by the Roman authorities. *Life of the Very Rev. Felix de Andreis, C. M.*, St. Louis, 1900.

OCTOBER 18. At Ossernenon, near Auriesville, N. Y. the memory of the Venerable Servant of God, Father *Isaac Jogues, S. J.*, Martyr. Born at Orleans, France, January 10, 1607, he entered the Society of Jesus at Paris October 24, 1624, and was sent to Canada in 1636. From Quebec he went to the regions around the great lakes where the illustrious Father Brebeuf and others were laboring. He penetrated as far as Sault-Ste.-Marie. August 3, 1642, near Three Rivers he was taken prisoner by the Iroquois and, after being cruelly tortured, carried to the Indian village of Ossernenon (Auriesville) on the Mohawk, about 40 miles above the present city of Albany. When, after 13 months of slavery, he was about to be burnt at the stake, he was freed by the Dutch and conveyed to France. There he was received with great honors at court. In 1644, he returned to Canada and, in 1646, negotiated peace with the Indians at Ossernenon. On September 27, 1646 he began his third and last journey to the Mohawk. The superstitious Indians however ascribed to him the double calamity of a contagious fever and of a blight which had fallen on their crops. They determined to wreak vengeance on him and sent warriors to capture him. The Iroquois met him near Lake George, stripped him naked, slashed him with their knives and then, with a faithful layman, Jean Lalonde, led him to the village. On October 18, 1646, when entering a cabin, he was struck with a tomahawk and afterwards decapitated. The heads of Father Jogues and of Lalonde were fixed on the palisades, the bodies thrown into the Mohawk. The Fathers of the third National Council petitioned the Apostolic See for his beatification. *Cathl. Encyclopedia*, vol. viii, p. 420.

OCTOBER 18. At St. Charles, Missouri, the memory of the servant of God, Madame *Philippine Rose Duchesne*, Virgin, foundress, in America, of the first houses of the Society of the Sacred Heart. Born at Grenoble, France, August 29, 1769, she was educated by the Visitation Nuns, entered that Order, saw its dispersion during the Reign of Terror and vainly attempted the reestablishment of the convent of Sainte-Marie d'en-Haut, near Grenoble. Finally, in 1804, she accepted the offer of Mother Barat, to incorporate her community into the Society of the Sacred Heart. In 1818 Mother Duchesne set out with four companions for the missions of America. Bishop Dubourg welcomed her to New Orleans, whence she sailed up the Mississippi to St. Louis, finally settling her little community at St. Charles. Cold, hunger and illness, opposition, ingratitude and calumny served only to fire her lofty and indomitable spirit with new zeal. Having founded the new houses at Florissant, Grand Coteau, New

Orleans, St. Louis and St. Michel, La., she yearned to teach the poor Indians. Old and broken as she was, she went to labor amongst the Pottowatomies at Sugar Creek, Kansas. But one year later she returned to St. Charles and died October 18, 1852. Preliminary steps for her beatification have been taken. BAUNARD, *Histoire de Mme. Duchesne*, Paris, 1878.

*OCTOBER 25. At Onondaga, New York, the memory of *Stephen le Ganonakos*, Martyr. He was a native of Onondaga, but, to insure the liberty of practicing his religion, had, with his family, retired to Caughnawaga, Canada. While hunting, in September, 1690, he was surprised by a Cayuga party and conducted to Onondaga. He was forced to run the gauntlet and undergo the usual fiendish tortures. He next suffered the torture of fire; and, triumphing over all was at last bound to the stake. Yet all their cruelty could not wring a sigh from the Indian hero who stood motionless, his eyes raised to heaven. At last he chanted aloud his dying prayer, a prayer for his torturers, who in a few moments completed their work. SHEA, *Missions*, p. 322.

NOVEMBER 4. At San Diego, California, the memory of Father *Luis Jayme, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He arrived at San Diego, with nine other Fathers, March 12, 1771. The Fathers had been fairly successful in their efforts to win the savages from paganism; this provoked the sorcerers and other chief men to conspire against their lives. During the night preceding the 4th of November, 1775, about one thousand armed Diegueño Indians surrounded the mission, looted the sacristy and storehouse and then set fire to the buildings. Father Luis Jayme and José Romero, the blacksmith, were killed. Father Luis was the first martyr of the California mission. ENGELHARDT, Vol. ii, p. 169.

NOVEMBER 5. At Nacagdoches, Texas, the memory of the Franciscan Father *Antonio Dias de Leon*, Martyr. He was from the Franciscan College of Zacatecas, Mexico, known for his virtues and merits. He had been on the mission at San José, from 1820 to 1823 and had acted as chaplain to the troops. For ten years he was at Nacagdoches mission and had given offence to no one. Turbulent American frontiersmen and their itinerant ministers, ignorant, prejudiced and full of animosity against the Church, killed him secretly November 4 or 5, 1834. SHEA, Vol. iii, p. 712.

*NOVEMBER 10. In Illinois the memory of Father *Jean Dequerre (Dequen?) S. J.*, Martyr. According to an unreliable report he came from the Lake Superior region to the Illinois country in 1653 and established a mission somewhere near the present city of Peoria. In 1660 he went to visit a tribe west from the Illinois river, but was killed by the savages in 1661.⁷ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. iii, p. 90 ss.

⁷ The name of Father Dequerre is the first in a list of Missionaries, employed in the Mission of Illinois and the Mississippi. It was composed in Latin by Magr. Noiseux, Grand Vicar of Quebec. This list, upon request, was sent to Bishop Rosati of St. Louis by Rt. Rev. Jos. Signay, Bishop of Quebec, March 5, 1834. Also Bishop Bruté of Vincennes obtained a copy from Quebec. Father Noiseux himself acknowledges that his list contains numerous inaccuracies, being taken from "manuscript written on greasy paper, with ink made of gunpowder." Consequently J. Gilmory Shea disavows the reliability of Noiseux and denies the very existence of P. Dequerre. Judge John Law of Evansville, Ind., however, in a series of articles (*Catholic Telegraph*, 1855) defends the Canadian Vicar General against Shea. He claims, that probably the Jesuits, before Marquette, discovered the Mississippi, reaching the Cahokia Indians overland, through the present State of Illinois. Rev. E. Saninier, chancellor to Archb. Kendrick of St. Louis, in 1855, says "Noiseux may be a good authority in spite of Mr. Shea." A copy of the list is found in the archives of St. Louis Chancery Office.

- NOVEMBER 22.** At Santa Clara, California, the memory of the venerable servant of God, the Franciscan missionary *Magin Catalá, O. F. M.* He was born at Montblanch, Catalonia, Spain. He received the habit of St. Francis at Barcelona, April 4, 1777, and was ordained priest in 1785. In October, 1786, he sailed from Cavis and joined the famous missionary College San Fernando in the City of Mexico. In 1794 he was sent to the Indian mission of Santa Clara in California, where, in company with Father José Viader, he labored most zealously for 36 years. All through his life Father Catalá suffered intensely from inflammatory rheumatism; in his last years he could neither walk nor stand unassisted. He, nevertheless, visited the sick and preached in Indian and Spanish while seated in a chair at the altar rail. Despite his infirmities he observed the rule strictly, used the discipline and penitential girdle and never used meat, fish, eggs or wine. The venerable missionary was famed far and wide for his miracles and prophecies, as well as for his virtues. He died at Santa Clara, November 22, 1830. In 1884 Archbishop Alemany instituted the process of his beatification. ENGELHARDT, *The Holy Man of Santa Clara*, San Francisco, 1909.
- NOVEMBER 25.** At Pecos, Texas, the memory of Father *Juan de la Cruz, O. F. M., Martyr.* With Brother Luis de Ubeda he had accompanied Father Juan de Padilla, when Coronado went to the Northwest to find the legendary Seven Cities of Cibola. The adventurous explorer, Coronado, returned to Mexico, but the Franciscans remained with the Indians. After having labored for some time amongst the Tiguex on the Rio Grande, Father Juan de Padilla went to Quivira in the Northeast and left Father Juan de la Cruz to instruct the Tiguex. The latter fell a victim to the ferocity of the Indians November 25, 1544. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches*.
- NOVEMBER 28.** At Natchez, Mississippi, the memory of Father *Paul Du Poisson S. J., Martyr.* He was a native of Epinay, France, where he was born January 27, 1693, and entered the Society of Jesus in the province of Champagne, September 11, 1712. P. Du Poisson was one of the French missionaries who came to the mission in Louisiana in 1727; he reached the Arkansas Post in July, 1727, which mission had seen no priest since the death of Father Foucault (1702). Here he labored amongst the Quapaws and the colonists until 1729 with indifferent success. About that time the Natchez had planned a revolt against the French. On his way to New Orleans Father Du Poisson, ignorant of the plot, reached Natchez November 26, and, the Capuchin priest being absent, officiated for the people on the first Sunday in Advent. Whilst on Monday, November 28, 1729, he was about to carry the Blessed Sacrament to a sick man, he was killed by the Natchez chief with a blow of the tomahawk; then the savage hacked off his head. SHEA, *Missions*, p. 448.
- *DECEMBER 7.** At St. Mark's Island, Florida, the memory of three unknown *Franciscan Fathers, Martyrs.* When Governor Moore of South Carolina, in 1702, made war on Florida, the Christian Indians on the islands, from St. Catherine's to Amelia, had withdrawn to St. Mark's Island, where they formed three towns. These were now committed to the flames with their churches and convents; three Franciscan Fathers fell into the hands of the enemy, while their Indian converts fled to St. Augustine. The Fathers were killed by the Indians. SHEA, Vol. i, p. 459.
- DECEMBER 11.** Near Vicksburg, Mississippi, the memory of Father *Jean Soud, S. J., Martyr.* He had come from France with Fathers Du Poisson, Dumas and De

Guyenne in 1727 to the Louisiana mission, and was assigned to the Yazooos, though prostrated by disease. He was to minister to the French and announce the gospel to the Yazooos, Ofagoulas and Coroas. Although his constitution was completely shattered, he took up his residence at the Indian village and devoted himself to the study of the language. The Yazooos in 1729 were drawn into the conspiracy of the Natches, and on December 11 killed Father Souel by a volley of musket balls. His faithful negro, who attempted to resist the violence of the murderers, was cut to pieces. The next day they attacked the French fort and massacred all the inmates. *Jesuit Relations*, lxxi, 168.

DECEMBER 21. At the pueblo of the Taos Indians in New Mexico the memory of Father *Pedro de Miranda, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was a native of Avila, Spain, and was killed by the Taos Indians, with two Spanish soldiers, Luis Pacheco and Juan de Estrada, December 21, 1631. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches*.

*DECEMBER 23. In St. Mark's Mission, near the mouth of Wolf River, Wisconsin, the memory of Brother *Jean Guérin, S. J.*, Martyr. He was the companion, first of Father Menard, then of Father Louis André, and was martyred a. 1672 at the Big Butte des Morts, near Oshkosh, Wisconsin, by pagan Outagamies or Fox Indians. *Hist. Researches*, July, 1907, p. 260. Where Father Holzknecht obtained this information we do not know; Guérin was a "donné" of the Society. Neither the *Jesuit Relations* nor Shea mention his martyrdom.

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DOCUMENTS

RAGGUAGLIO DELLO STATO DELLA RELIGIONE CATTOLICA NELLE COLONIE INGLESÌ D'AMERICA¹

I

Di tutte le Colonie degli Inglesi, quella dovè vi sono più Cattolici è la provincia di *Canada* ceduta alla Corona Britannica per il trattato di pace conchiuso a Parigi nel mese di Febraio 1763. Per l'istesso trattato furono cedute le Isole di *Capo Breton*, e di *San Giovanni*, e le altre Isole nel Golfo di San Lorenzo.

Gli abitanti di questa vasta provincia, oriondi d'Europa, erano allora tutti cattolici: ed oltre di questi molti zelanti Missionarii avevano convertito un gran numero di quegli antichi abitanti selvaggi. E benchè vi siano adesso mischiati fra loro alcuni Inglesi Protestanti con tutto ciò il corpo del popolo è cattolico per l'articolo quarto del sopra detto trattato devono godere il libero esercizio della Religione Cattolica. Ed in fatto si è saputo per lettere venute poco fa da quelle parti, che non solamente professano con libertà la Religione Cattolica, ma che lo fanno nella stessa publica forma, come erano soliti di fare sotto il Dominio Francese. Ma le Missioni tra i Selvaggi hanno patito moltissimo dalle calamità della guerra.

Vi è una Sede Episcopale a Quebec capitale della Provincia. Si crede che la sua giurisdizione si estendesse sopra le vicine provincie di Nuova Scozia e Acadia, sopra le quali i Francesi avevano delle pretese. L'ultimo Vescovo morì poco dopo che la città di Quebec era caduta in mano agli Inglesi. La giurisdizione si esercita adesso dai Vicarii Generali Capitolari.

Vi era a Quebec un Seminario sotto la direzione de' Preti Secolari della celebre congregazione di San Sulpizio di Parigi ed avevano i Medesimi un'altra casa a *Montreal*, città situata sopra il fiume di *San Lorenzo*, ma più di cento miglia lontano di Quebec. Si crede che questi due stabilimenti si mantengono ancora.

II

Nelle provincie de *Nuova Scozia* e *Acadia* vi sono poche popolazioni Inglesi. Le principali sono *Halifax* e *Annapolis*, e gli abitanti di questi luoghi sono Protestanti. Ma nel rimanente del Paese vi sono molti abitanti d'origine Francesi, che prima dell' ultima guerra erano chiamati i *Francesi neutrali*. Questi sono la maggior parte Cattolici e sono assistiti da Sacerdoti mandati loro dal *Canada*. Per altro non godono della stessa libertà di esercitare pubblicamente la Religione Cattolica.

III

La Grand' Isola di *Terra Nuova* è quasi deserta, benchè appartenente agli Inglesi. Non si sa che vi abbiano altro stabilimento riguardevole che la città di

¹ As one of the earliest accounts of the Catholic religion in the English Colonies of North America, this document from the Archives of Propaganda (*Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. 2, fol. 288-293) merits the attention of historians. It has been prepared for publication in this REVIEW by the Right Rev. Monsignor Bernardini, D.D., J. C. D., Associate Professor of Canon Law, at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

Piacenza; nè si sa che vi siano degli abitanti cattolici. Con tutto ciò pochi anni sono, un Religioso Agostiniano Irlandese prese dal Vicario Apostolico di Londra la facoltà di amministrare i Sacramenti volendo andare a stabilirsi in quella Isola, per soccorrere nè bisogni loro spirituali molti de' suoi Patriotti, che vi concorrono ogni anno per il comodo della pesca che si fa in quei contorni.

IV

Venendo adesso alle ricche e popolate provincie che compongono la *Nuova Inghilterra* e la *Nuova York*, se vi si trova qualche Cattolico sparso qua e là, non anno nessuno esercizio della loro Religione, nessun Sacerdote vi si avvicina. E se dobbiamo giudicare del futuro per le disposizioni presenti degli abitanti, non v'è apparenza che vi si permetta ai Preti Cattolici d'introdursi. Perchè sono per la maggior parte Presbiteriani rigidi, o d'altre sette le più contrarie al nome Cattolico.

V

Fra le antiche possessioni della Gran Bretagna sul continente d'*America*, le sole Colonie dove vi siano de' Sacerdoti stabiliti sono le due Provincie di *Mari-landia* e di *Pensilvania*. In questa ultima Provincia la Religione Cattolica è formalmente tollerata dalle leggi. In *Mari-landia* le leggi vi sono contrarie come in Inghilterra con tutto ciò rare volte si pensa a metterle in esecuzione, e per l'ordinario vi è una specie di tollerazione tacita.

Si pretende che nella *Mari-landia* vi possano essere intorno a sedici mila Cattolici, de' quali la metà incirca atti alla comunione. Vi sono per assisterli dodici Missionarii della Compagnia di Gesù.

Il numero dei Cattolici in *Pensilvania* e di sei in sette mila anno una Chiesa publica a *Filadelfia* città capitale della Provincia. Sono assistiti da quattro Sacerdoti parimente Gesuiti. Questi Religiosi si comportano con gran zelo e regolarità di costumi.

Vi sono Ancora alcuni Cattolici nella *Virginia*, nè confini della *Mari-landia*; ed in quelle parti della *Nuova Jersey* che confinano colla *Pensilvania*. Ma non hanno sacerdoti di continuo residenti fra loro; e sono assistiti dai Missionarii delle due sopranominate provincie. Nella *Carolina*, e la *Giorgia* non si sa che vi siano de' cattolici almeno non vi è nissun sacerdote.

VI

La *Florida*, provincia ceduta della Spagna per il medesimo trattato di Parigi, già sopra nominato, è quasi deserta. Ma quei pochi abitanti ivi rimasti sono mantenuti nella libera professione della Religione Cattolica, nella stessa maniera che gli abitanti del *Canada*.

VII

La *Louisiana*, o sia provincia di *Mississippi*, che prima era de' Francesi e stata in gran parte ceduta agli Inglesi per il medesimo trattato, ciò è fin al fiume *Mississippi* che da il nome alla provincia. E vi è l'istessa Libertà per la Religione stipulata in favor degli abitanti Cattolici che devono essere in numero considerabile. Ma che assistenza spirituale abbiano, lo scrivente ignora intieramente.

VIII

Nella Isole lo stato della Religione è molto peggiore che sul continente. I Cattolici che vi sono, sono quasi tutti di nascita o d'origine Irlandesi e tanto il popolo, che i sacerdoti sono di costumi poco regolati: per entrare un po più in dettaglio.

Nella *Giamaica* vi sono alcuni pochi cattolici. In questi ultimi tempi due preti hanno provato di stabilirvisi, ma non gli è riuscito di farlo. Gli abitanti di quell' Isola sono stimati generalmente di costumi sregolatissimi.

Nella *Barbada* vi era poco fa un Religioso Agostiniano che poi si fece Apostata, i pochi Cattolici che vi sono vengono assistiti presentemente dai Missionarii che risiedono nell' Isola di Monserrato. Questa che è una tra le più piccole delle Isole Inglesi rinchiude però il più gran numero di Cattolici. Sono da tre in quattro cento, e sono assistiti da tre o quattro Missionarii Irlandesi. Ma non anno nessuna considerazione nè cura de' loro Negri che sono in gran numero.

Nell' Isola di *Antigua* vi sono ancora alcuni Cattolici Irlandesi d'origine, erano assistiti pochi anni sono da un Padre Domenicano dell' istessa nazione, il quale trovandosi per qualche affare in Londra, diede a quel Vicario Apostolico una Relazione poco vantaggiosa de' costumi di quei suoi Patriotti.

L'Isola di *San Cristoforo* rinchiude Ancora alcuni ma pochi Cattolici, i quali per i loro bisogni Spirituali ricorrono a i Missionarii stabiliti nella vicina Isola di *Monserrato*.

IX

Ma oltre le Isole sopra nominate che sono da molto tempo sotto il dominio Inglese, vi è l'Isola di *Granada* colle Isolette chiamate *Granadine*, ceduta all' Inghilterra dalla Francia per il sopra detto trattato di Parigi: nel quale vi è la solita stipulazione per la libera professione della fede Cattolica in favore degli abitanti; i quali erano allora tutti Cattolici. Per l'istesso trattato le tre Isole di San Vincenzo, la Dominica, Tabago, che prima si chiamavano neutrali sono cedute al libero dominio della Gran Bretagna. L'Isola di Tabago era deserta, ma le due altre anno molti abitanti cattolici Francesi d'origine. E benchè questi non abbiano l'istessa assicurazione per la libertà della Religione è da sperare dalla moderazione presente del Governo Inglese che non saranno violentati in quella loro professione.

X

Fra queste diverse Isole e provincie non vi è certamente alcuna che meriti più l'attenzione della Sagra Congregazione, che quella di *Canada*. Sì per la sua grande estensione, che per il gran numero de' fedeli che contiene, e per il florido stato in cui era la Religione cattolica quando venne sotto il dominio Inglese. Fu senza dubbio una gran disgrazia la morte del Vescovo di *Quebec* in quelle circostanze, se le difficoltà che anno impedito fin adesso di darli un successore, continuano, pare che sia necessario di mandarvi almeno un Vicario Apostolico, per mantenervi il buon ordine, per amministrare il Sacramento della Confermazione, e per provvedere de' nuovi pastori, in luogo di quelli che sono morti, o che giornalmente vanno morendo. Mandandovi un Vicario Apostolico sarebbe a proposito di estendere la sua giurisdizione sopra le vicine provincie di

Nuova Scozia e Acadia: tanto più che quei Cattolici che vi sono devono essere Francesi d'origine.

Il Re di Francia fondando il Vescovato di Quebec fece unire alla mensa episcopale le due abbadi di Benevento, diocesi Lemovicen. dell'ordine di Sant Antonio, et di Letrec, Diocesi Ebroicen., dell'ordine Cister., il che tutt' insieme faceva una entrata di dodici mila lire di Francia. Ma lo stato presente di quelle Abadie è intieramente incognito a chi scrive le presenti notizie.

XI

I Vicarii Apostolici di Londra, fin dal tempo del Rè Giacomo Secondo, anno sempre avuto autorità sopra le Colonie e Isole Inglesi d'America. Ma come non appariva chiaramente su quale fondamento era appoggiato quell' uso, la Sagra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide nel mese di Gennaro 1757, ottenne dalla felice memoria di Benedetto XIV, un decreto in favore di Monsig. Beniamino Petre Vescovo Prusen. allora Vicario Apostolico di Londra, dandoli ad *sexennium* giurisdizione sopra tutte le Colonie e Isole d'America soggette al Impero Britannico: e dopo la morte di quel Prelato l'istesso fu confermato ad *aliud sexennium* per Monsig. Riccardo Chaloner Vescovo Deboren. presentemente Vic. Apt. di Londra, alli 31 di Marzo 1759.

Il medesimo Vicario Apostolico è tanto lontano di ogni ambizione e desiderio di accrescere la sua giurisdizione in quelle parti, che vedrebbe con un piacere sensibile, che la Sagra Congregazione lo solle vasse d'un peso, che già eccede le sue forze e a cui non puol dare la dovuta attenzione. La gran lontananza di quelle provincie dalla sua Residenza di Londra, non li permette di portarvisi personalmente. Onde non puol avere le notizie necessarie per conoscere gli abusi o per correggerli: non puol administrare il Sacramento della Confermazione a quelli fedeli che rimangono totalmente privi di questo Spirituale aiuto: non puol provvederli di ministri ecclesiastici parte per l'istesso motivo della lontananza, parte per mancanza de' denari necessari per souvenir a quella spesa.

Se la Sagra Congregazione, mossa da queste ragioni, e da altre che facilmente possano venire alla mente, giudicasse convenevole di stabilire un Vicario Apostolico sopra le altre colonie e Isole Inglesi, pare che la città di *Filadelfia* in *Pensilvania* sia il luogo più a proposito per la sua residenza; per essere città molto popolata, e di più porto di mare, e per conseguenza commoda per mantenere una libera corrispondenza colle altre Provincie di Terra Ferma come anche colle Isole. Vi si giunge questo motivo di più, che non vi è luogo in tutti i Dominii Inglesi, dove la Religione Cattolica si esercita con maggior Libertà.

Data dall' Agente d'Inghilterra.

[Translation]

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CONDITION OF THE CATHOLIC RELIGION IN THE ENGLISH COLONIES OF AMERICA

I

Of all the English colonies, the one which has the greatest number of Catholics is the Province of *Canada*, which was ceded to England by the Treaty of Paris, in February, 1763. By the same treaty the islands of *Cape Breton*, of *St. John* and the other islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence were also ceded.

The inhabitants of this vast province, who had come from Europe, were at that time all Catholics. In addition to these, many zealous missionaries had converted a great number of the savage aborigines. On the whole, the great body of the population is Catholic, although scattered among them may be found a few Protestant English. By provision of the fourth article of the above mentioned treaty, they are to enjoy the free exercise of the Catholic Religion. And in fact it is known from letters received but a short time ago from those parts that, not only do they profess with perfect freedom the Catholic Religion, but they exercise it in the same public manner in which they were accustomed to do while under French rule. But the Indian missions have suffered very much from the calamities of the war.

There is an Episcopal See at Quebec, the capital of the Province. It is believed that its jurisdiction extended over the neighboring provinces of Nova Scotia and Acadia, which the French had claimed. The last Bishop died a short time after the city of Quebec had fallen into the hands of the English. Jurisdiction is exercised at the present writing by Capitular Vicars-General.

There was at Quebec a seminary under the direction of the celebrated congregation of Saint Sulpice of Paris; the same priests had another house at *Montreal*, a city situated on the *St. Lawrence River* at a distance of more than one hundred miles from Quebec. The writer believes that these two institutions are still maintained.

II

In the Provinces of *Nova Scotia* and *Acadia* there are a few English settlements. The principal settlements of the English are those of *Halifax* and *Annapolis*; the inhabitants are Protestants. But in the other parts of the country there are many settlers of French origin, who before the last war were called the *neutral French*. The majority of these are Catholic and are ministered to by priests sent to them from *Canada*. However, they do not enjoy the same freedom in professing the Catholic Religion publicly.

III

The large island of *New Foundland* is almost deserted, although belonging to England. It is impossible to say whether there is a settlement of any considerable size besides the city of *Piacenza*; it is likewise impossible to say whether there are any Catholics there. Notwithstanding this an Irish Augustinian, several years ago, received faculties from the Vicar-Apostolic of London to administer the sacraments, as he desired to settle on that island to take care of the spiritual wants of many of his countrymen who flocked thither every year to take advantage of the good fishing to be had in those parts.

IV

Now, coming to the rich and populous provinces of *New England* and of *New York*, one may find a Catholic here and there, but they have no opportunity of practicing their religion as no priest visits them, and if we are to judge of the future from the present conditions of the inhabitants, there is not much likelihood that Catholic priests will be permitted to enter these provinces, for the

reason that the majority of the inhabitants are strict Presbyterians, or belong to other sects which are likewise most bitterly opposed to Catholicism.

V

Among the old possessions of Great Britain on the continent of *America*, the only colonies in which priests are permanently located are the provinces of *Maryland* and *Pennsylvania*. In the latter, the Catholic Religion is formally tolerated by law. In *Maryland*, the laws are opposed to it, as in England; however, these laws are rarely put into execution and usually there is a sort of tacit toleration.

It is claimed that in *Maryland* there must be around sixteen thousand Catholics, of whom about half approach the sacraments. To take care of these there are twelve missionaries of the Society of Jesus.

The number of Catholics in *Pennsylvania* is between six and seven thousand. They have a public church at *Philadelphia* which is the capital of the province. They are ministered to by four priests, likewise Jesuits. These religious manifest great zeal and lead edifying lives.

There are besides some Catholics in *Virginia*, on the confines of *Maryland*, and in those parts of *New Jersey* which border on *Pennsylvania*. But they have no priests permanently residing among them, their spiritual wants being ministered to by missionaries from the two provinces above mentioned. As to *Carolina* and *Georgia*, it is impossible to say whether there are any Catholics there or not. One thing is certain, there are no priests in those provinces.

VI

Florida, a province ceded by Spain in the same Treaty of Paris, already mentioned, is almost a wilderness, but the few Catholics who have remained there are allowed the freedom of practicing the Catholic Religion in the same manner as the inhabitants of *Canada*.

VII

Louisiana, or the Province of *Mississippi*, which formerly belonged to the French, has for the most part been ceded to the English by the same treaty, that is, up to the *Mississippi* River, which gives the province its name. The same freedom of worship has been granted in favor of the Catholic inhabitants, of whom there must be considerable number. But as to how they are taken care of spiritually the writer has no information whatsoever.

VIII

On the islands the condition of worship is much worse than on the continent. The Catholics, both lay and clerical, who are almost all of Irish birth or descent are not in the best condition, morally: let us enter somewhat into detail.

In *Jamaica* there are a few Catholics. Of late, two priests have tried to settle there, but they have not succeeded in doing so. The inhabitants of that island are generally regarded to be of very loose morals.

In *Barbadoes*, a short time ago, an Augustinian turned apostate. However, the Catholics that are there are being taken care of at the present time by

missionaries who live on the island of Monserrato. This island, which is one of the smallest of the English islands, has, nevertheless, the greatest number of Catholics. They are between three and four hundred and they are ministered to by three or four Irish missionaries. But they have no consideration or solicitude for their negroes, of whom there is a great number.

On the island of *Antigua* there are also some Catholics of Irish origin. They were taken care of spiritually a few years ago by a Dominican father of the same nationality, who being in London on some business gave to that Vicar-Apostolic rather unfavorable account of the moral condition of his fellow-countrymen.

The island of *Saint Christopher* also contains some few Catholics whose spiritual needs are tended to by the missionaries stationed on the island of *Monserrato*.

IX

But besides the islands above mentioned which have been under English rule for a long time, there is the island of *Granada* with islets called *Granadine* ceded to England by France in the Treaty of Paris, already mentioned, in which there is the usual stipulation for the free exercise of the Catholic Religion in favor of the inhabitants, who at that time were all Catholics. By the same treaty, the three islands of Saint Vincent, La Dominica, and Tabago, which formerly were called neutral, have been ceded to the absolute dominion of Great Britain. The island of Tabago was without inhabitants, but the other two contained many Catholic inhabitants of French descent. And although these have not the same assurance of religious freedom it is to be hoped, if we may judge from the present moderation of the English governor, that they will not be disturbed in the practice of their religion.

X

Among the various islands and provinces, there is surely no province which merits more the attention of the sacred congregation than that of *Canada*, by reason of both the immense extent of its territory and the great number of the faithful included within its borders, and on account of the flourishing condition of the Catholic Religion at the time when it passed under English rule. The death of the Bishop of *Quebec* under those circumstances was, doubtless, a great misfortune. If the conditions, which up to the present time have prevented the appointment of a successor to him continue, it would seem necessary to send there at least a Vicar-Apostolic, to maintain good order, to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation, and to appoint new pastors in the places of those who have died or who are dying daily. When sending a Vicar-Apostolic there it would be a good plan to extend his jurisdiction over the neighboring provinces of *Nova Scotia* and *Acadia*; and all the more so, since the Catholics who live there must be of French descent.

The King of France, when creating the Diocese of Quebec, had the two abbeys of Benevento in the Diocese of Limoges of the order of Saint Anthony, and of Letrec in the Diocese of Evreux of the Cistercian order, added to the Episcopal revenue, the income from the above benefices, amounting to twelve thou-

sand francs. But the present state of those abbeys is entirely unknown to the writer of the present account.

XI

The Vicars-Apostolic of London since the time of King James II have always had authority over the English Colonies and islands of America. But, whereas, the reason for this custom was not evident, the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda in the month of January, 1757, secured from Benedict XIV, of happy memory, a decree in favor of Monsignor Benjamin Petre, Bishop of Prusa, at that time Vicar-Apostolic of London, giving him for *six years* jurisdiction over all the colonies and islands of America under English rule; and after the death of that prelate the same decree was confirmed, March 31, 1759, for *another six years* in favor of Monsignor Richard Challoner, Bishop of Deboren, at the present time Vicar-Apostolic of London.

The same Vicar-Apostolic, far from having any ambition or desire to increase his jurisdiction in those parts, would regard with evident pleasure an act of the Sacred Congregation relieving him of a burden which is already too great for him, and to which he is unable to give the necessary attention. The great distance of those provinces from his residence in London hinders him from visiting them personally. And, therefore, he cannot have the information necessary to know abuses and to correct them; he cannot administer the Sacrament of Confirmation to those faithful who remain totally deprived of this spiritual aid; he cannot furnish them with priests, partly for the same reason of remoteness and partly because of the lack of the necessary means to meet the required outlay.

If the sacred congregation, moved by these considerations and by others which will easily come to mind, considers it meet to create a Vicar-Apostolic over the other English colonies and islands, it seems that the city of *Philadelphia*, in *Pennsylvania*, would be the place best suited for him to reside in, for the reason that it is a very populous city and is moreover a seaport, and consequently is convenient for the easy exchange of letters with the other provinces of the mainland, as also with the islands. To these various reasons may be added the fact that there is no place within the English dominions where the Catholic Religion is exercised with greater freedom.

(Given by the Agent of England.)

BOOK REVIEWS

The Writing of History: An Introduction to Historical Method.
By F. M. Fling, Ph.D. Yale University Press, 1920. Pp. 195.

I count this book a distinct failure—in form, make-up, style, and in choice of examples. Dr. Fling says that it is not a revised edition of his *Outline*, which has been out of print a score of years, but that it is an entirely new work. Bernheim, to whom the book is dedicated, would hardly approve the title selected by Dr. Fling. The two terms: Writing of History and Introduction are not synonymous. There is a constant parallel in these pages to the rigid technical work done in the chemical laboratory. The simile is not a mistaken one, but the processes carried on in the laboratory are not wholly identical, except in the imperious necessity of accuracy and patience which rule the test tube and the reagent. Dr. Fling has not given us the textbook for historical method we need, and need badly, in our classes. He was one of the first to make Bernheim's *Lehrbuch* known to students in the United States, and his *Outline of Historical Method*, published in 1899, still holds the field as a very practicable manual in English. If I might sum my criticism up in a word, it is this: in the *Outline*, the author visualized a help for beginners; in this latter volume he has forgotten the beginner, and visualizes the finished scholar. The chief defects of the books are the lack of typographical aids and the limited ambitus of source-examples. No one would publish for the student a textbook in Chemistry in this way. The style is involved. There is no aid to the eye in the pages, and entirely too much is taken for granted. For one who has finished his study in historical method, the book would be a valuable *Vade Mecum*, but no teacher could use the book for a class, even of graduate beginners. Any one of a half-dozen works on the same subject would fill our need much better. Battaini, *Manuale di Metodologia Storica*; Albers, *Manuale di Propedeutica Storica*; Benigni, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Propaedeutica*; Fonck, *Wissenschaftliches Arbeiten*; Villada, *Como se aprende a trabajar científicamente*, and especially Deschepper, *Inleiding tot de Studie der Kerkgeschiedenis*, are all of more in-

trinsic worth; and, based as they are on Bernheim and Langlois-Seignobos, as Fling's little volume is, they show a clearer appreciation of the student's needs. Of course, there is nothing original about the divisioning of the book. Bernheim laid down the large divisions in his classic volume, and they are too logical to warrant change. Dr. Fling has marred his book with traces of a bias one scarcely expects to find in a modern scholar. The writer who says of a certain scene he witnessed at the circus that "had this crowd been a gathering of medieval folk it would have reported a miracle," knows very little of the medieval spirit. No age saw scepticism in inquiry pushed to such limits. It is hardly fair to shoulder the "miraculous" mind on the medieval days when our own times are made so ridiculous by spiritistic frauds. One could overlook this fling at the Middle Ages. It is a sort of lapsus into an attitude that was popular to the last generation of historical students. But no student can overlook the miserable interpretation Dr. Fling gives to the following example:

It is affirmed in an historical document that on a certain occasion water was changed into wine. The affirmation cannot be localized, that is we do not know who saw this performance, nor when he made a record of what he thought he saw, but even if the affirmation were of a more valuable nature, even if it could be definitely localized, it would not establish the probability of the thing asserted, because all reliable human experience indicates that the thing could not have taken place. We know what the chemical composition of wine is and what the chemical composition of water is, and we know of no way in which the elements of water—oxygen and hydrogen—can be combined to produce wine, *i. e.*, fermented grape juice. If the witness believed that he saw water changed into wine, he was self-deceived (pp. 105-6).

This paragraph rules the book out of court as an impartial and honest study. No Christian student can trust the rest of the work, when this blasphemy is allowed to stand. The Gospels are not open to the historical critic. They contain the Revealed Word of God, spoken to us by the lips of His Only Begotten Son, Jesus Christ, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, True God and True Man, Who could neither deceive nor be deceived, because He is God. If localization of the source means, as Dr. Fling states, and as everyone else who writes books on Method states, the determination of the *when*, *where* and *by whom*, the source originated, it is obvious that the Miracle of Cana will answer these three questions. It is precisely in this problem of

oral tradition that most of our guides fail us. There is a divine as well as a human oral tradition, and the former is not within the province of the human mind for critical appraisal. We go to God on our knees and not with a text-book, a microscope, or book of man-made rules. But apart from this blemish in the book, the *Writing of History* is another example of how far all adaptations of Bernheim fall short. It is like buying for a few marks a replica of the Cologne Cathedral. It serves to remind us of the glorious Dom, but its practical value may be hardly higher than that of a paper-weight. Dr. Fling has already proven that he is beyond all our historical teachers best capable of giving us an authorized translation of the *Lehrbuch*. That would satisfy us; hardly anything else will, unless one is able to read the original.

PETER GUILDAY.

A Century of Negro Migration, by Carter Godwin Woodson. Washington: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.

The Negro has been termed migratory. Mr. Woodson denies this, and his denial is probably justified. Certainly there have been more extensive and more important shiftings of population among whites than among the colored. The educational and economic condition of the colored race, as well as the difference in ethnic type and the consciousness of kind have constantly operated to keep Negroes indefinitely concentrated in certain sections. This is the history of the so-called "black belts."

Still, because there is a peculiar importance to such fluctuations in Negro population as have taken place, they are worth the study. The present work is an attempt to analyze coherently the various movements of Negroes away from their traditional centers of habitation, which have been marked features at least since 1815. The recent colored migrations to the North and West have given the subject renewed interest.

Prior to the Civil War migrations were due mostly to the desire of Negroes to escape from slavery as when the French settlements in the West became places of refuge, or to philanthropy as when many fair-minded men, especially among the Quakers, transplanted numbers of Negroes to free-soil. There was also in those days some public talk of colonization, from which little that was

practical ever resulted. All this is satisfactorily traced out in Mr. Woodson's book.

Not everybody will be inclined to take the migrations so optimistically as Mr. Woodson does in many portions of his book. It is true that the freedom to move from place to place has been a large element in the building up of many societies. It has also given a good many vagabonds to the world. Mr. Woodson has common observation in his favor when he writes that the migrations of Negroes during the late war, for example, have been instrumental in proving to the South that the colored man is necessary to its economic development. But the position that the Negro has a right to expect in our community can never be permanently or sufficiently attained by playing section against section or class against class. That position must be won by the combined efforts of Negroes everywhere, efforts that show beyond a doubt that the Negro is making himself a useful member of the community and therefore entitled to the rights and privileges of the community. In this sense migration can never be any more than a means of temporary and restricted betterment.

Mr. Woodson hints at much of this in his last chapter, but it is to be regretted that he did not sketch out more vigorously and with more finality the precise part that migrations will play in Negro progress. If his message, besides giving information, was intended to include the bigger function of helping others of his race to gauge the migrations accurately, it seems that he should have done as suggested. The author even stigmatizes those Negroes who advise their fellows to remain in the South as belonging to the "sycophant and toady class." If memory is correct Booker T. Washington was one who so advised. And there are many real friends of the race who believe that the Negro will never advance to any level worth while until he obtains economic independence, and that wherever else the opportunity for such independence may lie, it is most certainly accessible in the agricultural situation of the South.

The main part of Mr. Woodson's problem lay in the unsettled condition of the Negroes during, and immediately after the Civil War. The influence of other migratory movements has been narrow and fugitive. Much of what the Negro is today and much that exists in the relations of the races can be traced back to the

days of Reconstruction. It is unfortunate that in this section of his work Mr. Woodson should have permitted his pre-occupations as an apologist to outweigh his vision as an historian. No serious student thinks of blaming to any great extent the Negroes for the disorders of 1865. But many serious persons, North and South, consider that the adjustment of Negroes to their new life after emancipation was badly managed. What most of us want to know are the effects, psychological and economic, which helped to fix the Negro in his new rôle of freedman. Instead Mr. Woodson considers it his duty to overthrow the conclusions of "prejudiced whites," which he could have afforded to ignore. He would have had ample material in the reports of officers connected with the Freedmen's Bureau. The more one reads of the troubled events of Reconstruction the more one despairs of getting at the truth in them.

As a plea for greater justice to the Negro, however, Mr. Woodson's book is convincing. The author is a colored man, a graduate of Harvard and the editor of the *Journal of Negro History*. In many things he evidences a sensible outlook on the condition and opportunities of his race. He realizes that racial progress is an achievement, yielding only to hard work and complete development in all departments of life. Unlike so many of his fellows he does not believe much in the efficacy of political action. On the whole Mr. Woodson is one of those Negroes who make us believe that the problem of the colored race is not nearly so hopeless as many have been inclined to think. His book will prove interesting.

T. B. MORONEY, S.T.D.

The Fundamentals of Citizenship. The Committee on Special War Activities, National Catholic War Council, Washington, D. C., 1919. 98 pages.

The value of this booklet is probably well indicated by the fact that more than a million copies of it have been distributed throughout the country. Its scope is sufficiently shown by the titles of the chapters. They are as follows: American Democracy, The Needs of The People, The People's Rights, Education,

Health, Making Laws, Carrying on the People's Work, The Courts and Their Work, Dealings With Other Countries, Military Service, Preventing Frauds, Insurance, Taxation, The Citizen's Part, and Naturalization. In addition to these topics, the booklet prints the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

In a general way, this little volume describes the operation and the benefits of our government; and endeavors to bring home to the citizen his obligations in consequence of the nature of governmental operations and the things that it does for him. For example, in the chapter on The People's Rights, the citizen is informed that he has such rights as those of free speech, religious liberty, freedom from search and from false imprisonment, protection of property and life, and the right to vote and hold office. In the chapter on The Citizen's Part he is admonished concerning his duty to vote and to study public questions so that he will vote wisely. The chapter on Military Service affords no consolation to pacifists and "conscientious objectors." The citizen is told that it is his duty to fight for his country when that becomes necessary, and that the government has a right to conscript him for military service. These are merely typical illustrations of the method, drift, and purpose of the booklet. While it has a special value for immigrants and persons who are attaining their majority, it is well worth perusal by even the more mature persons who have been born in this country.

When the booklet first appeared it received some criticism because it failed to mention some of the European peoples that are largely represented in our cosmopolitan population. This criticism was not fairly made, inasmuch as the passage in dispute only professes to refer merely to the countries that sent to our shores organized colonies. It did not profess to enumerate all the racial groups that have found a home here.

JOHN A. RYAN.

A Program For Citizenship. The Committee on Special War Activities, National Catholic War Council, Washington, D. C., 1919. 14 pages.

This is essentially a manual of instruction on the opportunities and duties of citizenship. It is intended particularly for immi-

grants. Strong emphasis is laid on the truth that duties of citizenship are finally duties to God, inasmuch as God is the source of the authority exercised by governments. The topics treated in the pamphlet are: Civic Responsibility and Education, Citizenship for Immigrants, Teaching English, Opportunity, Fair Play, Participation in Affairs, Cooperation, Equal Rights, Patriotism, Practical Application, Exploitation, Fundamental Rights, and The Immigrant's Basis for Citizenship. The spirit which animates the program is well described in these words of the Introduction: "Citizenship is our duty to God, fulfilled in our care and solicitude for our country whose welfare God has placed in our hands. The Catholic Church has ever inculcated the conscientious duty, not only of voting but of voting intelligently. The success of democracy depends upon the worth of the individual conscience and its insight into the duties of citizenship. That must extend into the field of actual duty and of present problems."

JOHN A. RYAN.

Benedictine Monachism, Studies in Benedictine Life and Rule.
By the Right Reverend Cuthbert Butler, Abbot of Downside.
Pp. 387. London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1919.

Abbot Butler has herewith given us a plastic exposition of St. Benedict's idea in founding his Order. A school of God's service for cenobites, Christ's soldiers under the rule of the abbot, this is the keynote of the book. At the hand of history we are shown the great work of the saint of Nursia throughout the centuries. There have been changes, and attempts at changes, but the idea of St. Benedict, as embodied in his rule, has ever been and must be the guiding principle of the Order. This the author stoutly maintains, as necessary for the very life of the foundation against the modern tendency of centralization, vindicating the rights of each single monastery of the Benedictine obedience, as "the family" intended by the illustrious founder. This defense of the Rule as originally given communicates to the book a slightly polemical character, which will make it specially interesting to the members of the Order; yet it will prove interesting and valuable to all lovers of history, whether in the Order or not. It opens a clear view into the Benedictine life, whose first

and essential object is the "Opus Dei," the divine psalmody. We are led to understand the loving care of the sons of St. Benedict bestowed upon God's work, the splendor lavished upon their churches, that surround the "Opus Dei." A life of prayer, a life of work, of self denial, but not of extraordinary austerity. A life of faith and charity, tempered by the spirit of sweet reasonableness. Thus the Benedictines have prayed and labored throughout these many centuries, changing the wilderness far and wide into a garden of gardens in the earthly sense, as well as in the spiritual, and they have by no means lost their *raison d'être* in our modern days of progress and poverty, as some would think. True, the school-room to a great extent, taken the place of the field and the work of the mind has more and more supplanted the work of the hand, but in our materialistic age such a change is but to be welcomed.

The author of this interesting and scholarly work, is well qualified to speak out on mooted questions concerning his Order since he has for nearly a half century been a Benedictine monk, living the life according to the Rule, and shaping his spiritual life, his intellectual and other activities by its inspiration and teaching. The style is clear, precise and in parts very eloquent. All in all the book is a valuable contribution to our historical literature.

J. E. ROTHENSTEINER.

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (1870-1920)

A RETROSPECT OF FIFTY YEARS

I

There is nothing particularly striking about the year 1870 as a starting-point for a review of Catholic thought and action in the United States during the past fifty years. In the history of the modern world, however, it is one of the eventful years of European politics; and for the Church in general it chronicles a turning-point in the history of the papacy. It saw the beginning of a long struggle between two contending ideals of political government; a struggle which even the World War, with all its untold sacrifices, has hardly settled. It inaugurated the era of an armed peace that lasted down to August, 1914. It saw the rise of modern armaments, and it gave to our generation a political dictum around which international life was to center—*si vis pacem, para bellum*.

II

When New Year's Day, 1870, dawned, Europe and America were enjoying a period of repose. The battle of Sadowa (July 3, 1866) was as decisive in its way as that of Appomattox (April 9, 1865); and though they seemed far enough away even then—these two small towns made famous by victory—yet they were to meet shortly afterwards, when Maximilian, the brother of the Austrian Emperor, who had been humiliated at Sadowa, was captured and shot by the Mexican republicans (June, 1867). For it was the presence of fifty thousand Civil War veterans under General Sheridan on the Mexican border which drove the French out of Mexico and left the unhappy Archduke to his fate. And it was not Austria, but France, that was defeated at Sadowa. Sadowa was the prelude to the downfall of the French Empire and to the rise of the Prussian hegemony. Four years later (1870), with dramatic suddenness, and with a lie upon his lips which has few parallels in politics, Bismarck launched his armies at the heart of France. Austria he had conquered in six weeks; in that same short period he had inflicted the ignominious defeat at Sedan, had surrounded the French forces under General MacMahon, and had captured the Emperor Napoleon III. Sedan was never to be forgotten. It was the first note in the hymn of revenge in which two million American soldiers, sailors and marines sang, it is hoped, the final stanza. With a light heart, France had gone forward blindly to her greatest tragedy. There were no allies in those days, fifty years ago. Events moved too brusquely for diplomatic by-play. And it is rather interesting and certainly instructive to the student of contemporary history to compare the popular sentiment of London and New York during that sad year of 1870, when an enthusiastic Protestant world was rejoicing over the humiliation of the eldest daughter of the Church, with the *volte-face* of 1914-1918. The stringent conditions imposed by the victors of 1918 upon a defeated Germany and the peace scene at the Palace of Versailles on June 28, 1919, can only be

properly understood in the light of their revenge upon the one-act drama which had occurred in the same place forty-eight years before, when William of Prussia was proclaimed Emperor of Germany. The recall of the French troops from Rome several weeks before Sedan and the fall of the French empire opened the gates of Rome to the Pan-Italians, and gave to modern Italy its national holiday, September 20. Pius IX became, in consequence, the first prisoner of the Vatican, refusing the mockery of the Law of Guarantees. The advance of the Piedmontese army into the Eternal City made it impossible to continue the work of the Vatican Council, which had been solemnly opened on December 8, 1869. The declaration of the doctrine of papal infallibility on July 18, 1870, coincided with Napoleon's declaration of war on Prussia. As late as 1894, Cardinal Gibbons, the last survivor of the Vatican Council, could write in his charmingly reminiscent way:

The year 1870 will ever be memorable for two great events—the Vatican Council and the Franco-Prussian War. Let us contrast the pacific gathering of Christian prelates with the warlike massing of troops which immediately followed on the Continent of Europe. Hosts of armed men were trampling the fair fields of France. The land was reddened with the best blood of two powerful nations. The sound of their cannon spread terror throughout the country. Thousands of human victims were sacrificed, and thousands of homes left desolate; and after a lapse of nearly a quarter of a century, the fires that were then kindled are still smouldering, and the animosity then engendered by the struggle is not yet allayed.

III

The great prelate of Baltimore lived to see his judgment fulfilled. He was then in the prime of his young manhood, the youngest Bishop of that historic assembly. Today he is the last living representative of the hierarchy of 1870. All the other great figures have passed away—McCloskey, Manning, Deschamps, Schwarzenberg, Spalding, Kenrick of St. Louis, von Ketteler, Darboy, and Dupanloup. His associations during that heroic period in the history of the papacy brought him into the closest circles of European life, diplomatic as well as political and ecclesiastic. He could foresee, as he then foresaw the World War of the past six years, the inevitable defeat of the Prussian Government, with Bismarck at its helm, when Bishop von Ketteler took up von Treitschke's challenge, and issued the *mot d'ordre* of the day for the Catholics of Germany: "Do not vote for laws which rebel against the laws of God, then we shall never rebel against the laws of the State." The story of the Kulturkampf is a sad page in Prussian diplomacy. Law followed law against liberty to Catholics, from 1871 down to 1878, when Bismarck grew weary of the struggle and began the pilgrimage to Canossa. "At every shrine on the irksome way," says Germany's latest historian, "the travel-worn pilgrim made some new oblation of piety and of penitence." In the light of contemporary events Virchow chose an unfortunate word to designate the "culture struggle" of the State for supremacy over the Church. The Kulturkampf had one object: to alienate the Catholics of Germany from Rome. The method chosen was the old-fashioned one—to secure control of education within the State, to de-Christ-anize it and to make the schoolroom the antechamber to the Diet. It was the

same in France after the rise of the Third Republic in 1871. Again, as with the leaders of the *Kulturkampf*, the anti-Christian leaders of France began the contest with the Church for the souls of the children. That contest continued with varying success down to our own day, and was only estopped by the World War of 1914-1918. In Ireland, the year 1870 marks a change in the Home Government's policy of education. It chronicles also the rise of the modern Home Rule movement under Isaac Butt and Charles Parnell. Again the United States was too near the battle-fronts of Europe; for, the leaders who had forced England to consider the proposition of Home Rule were the idealists who had led an army into Canada three years before, and who were then under the ban of the American hierarchy and with an excommunication from Rome against them. In Rome itself, the "vultures beyond the Alps," to use Bismarck's brutal phrase, were feeding on the spoils of the wreckage the Franco-Prussian war had made. All in all, the year 1870 may yet attain the dignity of a real division in our history manuals.

IV

To turn to the United States. In 1870, the victor of the Civil War, Ulysses S. Grant, was beginning his eight years of the Presidency (1869-1877). Martin John Spalding, who had been called up from Kentucky to rule over the primatial See of Baltimore, was then ending his career as a Church leader (1834-1872). Peter Richard Kenrick, the younger of the two remarkable Irish prelates of that name, was in the heyday of his power out beyond the Mississippi, at St. Louis (1847-1895). America's first Cardinal, John McCloskey, had succeeded the noble-hearted American, John Hughes, in New York (1864-1884). The distinguished Purcell was guiding the spiritual destinies of the Ohio Valley and of the old Northwest Territory (1850-1883). The Spanish Dominican, Joseph Sadoc Alemany, was still ruling the Church beyond the Rockies (1853-1884). The former banker and convert, James Frederick Wood, was the spiritual guardian of the Catholics in Pennsylvania (1860-1875). St. Paul had not then been given its strong leader, John Ireland, who was to become its bishop in 1875. New York had not yet received its second Hughes in Michael Augustine Corrigan until 1880; and Rochester had already begun to fear that it would not be able to keep within its gates Bernard, the Lion-hearted, who had commenced his long episcopate in 1868. Patrick John Ryan, the American Chrysostom, had already won great fame in St. Louis, and splendid things were predicted of the noble-looking Irishman, all to be fulfilled later in Penn's old town by the Delaware.

V

All these names spell the history of the best part of our retrospect of fifty years. One figure, however, had begun to occupy the center of the picture, even so far back as 1870. It is that of a frail little man, on horseback, down among the parched lands of North Carolina, where he had already been bishop for two years, when the half-century under review was opening. Those long rides alone in the forest were spent in outlining the chapters of America's "best seller" during the past fifty years, the *Faith of Our Fathers*. James Gibbons,

Vicar-Apostolic of North Carolina (1868), Bishop of Richmond (1872), Archbishop of Baltimore (1877), and second Cardinal of the American Church (1886), the first American Cardinal to take part in the election of a Pope, that of Pius X, in 1903, and now *feliciter regnans*, unites in his own ecclesiastical career the main events of the past fifty years. In one sense, the history of the Church in the United States from 1870 down to our own day is largely a biography of his episcopate. Those were important years in the Catholic life of the United States. The three stages of political development through which the nation was to pass—the period of reconstruction and reorganization, the period of immigration and assimilation by the enforcement of American ideals, and the period of America's position as a dominant world-power in international affairs—might well be taken as the outstanding features of the evolution in ecclesiastical life which began with Cardinal Gibbons' residence in Baltimore and in which he has always had the largest influence. *Quid vidisti in via?* might well be asked of one whose keen memory of persons and events is the delight of all his friends.

VI

Not all these events and changes can be chronicled; but in the eyes of one who visited us in the decade previous to that of 1870, it is not difficult to describe the situation of the Catholic Church at that time. Fortunately his very words have come down to us for such a description. The most unwelcome visitor "within our shores" since the days of Citizen Genet, Cajetan Bedini, Archbishop of Thebes, and Papal Nuncio to the Court of Brazil, arrived in New York in June, 1853, and for a half year the American Republic witnessed the amazing and shameful scene of an ecclesiastic who was travelling through the country, the guest of America's great prelates, participating in solemn religious ceremonies, calmly enduring wholesale denunciations by the American press, threatened with death at every turn by bigots, hanged in effigy by infidel groups, and yet so far as outward demeanor went, apparently oblivious of the hounds of death upon his heels. When obliged at last, in January, 1854, to leave, he thought it prudent to accept the suggestion of the Mayor of New York City and to embark quietly from Staten Island in order to avoid any insulting demonstration at the dock as the steamer departed. And all this, because he represented the greatest spiritual power on earth. Bedini's *Relazione Completa*, which he presented to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, in July, 1854, contains the best description of the Church in the United States for the period that we possess. He found the Catholics here well organized and thoroughly united, under seven provincial chiefs, at Baltimore, St. Louis, New York, Cincinnati, New Orleans, Oregon City, and San Francisco. The growth of dioceses was proportionately a large one. The churches and ecclesiastical institutions were numerous, excellently built, and well equipped. Catholics were well represented in the different avocations and professions, with a fair number occupying posts under the Government, federal and state. The two main streams of immigration from the watersheds of Europe, the Irish and the German, he contrasts with a vividness which lacks nothing in its honesty

and originality. Very little escaped the keen and friendly eyes of this wholly impartial Italian diplomat, whose courage no one who reads his correspondence with Archbishop Hughes dare deny. The German Catholics were being badly influenced by a group of German infidels and revolutionists, especially in the large cities. The German press was in the hands of these active plotters against religion and authority, and the rule of the demagogue was apparent in many of their circles. Of the larger Irish immigrant population he noted the strong faith and the attachment of the children of Erin to the Church, but he could not help believing that they were being lost in large numbers. He saw them falling by the wayside through vice and intemperance. Neglect of their religious duties was only too plainly visible in certain parts of the country, and in the lack of priests to administer to them, he saw a deplorable cause of defection. Above all, the want of Catholic schools was a chief evil in the Church in the United States. The success of the future depended largely, as he viewed it, in the appointment of bishops of American birth or training. His unfortunate experiences had taught him that in the midst of the "*déplorable et affreuse démonstration anticatholique*," as he stigmatizes the outrage against him at Louisville, only American-born prelates had the courage to stand firm before the mobs that gathered at his door to insult him. The divisions of the Church into national or racial centers was bound to bring disaster, and he wrote strongly in his Report to Rome against its being permitted to continue. The episcopate of the United States meets fine praise at his hand. What especially struck him was the reverence non-Catholics, as a rule, had for the representatives of the Church.

VII

In 1870, sixteen years later, there are certain changes to record, although the background of Bedini's picture remains practically the same. There were the same number of provinces, with fifty-three dioceses and nine vicariates, and with sixty bishops in the different sees. The Catholic population in 1870 was over five millions in a nation of forty millions. In 1880, these statistics are changed again: eleven ecclesiastical provinces with sixty-one dioceses and seventy-two bishops. In 1890, there were thirteen provinces, eighty-seven bishops and a Catholic population of nearly nine millions. Ten years later, the number of provinces was fourteen, and there were ninety-one bishops ruling a Catholic body close to eleven millions. The first decade of the new century found the ecclesiastical organization somewhat increased, with the number of Catholics estimated at fourteen and a half millions. Today the figures given for the Year of Our Lord 1920 include fourteen archbishops, one hundred dioceses, two vicariates, one hundred and ten bishops governing twenty-one thousand clergy, almost seventeen thousand churches, over nine hundred Catholic colleges for boys and girls, six thousand elementary schools, with over a million and a half children at their desks, while the total Catholic population of the United States is estimated as something near to eighteen millions. We list in numbers in the United States, especially in dollar-marked numbers, and among the multiplex summaries in the latest (1919) census of the religious bodies in the United States, the value of Catholic Church property is given as \$374,206,895

as against \$215,104,014 for the Methodists, \$164,990,150 for the Episcopalians, and \$150,239,123 for the Presbyterians.

VIII

The sources of this remarkable religious growth are many and varied. Chief among them are: liberty of conscience or freedom of worship, immigration, natural increase, conversions, and the Catholic educational system. There were, of course, exceptions to the law of freedom of worship during the one-hundred and thirty-odd years of American national life, and here and there along the way are milestones discernible by Catholics, marking the spot where moral aberrations from the American principle of religious equality have occurred. But these facts are not harbored in a spirit of animosity or revenge, for the Catholic American knows that his Church has nothing to fear when placed under the floodlight of America's highest ideals of liberty. Uprisings "for the further prevention of popery" have come almost at regular intervals, but the Catholic record of patriotic service is a sufficiently conducive test. These uprisings have had more or less as their incentive the fear of the native American that he was being crowded out of his home by the millions who sought peace of conscience and liberty of spirit in the great Land of Opportunity. The history of immigration into the United States has many angles of vision, and not the least interesting is the problem which caused more than an ordinary ripple in Catholic waters during the first half of our period. In the first epoch of classified immigration which began in 1820 and ended in 1870, there came to this country 7,368,000 people. In the second epoch which began in 1870 and ended with the outbreak of the World War in 1914, there came to this country about 24,760,000 persons. Of these a little more than two-fifths came from Western Europe. To say that the great majority of these immigrants came from Catholic countries can hardly be an over-statement of fact. During the past fifty years Catholic societies were formed for the protection and the guidance of Catholic immigrants. Among these are: the Mission of Our Lady of the Rosary, founded in New York in 1881, by Miss O'Brien, the daughter of the patriot, William Smith O'Brien, for the care of Irish immigrant girls; the St. Raphael Society, of New York, founded by Peter Paul Cahensly, in 1883, for the care of German Catholic immigrants; the Austrian Society of New York, founded in 1891, for the care of Austrians; the St. Joseph Society, of New York, founded in 1893, for the Poles; the Jeanne d'Arc Home, opened in New York, in 1895, for the care of French immigrant women; and the Society of St. Raphael, for Italian immigrants, founded in New York in 1891. In 1907, an Association for the protection of Belgian and Dutch immigrants was organized. These organizations do not, of course, limit their charity to Catholics alone, though most of them were formed for the purpose of guiding the members of the Faith in the choice of work and in the selection of homes. If the foundation dates of these societies be kept in mind, it will not be unfair to point out that all this activity was concurrent with the controversy over loss and gain which occupied the attention of Catholic leaders and people during the better part of our period. During these years there was much foolish writing about the losses of the Church in this country.

This controversy gradually centered around Peter Paul Cahensly. The Lucerne Memorial of 1891 made the startling statement that the Catholics of the United States should have numbered at that time twenty-six millions. The actual figure in 1890 was about ten millions, and the inference was that there had been a loss of sixteen millions. This is a restatement of the anonymous pamphlet, *The Question of Nationality*, published in 1889. One of the latest writers on the subject, Archbishop Canevin, has handled the problem in a convincing way. His conclusions are worthy of our attention.

No body of Catholics in history approached to anything like the marvelous progress which this poverty-stricken, hard-working, unlettered, persecuted, Catholic minority in the United States made between 1800 and 1900. Churches, schools, colleges and universities have sprung up all over the land; institutions of mercy and charity are there to testify to the love of these people for their fellow-man. There could not have been defections and apostasies of millions of Catholics, and at the same time a material and earthly progress of religious institutions and a Catholic virility that have not been surpassed in any nation or in any age. The stalwart faith and loyalty and piety of the Catholics of this country today, their unity and devotion to the Vicar of Christ, the position of the Church in the United States, prove that, amid the conflicts of the nineteenth century, faith and fidelity supported and sanctified the lives and work of those who preceded us, and ought to determine us not to accept without proof the statements of prejudiced minds that the Church has failed in this republic; that our losses have been greater than our gains, especially when we consider that our mission to those outside the fold and gains by conversion have been as great, if not greater, during the last one hundred years than in any country of Europe.

IX

There was undoubtedly at the beginning of our period a very strong sentiment abroad that the leaders of the two dominating races in Church circles were fast preparing for a conflict, out of which would come supremacy for one side alone. This controversy, the first in point of time, during the past half-century, was soon blended into the other problems under fierce discussion from the Third Plenary Council in 1884 down to the end of the century. The literature on the German and Irish question is already a large one. Memorials were sent to Rome by both sides in 1885 and 1886; and in December, 1890, was drafted the Lucerne Memorial asking for foreign bishops in the United States. The Memorial was presented at Rome by Cahensly, and its portent was such that it soon reached the halls of the United States Senate, where Senator Davis made a vicious attack upon its main proposition, namely, foreign representation in the American episcopate. Pamphlets multiplied on both sides, and their authors soon embraced the opportunity of attacking high personages in Church and State. This problem was soon merged into the larger and more intensive one of the School Controversy (1891-92), and this latter problem soon gave way to the more important discussion on "Americanism" which cast a shadow over the Church in America during the last decade of the century. All these difficulties seem very complex to us today, but it is mainly because they are centered around the same personages. The leaders of the hierarchy who were at odds in the German-Irish problem of episcopal representation in the American

Church were foremost in the School Question and still more so in the polemical days of the so-called heresy of "Americanism."

X

To a certain extent, therefore, the great events of the period (1870-1920) have become stabilized in the popular Catholic mind. Besides those already mentioned, those which the American reader would be disappointed in not finding in even a brief review are: the Vatican Council (1870), the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore (1884), the Baltimore Centenary (1889), the founding of the Catholic University of America (1889), in which some of the stirring problems of the period would endeavor to find a lodging, the establishment of the Apostolic Delegation (1893), and the Church in the Great War (1914-1918).

XI

American Catholic interest in the Vatican Council, which temporarily closed its sessions fifty years ago, is just as keen today as when it was bidding Godspeed to its bishops in the autumn of 1869, then on their way to the Eternal City. That interest lies chiefly in the fact that among the Catholic bishops of Christendom at that period, 740 in number, the last of all, James Cardinal Gibbons still presides over his diocese of Baltimore. His personal reminiscences of the Vatican Council are published in his *Retrospect of Fifty Years*. It likewise has a special interest for us in the fact that of the two bishops who voted *non placet* against the decree of Infallibility, one was Bishop Fitzgerald of Little Rock, Arkansas. The pleasantry of the day was: the Little Rock against the Big Rock of Peter. The Vicar-Apostolic of North Carolina, youngest among the 534 who voted *placet* for the decree, returned to the United States with a vision of the Church's power and universality accorded to none of his brethren in the American episcopate today. Seven years later, on October 3, 1877, James Gibbons succeeded Archbishop Bayley, of the family of Roosevelt, thus beginning that long career which is the pride of every American, regardless of creed or politics. The first notable achievement of his career as Archbishop of Baltimore was the Third Plenary or National Council, held in the Cathedral there in November-December, 1884. The inner history of this truly momentous assembly has not yet been written. Two men today know that story, Cardinal Gibbons, the last of the prelates who participated in its sessions, and Bishop O'Connell of Richmond, who was one of the four secretaries of the Council. The proceedings of the Council were made public in two volumes, one in Latin and the other in English. But its inner history will probably never be told. There was opposition, in the first place, to the holding of the Council on account of its being a presidential year, and when it was finally agreed upon in 1883, there was a question whether it should be held in New York, where Cardinal McCloskey and Archbishop Corrigan were presiding, or in Baltimore, the primatial See by popular election, where Archbishop Gibbons was presiding. A committee was appointed to go to Rome for the purpose of arranging the scheme for the Council, and during the months of November and December, 1883, this Committee, composed of bishops and secretaries, was in consultation with the authorities at Rome. They did not find the Holy See very anxious

for the Council, and several surprises awaited the Americans. One was the famous *Instructio*, prepared by Propaganda, containing thirteen heads for discussion and legislation. The Committee was not exactly pleased to find its work thus cut and dried, and it was not long before they intimated to Cardinal Simeoni that insistence upon the Instruction would jeopardize the success of the Council. Eventually the American prelates had their way and a new *schema* was prepared which met with their approval. Another equally interesting episode of these preliminary days was the Sepiacci incident. At the first conference of the Committee, Monsignor Sepiacci was introduced to the bishops as an official having close relations with Propaganda, and as one whose services might be useful. Sepiacci's secretary, Father Stanton, O. S. A., of Philadelphia, in a forgetful moment let the secret out that Sepiacci was destined to go to Baltimore as Apostolic Delegate to preside over the Council. An article in one of the Italian papers gave the whole project away, and the authorities became alarmed at the opposition Sepiacci's nomination aroused. The matter was soon settled, and Archbishop Gibbons was named to act as Delegate for the Holy See. A year was to pass in preparation for the Council after the bishops' return, and on November 9, 1884, this most important of all episcopal meetings in the United States opened its sessions. Of the twelve titles under which its legislation was enacted, the sixth, on the Education of Catholic Youth, can be taken as a starting-point of another interesting though melancholy episode in American Church history; interesting, because it marks a renaissance of vigorous appreciation of Catholic education, and melancholy, because of the wholly unnecessary quarrel which grew out of it. It is one of the saddest of all episodes in our history and one which can hardly be treated historically. It is too near to us.

XII

Catholic schools with Catholic teachers for Catholic children on a par with State schools have been the rule ever since the beginning of the hierarchy in 1790. The First Provincial Council of Baltimore (1829) laid down the law which has been followed ever since. And the Third Plenary Council decreed, in explicit terms, the obligation of establishing parochial schools in every parish within two years of the promulgation of the Acts of the Council. The noted exceptions to this universal law were at Savannah, St. Augustine, Poughkeepsie, Stillwater and Faribault, where a compromise with the State educational authorities had been reached. The so-called Faribault Plan consisted in giving a certain number of hours a week for religious instruction, to be given free by Catholic teachers, and the rest of the time to be given to secular instruction, to be given also by Catholic teachers, who were to be paid by the State for this latter part of their work. The Faribault Plan allowed the school to be under State supervision. This precipitated the celebrated School Controversy of 1891-1892. The case was discussed rather widely, and was finally brought to Propaganda for decision. The *tolerari potest* of April 21, 1892, settled the fate of the Faribault Plan. Among the protagonists of the School Controversy was the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bouquillon, Professor of Moral Theology at the Catholic

University of America, Washington, D. C., from its opening in 1889 until his death in 1902. Dr. Bouquillon's pamphlet, *Education, To Whom Does It Belong?*, published in 1891, in which he discussed the abstract principles involved in the controversy, brought the quarrel to the University. It was natural that a select group of men, learned in their different sciences, should participate in the problem of Catholic education, and it is for this reason that the Catholic University of America has a history all its own. Favorably considered by the Second Plenary Council in 1866, the idea was allowed to lie dormant until the Third Plenary Council in 1884, when, after one eloquent attack on the project, the Fathers of the Council gave their consent to its creation. It opened its doors in 1889, and it soon became the center of all the important movements in Catholic educational progress. The *annus secularis* of 1889 is notable for the first Catholic Congress of the United States, held in November, in memory of the hundred years of Catholic life under an established hierarchy, and for the founding of the Catholic University of America at the close of the Congress. An unwritten page in our history, and now lost, would contain the reflections of one who had been Archbishop Benini's secretary, in 1853, and who attended the Congress and the University Dedication, in 1889. Bishop John Vertue, of Portsmouth, England.

XIII

It is not difficult to link the remaining years of the period under review with the Congress. That link can be found in the sermon of Archbishop John Ireland. The note he struck was a good one, but one liable to misinterpretation; one which was indeed misinterpreted to such an extent that ten years later the greatest blow to American Catholic pride came in the *Testem Benevolentiae*, of January 22, 1899, on "Americanism." "A century closes," Archbishop Ireland said, "a century opens. The present is for Catholics in America a most solemn moment. Another speaker has reviewed the past, evoked from its shades the spirits of its heroes, and read to you the lessons of their lives. I will bid you turn to the future. It has special significance for us. The past our fathers wrought; the future will be wrought by us." After discussing the work which was at hand to do and pointing out the place a supernatural faith must have in the progress of the nation, he says: "We should live in our age, know it, be in touch with it. . . . It will not do to understand the thirteenth better than the nineteenth century; to be more conversant with the errors of Arius or Eutyches, than those of contemporary infidels or agnostics. . . . We should speak to our age—of things it feels and in language it understands. We should be in it, and of it, if we would have its ear. For the same reasons, there is needed a thorough sympathy with the country. The Church of America must be, of course, as Catholic as even in Jerusalem or Rome; but so far as her garments assume color from the local atmosphere, she must be American. Let no one dare paint her brow with a foreign tint or pin to her mantle foreign linings." There were those who were only too ready to take up these words to our discomfort; and to tell that part of the retrospect, we must go back a few years to the conversion of a great champion of the Church—Isaac Thomas Hecker.

Born in New York in 1819, Isaac Hecker became a Catholic at the age of twenty-five, and the following year entered the Redemptorists (1846). It was the immigration problem which first attracted his attention after his ordination in 1850, and gradually the idea of going out to the non-Catholics took shape in his mind and that of his four companions, Walworth, Hewit, Deshon, and Baker. A misunderstanding with their Redemptorist Superior arose, and Father Hecker went to Rome to present their case. He was expelled from the Order, but Pius IX authorized him and his four companions to inaugurate a new congregation, which is now known as the Paulists. Hecker was Superior of the Paulists until his death in 1888.

XIV

Within three years from his death, his friend and disciple, Father Walter Elliott, contributed to Catholic literature a biography of the great Paulist leader. The *Life of Father Hecker* was well received after its appearance in 1891. "It was the life of a saintly and devoted man who had spent himself in the work of preaching to Americans what the Church really was, and of persuading them that she assailed neither their personal independence nor their national institutions, while calling upon them to recognize her Divine Authority." The Introduction was from the pen of Archbishop Ireland. The book was translated into French and published in June, 1897, with a Preface by Abbé Felix Klein, then one of the young professors of the Institut Catholique of Paris. This French translation was unfortunately a hasty one, the "adaptation" being rather free and easy. It was the beginning of a controversy which even today can hardly claim more than hazy reasons for its existence. A host of friends and enemies arose. Books, pamphlets, and articles in reviews and newspapers soon multiplied. The strife was a bitter one while it lasted. No one who ventured within the fighting lines was safe. Personalities were the order of the day, and soon all the other difficulties in the American Church found their way to this battlefield. It looked at one moment to the outsider very much like a quarrel between liberals and conservatives within the Catholic ranks, and at another, like the final struggle between the dominant Catholic race sections, German and Irish, in America. This strife was precipitated by an unfortunate misappreciation of Father Hecker's life by an obscure French cleric who published a series of articles in 1897 in the *Verité*, which later were put into book form under the title: *Is Father Hecker a Saint?* Paris was the center of the conflict and those who were jealous of Catholic progress in the United States had no difficulty in finding material to start the battle. This material existed in their eyes in the Preface by Abbé Klein and in the Introduction by Archbishop Ireland, which can be considered from one angle as an amplification of his words at the Centenary in Baltimore in 1889. Some of his statements, taken, as they were then, out of their context, will show the reader how easily misunderstanding could arise:

Father Hecker was the typical American priest. . . .

It is clear to me as noon-day light that countries and peoples have each their peculiar needs and aspirations as they have their peculiar environments, and

that, if we would enter into their souls and control them, we must deal with them according to their conditions. . . .

The circumstances of Catholics have been peculiar to the United States. . . .

Priests foreign in disposition and work were not fitted to make favorable impression upon the non-Catholic American population. . . .

. . . to make the Church in America throb with American life. . . .

He [Hecker] laid stress on the natural and social virtues. The American people hold these in highest esteem. They are the virtues that are more apparent and are seemingly the most needed for the building up and the preservation of an earthly commonwealth. . . .

. . . certain Catholics, aware of the comparatively greater importance of the supernatural, practically overlook the natural. . . .

Each century calls for its type of Christian perfection. . . .

. . . each Christian soldier may take to the field, obeying the breathing of the spirit of truth and piety within him. . . .

The work of evangelizing America needs new methods.

This was not a challenge to the Catholic spirit of Europe, but a challenge it was considered, and it was promptly taken up by certain theologians abroad. There were in Europe at the time former professors of the Catholic University of America, who, though foreigners, had been prominent in the School Controversy, and who had quitted their posts in the University between 1894 and 1896. One of these was then in France, and his descriptions of Catholic life here were not written to do us credit. Paris was the intellectual center of the strife and it was Paris that coined the much abused word, "Americanism." In August, 1897, Bishop O'Connell, of Richmond, who was to become Rector of the Catholic University of America in 1903, read a paper on "Americanism" at the International Catholic Scientific Congress at Fribourg. In spite of his very lucid explanation of what the term meant, and of how difficult it was in all honesty to see any conflict between Catholic faith and morals and American ideals and principles, his explanation was not accepted, for the heat of the fight had come, and on January 22, 1899, Leo XIII addressed as a mark of affection to Cardinal Gibbons his Apostolic Letter, *Testem Benevolentiae*. The three main points at issue were touched upon: the adaptation of Christian teaching to our advanced civilization, freedom of spirit in matters of faith and of Christian life, and the division of virtues into passive and active. We are not far enough removed from this controversy to judge with accuracy and precision its rightful place in American Catholic life. It would be indeed difficult to offer any explanation, even a truly historical one, without arousing the suspicion that the problem was not fully understood by the writer. Probably the nearest approach to an adequate interpretation is to see in the "Americanism" controversy the beginning of the heresy of Modernism which broke out in France less than ten years later, and to recognize that French ecclesiastics simply used the *Life of Father Hecker* as a shield.

XV

All these problems brought home to the Holy See the necessity of having a permanent representative on the scene; one who would be charged with the

requisite authority to settle all questions of a minor nature and to transmit in all impartiality the greater problems on faith and discipline to the competent authorities in Rome. There is no need of hiding the fact that in certain quarters of high estate the presence of a representative of the Holy See was not acceptable. In 1889, the Holy See had commissioned Archbishop Francis Satolli to be its representative at the Baltimore Centenary. Francis Satolli was destined to become an unforgettable figure in American affairs. A successful professor of Dogmatic Theology, he had an important share in the neo-Scholastic movement which has given honor to the pontificate of Leo XIII. No man stood closer to Leo XIII, and his presence in the United States in 1889 was taken as a sign that the Holy See would soon ask him to remain in an official capacity. The Sepiacci incident, however, had rendered the plan somewhat onerous. The School Controversy proved the necessity of such an authority in the land, and in 1892, when those in charge of the Columbian Exhibit at Chicago invited the Holy See to participate in the same, Leo XIII sent two very precious maps and other treasures from the Vatican archives, and entrusted them to Archbishop Satolli. After his arrival, it was made known that he brought with him Rome's decision on the School Question. At a meeting of the Archbishops in New York, on November 17, 1892, the famous Fourteen Points or Propositions were read. Satolli stated also that it was the Holy See's intention to establish a permanent Apostolic Delegation in the country. This was done in January, 1893, and that same year saw the rise of the last anti-Catholic society, the American Protective Association. It was admitted by its founder, Henry F. Bowers, that the coming of Satolli was the greatest single stimulus the movement received. The fruit of Satolli's presence in the United States can easily be judged by the Encyclical Letter of Leo XIII on January 6, 1895, on Catholicity in the United States, in which the great Pontiff calls the establishment of the Delegation "a proper and becoming crown upon the work" of the Council of 1884. It has been from the earliest antiquity the custom of the Roman Pontiffs in the exercise of the divinely bestowed gift of the primacy in the administration of the Church of Christ to send out legates to Christian nations and peoples. The purpose of the Apostolic legation and its ultimate aim was to bring about a strengthening of the bonds which united the hierarchy among themselves and the laity with the clergy. Cardinal Satolli accomplished this in an extraordinary and characteristic way, and left for his successors in the Apostolic Delegation a thoroughly equipped center for canonical administration. On November 29, 1895, he became Cardinal, and on October, 1896, he returned to Rome. His successors—Cardinals Martinelli (1896-1901) and Falconio (1902-1911), and the present well-beloved Archbishop Bonzano (1912) have been, especially the last-named on account of his sweetness and charm of character, most successful in assisting the Church here to avoid the unpleasant troubles of the last generation.

XVI

A period of comparative peace set in with the formal establishment of the Delegation, and after the stir created by "Americanism" had died away, the

Church in the United States was left free to cooperate with the nation in the movement which became paramount in the United States down to the outbreak of the Great War, namely, the process of assimilating all the racial elements in the land to the dominant ideals of liberty upon which the American Government was founded. All through these years, one personality dominated American Catholic life, James Cardinal Gibbons. His solution of the Knights of Labor question in 1887 had placed him among the great Americans of our day, and he has since stood out among his brethren in the hierarchy as the best representative of the spirit which has always ruled the bishops since Carroll's day—a sincere and untroubled sympathy with the genius of the American Republic. That he has been in the Providence of God one of America's great leaders is an honor we share gladly with those not of our faith.

XVII

When the United States entered the war in April, 1917, the archbishops of the country were assembled in their annual meeting at the Catholic University of America at Washington, D. C. Headed by His Eminence of Baltimore, they addressed a letter to President Wilson, reaffirming in that hour of stress and trial their most sacred and sincere loyalty and patriotism towards our Country, our Government and our Flag. "Our people," they wrote, "now as ever, will rise as one man to serve the nation. Our priests and consecrated women will once again, as in every former trial of our country, win by their bravery, their heroism and their service new admiration and approval." There is no need of rehearsing the story of the creation of the National Catholic War Council, which was organized after our entrance into the war. The Catholic body of the United States is a large one, of varied interests and varied outlook, and it took time to distribute the welfare work to be done among the fourteen National Catholic societies. Foremost among these was the Knights of Columbus. The National Catholic War Council, with Cardinal Gibbons and the hierarchy at its head, was organized with two large committees—the Knights of Columbus Committee on War Activities and the Committee on Special War Activities. This latter Committee had as its Chairman, Father John Burke, of the Paulist Order, whose Founder, Father Hecker, had done so much to bring about a better appreciation of the identity of American ideals with Catholic doctrine. Of the results of that central organization and of its place in the victory which came to American arms, Catholics are justly proud. Catholic cooperation was swift, effective, honest, and whole-hearted. The soldiers and sailors are the best judges, and their decision has been given in such a way that for all time to come Catholic honor and the Catholic good name are safe from the ill-will of those who find it hard to accept the truth of Catholic loyalty in the past. The National Catholic War Council gave to the Church in America a golden opportunity for national union, and out of the War Council came the National Catholic Welfare Council, begun in April, 1919. An annual meeting of the hierarchy was decided upon, and in September, 1919, the first notable gathering of the Archbishops and Bishops was held at the Catholic University of America. We have the result of this meeting in the Pastoral Letter, of September 26, 1919. The

National Catholic Welfare Council has grouped together the various agencies by which the cause of religion in the United States may be furthered. Several Departments—Education, Social Welfare, Press and Literature, Societies and Lay Activities, and Missions—were decided upon. These Departments are now in process of organization.

XVIII

The year 1920 has closed with great honor to our spiritual leaders. As in 1870, there are among the Archbishops and Bishops Heaven-sent leaders who are destined in the Providence of God to guide the Church during the difficult days ahead. Of the leaders who were with us in 1870, all are gone to their rest and reward, except one, but their sacred inheritance remains in the legislation they effected thirty-six years ago at Baltimore, and in the blessing the Church here enjoys of possessing a living witness of that assembly, one who can instruct us with all the wealth of knowledge and of tradition which is peculiarly his own. The retrospect of fifty years opens with James Cardinal Gibbons in his youth and it closes with the venerable figure of America's greatest Catholic citizen, still enjoying the admiration and reverence of all Americans who are truly devoted to the Republic, and the love and affection of his children throughout the land.

PETER GUILDAY.

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